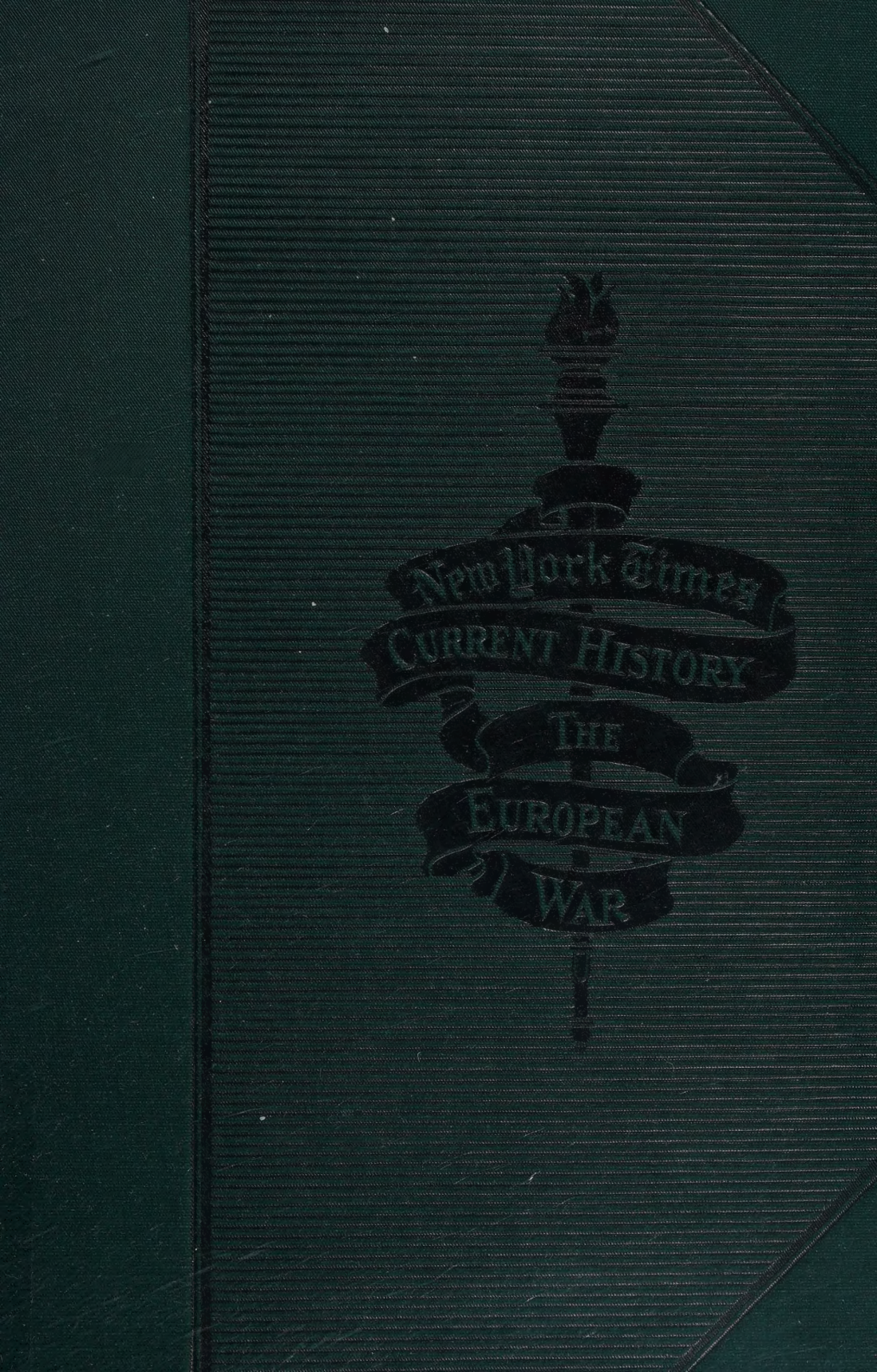
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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period April, May, June, 1918

INTRODUCTION

THE Spring of 1918 witnessed the bloodiest fighting of the war and probably the most bitter recorded in history. Whether viewed from the standpoint of the numbers involved, the losses suffered, or the issues at stake, the battles of Picardy and Flanders have had no parallel in ancient or modern times.

THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE

The great Teuton drive, long expected by the Allies and widely heralded by the Germans themselves, began on the morning of March 21. Intense artillery fire lasting four hours preluded the onset, and then the infantry in great force advanced to the attack.

The assault was made on a front of fifty miles from southeast of Arras as far as La Fère and was everywhere successful. It has been demonstrated repeatedly in the course of the war that a carefully prepared offensive by either side is bound to obtain a certain measure of initial success; and a yielding of first-line positions by the Allies was anticipated as inevitable. The Entente strategy had taken this into account, and had arranged for a probable retirement to a second line and a possible withdrawal to a third. There, however, it was expected that the retreat would halt and the enemy be thrown back.

But the speed of the German advance and the power of its attack deranged the plans of the British 3d and 5th Armies, which held this portion of the front. The enormous forces massed against them stormed the first-line trenches and overwhelmed the defenders by sheer weight of numbers. The British fell back, fighting doggedly and with splendid heroism, but unable to stem the onrushing tide. Their second and third lines shared the fate of the first, and the battle soon developed into one of open warfare.

The Germans, moving on interior lines, had gathered a force that outnumbered their opponents at the point of attack in a ratio variously estimated at from three against one to five against three. In addition they employed the so-called von Hutier tactics, which on a smaller scale had proved successful at Riga, a fresh division passing through an exhausted one, to be in turn succeeded by another, so that, despite frightful losses, a fresh and vigorous mass of troops could be kept pressing against the defending line.

Besides the advantage of being able to choose their point of attack and assemble there overwhelming numbers, the Germans were favored by the weather. At that time of the year the ground is usually so soft as to make military operations on a large scale impossible; but when the German attack began the ground was firm, dry, and suitable for the rapid progress of both men and guns.

Moreover, on the morning of March

21 a fog prevailed, which enabled the enemy to approach without detection until within a few feet of the advanced line of General Gough's 5th Army. These outpost positions, while it was expected that they would be eventually captured, had been so planned as to decimate the German divisions and retard their progress by a system of crossfire. The Germans however, owing to the mist, swept over these positions at once, and the British crossfire on which so much depended was never delivered.

The British fell back on their line of resistance, but this, too, was quickly overwhelmed and they were forced to retire to their battle positions. Here for a time they held, and their artillery and machine guns inflicted fearful losses on the enemy. But the attack could not be stemmed, and a retreat began which seemed for a time to threaten the most serious consequences.

The primary aim of the German High Command has been clearly demonstrated by the course of the battle and from documents found on prisoners. It was to strike the allied armies at their juncture, roll up and destroy one of them, and then turn upon and crush the other. These tactics were sound, justified by military science, and had been frequently employed by Napoleon.

The ultimate strategic objective of the enemy was undoubtedly either to reach the Channel ports or Paris, or both. The attainment of either would prove a dangerous though not necessarily a fatal blow to the allied cause; but the immediate objective, which would have facilitated the attainment of the other two, was the City of Amiens, a railway and supply centre of vital importance to the Entente system of defense, the possession of which would have put Paris in immediate peril.

A situation developed in the course of the fighting where the road to Amiens lay wide open, had the Germans known it and been able to take advantage of it. The enemy onset had been so rapid and formidable that the British 5th Army in its retreat had not had time sufficient or engineering forces available to blow up bridges whose destruction would have retarded the German advance. This was pressed so vigorously that the retreat continued in an accelerated ratio. Serious gaps opened up between certain divisions, until a breach of eight miles intervened between the 5th Army and the 3d, commanded by Sir Julian Byng.

That the Germans did not improve this opportunity was due to the very completeness of their first success. They had progressed so swiftly that various elements of brigades and divisions were intermingled in hopeless confusion. By the time this had been straightened out, the gap had been closed by one of the most thrilling and brilliant exploits recorded in the war.

General Sandeman Carey had been called on hastily to avert the threatened disaster. The forces at his disposal were pathetically inadequate, but he quickly gathered together a nondescript army of laborers, American engineers, telegraph linemen, and even cooks, got ammunition from what sources he could, dug shallow trenches with feverish haste, disposed his scanty machine-gun crews at strategic points, and, battling desperately day and night, held his position until his improvised troops were reinforced and the gap was definitely closed. Seldom has the classic phrase "j'y suis, j'y reste" had a finer illustration.

At another phase of the battle a second gap developed, which, though not quite so dramatic in the features that marked its closing, might have been even more serious, when thirty miles intervened between the British 5th Army and the French 6th Army. Here General Fayolles, who had just arrived from Italy, repeated with his organized divisions what Carey had accomplished with his "scratch" army, and held the foe in check until juncture could be resumed.

For several days of furious fighting the British were forced to retreat, though never at any time did the retreat become a rout. Never were the tenacity and indomitable courage of the British armies more fully conformed to their traditions. But at every point they were outnumbered, and the German pressure was irresistible.

By March 25 the enemy had gained an

area of 500 square miles, penetrating beyond Bapaume, Péronne, Brie, and the forest northeast of Noyon. Two days later they had captured Albert and taken Roye and Noyon from the French, who, as early as the 23d, had begun to relieve certain portions of the hard-pressed British right.

That latter success, however, was quickly neutralized by a French counter-attack on the 29th, which recovered eight square miles between Lassigny and Noyon. On the same day the enemy enveloped Montdidier, and on the 30th gained ground north of the Scarpe beyond Vimy Ridge.

A particularly bitter phase of the fighting developed on March 28, when the German command shifted its attack and made a desperate attempt to capture Arras. The assault was made on the British battleline from Gavrelle southward to below the Scarpe. Nineteen German divisions were employed—seven north of the Scarpe and twelve south of the defenses of Arras. Tremendous gunfire preceded the attack, on a scale rarely exceeded during the war. The German leaders had orders to take Arras at any cost, and were prodigal of the lives of their men; but the British fought like tigers, and wave after wave beat upon their defenses in vain. The battle ended in an utter defeat of the enemy.

The days that immediately followed developed only minor operations of attack and counterattack, but on April 4 there was a fiercely contested fight on a ten-mile front between Grivesnes and the Amiens-Roye road, where the Germans suffered a bloody repulse in a futile attempt to drive a wedge between the junction of the British and French armies. Another desperate attack against the British position at Eucquoy on April 7 was thrown back with heavy losses.

At this point and date the first phase of the German offensive may be said to have come to an end. In its spectacular features it had achieved a marked degree of success. Prisoners to the extent of 75,000—though these figures are disputed by British authorities—were claimed by the Germans, together with a large number of guns and war material, and the enemy lines had been advanced to within ten miles of Amiens. But a heavy toll in lives had been exacted for the ground gained, the allied armies were still unbroken, and the German objectives had not been attained.

One event, however, had occurred during these days of strenuous fighting that was of tremendous significance and promise to the allied cause. On March 28 General Foch was appointed Generalissimo of the allied armies in France. This event of supreme importance, toward which the Entente had been tending for many months, was hastened by the emergency that the battle had created. The lack of unity in command had long been a source of weakness that was fully recognized. The Versailles conference had sought to correct this defect, but had proved inadequate.

The appointment was hailed with enthusiasm by all the members of the Entente, and nowhere more warmly than in Washington, which had long urged such action. The attitude of this country was emphasized when General Pershing called upon General Foch, on the day of the latter's appointment, and unreservedly placed all the American forces in France at his disposal.

The second phase of the offensive began on April 8, when the enemy heavily bombarded the region of La Bassée and Armentières, following up the artillery action by attacks in force. Here, as in the first phase, the Germans struck at the junction of two armies, in this case the Portuguese and the British. Here, also, the first onset met with success. On April 9 the enemy had penetrated the allied positions in the neighborhood of Neuve Chapelle. On the 11th Armentières was captured, and by the 12th the Germans had reached Merville, eleven miles southwest of Armentières.

It was on this date that General Haig issued his historic order, which, while it breathed undaunted courage, spoke volumes for the desperate situation of his army. His words, "Our backs are to the wall," sent a thrill of apprehension through the allied nations, relieved, however, by the General's declaration that

the French armies were moving rapidly and in great force to his support.

A few days later the promised reinforcements—first proofs of the value of the unified command—arrived, and the thin, heroic British line immediately stiffened. The mass and momentum of the enemy attack perceptibly slackened, although bloody fighting raged for many days about the towns of Wytschaete, Meteren, and Bailleul. These were taken and retaken many times. The fiercest fight was that waged for the possession of Mont Kemmel, the capture of which by the Germans, it was thought, would force the withdrawal by the British from the Ypres salient. Eventually the hill was captured, but so withering a fire was laid upon it by the British artillery that it proved of little value. It became evident that Ypres could not be taken without the capture of the three hills of Scherpenburg, Mont Rouge, and Mont Noir. In the struggle for these on April 29, the German forces under General Sixt von Arnim met with a disastrous defeat. So definite was their repulse and so unexampled their losses that the second phase of the offensive practically ended on that date. Although in the following months there were many local actions of more or less severity, chiefly to the advantage of the Allies, the battle-line remained substantially the same.

While it would be futile to minimize the advantages gained by the Germans in this colossal offensive, they may quite as easily be exaggerated. The Germans captured a large number of prisoners, great quantities of guns and ammunition, and more than 3,000 square miles of terrain. On the Amiens front they advanced their lines to within ten miles of that city, and in the Flanders area they reached within thirty or forty miles of the Channel ports.

But they fell short of their objectives, and for every advantage gained they paid a harrowing price. How great was their loss in human material can be known definitely only after the war is over, but that it greatly exceeded the Entente losses admits of no doubt. The unity of command, forced upon the Allies by the exigencies of the struggle, was itself equivalent to a battle lost for the German cause. The depleted ranks of the enemy had no such reservoir to draw from as that possessed by the Entente in the hundreds of thousands of American soldiers pouring steadily into France. And, far from being shaken by the retirement of their troops, the morale of the allied nations was hardened under the strain.

The part played by American troops in the Spring fighting, while a minor one on account of the limited number engaged, received the warmest encomiums of the French and British military authorities. The first important operation in which they took part occurred at Seicheprey in the Toul sector on April 20.

Preceded by a severe bombardment of gas and high explosive shells, a German force of 1,500 men, consisting largely of picked storming troops, launched itself against the American position, with the apparent intention of separating the French from the American lines. It penetrated the first-line trenches and took the village in the first stages of the attack, but in furious hand-to-hand fighting the Germans were driven back and the lines re-established. The American losses in the battle were from 200 to 300, but the German loss greatly exceeded this.

An official report of the War Department, issued on April 29, declared that American units had taken part in the fighting east of Amiens and had acquitted themselves well. At Villers-Bretonneux, on April 30, a heavy German attack directed especially against the Americans was sanguinarily repulsed, the ground being covered with enemy dead. A month earlier 300 American engineers took part in Carey's dashing exploit and did heroic work.

On the Italian front conditions remained quiescent during the period under review. A great Austrian army, estimated to total 1,000,000 men and well provided with munitions, faced the Italians on the Monte Grappa front and along the Piave. It had been expected that an Austrian offensive would be launched while the Germans were mak-

ing their great effort in Picardy and Flanders, but this did not occur. The Italians, with all their previous losses in men and guns fully made up, and reinforced by French and British units, stood ready to meet the blow whenever it should come.

On the Macedonian front little occurred except skirmishes between outposts. The Serbians, on April 28, repulsed attempts of the Bulgars to capture fortified positions in the Vetrenik region, and German attacks on French and British positions west of Makovo and south of Lake Doiran proved abortive. A minor success was achieved by the Serbians in the annihilation of a Bulgar section. The reconstruction of the Greek forces under the Venizelos Administration was progressing.

In Palestine and Asia Minor no resistance worthy of the name was opposed to the advance of the British armies under Allenby and Marshall. The objective of the former was Aleppo, where a German division was stationed, in addition to the Turkish forces which had retreated northward from Jerusalem. General Marshall advanced rapidly toward Mosul, his principal objective. The two armies moved in parallel lines, separated by 400 miles of desert. A successful prosecution of the campaign was expected to result in the capture of a large part of the Bagdad railway and in serious interference with German projects of domination in the East.

Fighting in Finland, Russia, and the Ukraine was sporadic and in the nature of civil war. It will be touched upon later in the discussion of the internal affairs of the countries mentioned.

NAVAL AFFAIRS

Although rumors were prevalent during the Spring that the German High Seas Fleet would emerge from its shelter to seek a decision simultaneously with the land drive in Picardy, no major operation took place in the North Sea.

One of the most heroic and dashing exploits of the naval war was the raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend by a British expedition on the night of April 22-23. These ports had been the chief rendezvous for enemy destroyers and submarines. Zeebrugge was especially adapted as a shelter because of the ship canal to Bruges, and the harbor at its mouth, protected by a crescent-shaped mole thirty feet high. The British plan of attack was to storm and destroy the mole with its submarine and seaplane depots, and under cover of this attack to block the harbor by sinking in the passage five obsolete cruisers laden with concrete.

The operation was most gallantly carried through at Zeebrugge, and it was admitted by the Frankfurter Zeitung that the British fleet had "scored a great success." Tremendous damage was inflicted upon the mole, and the harbor was completely blocked. At Ostend a shift of wind made the operations unsuccessful, but this was remedied on the night of May 9-10, when the cruiser Vindictive, filled with concrete, was sunk in the Ostend channel.

The attack was a damaging blow to enemy naval operations, and, despite desperate efforts by the Germans, the havoc remained unrepaired for months.

The submarine menace steadily decreased. The British shipping losses for the month of March amounted to 216,003 tons, the lowest in any one month, with one exception, since January, 1917. The sinkings of allied and neutral ships in April, as shown by French official figures—including also those sunk by accident—aggregated 381,631 tons. It was stated officially, though actual figures were withheld, that enemy submarines were being sunk more rapidly than they were being built. In the meantime, new construction, both in America and England, made rapid strides. It was estimated that the total allied tonnage built in the year ending May, 1919, would be more than 6,000,000, as against total U-boat sinkings, figured on the basis of the first quarter of 1918, of 4,500,000.

The Italians, on May 14, achieved a brilliant success at Pola Harbor when a small torpedo boat sank an Austrian dreadnought of 20,000 tons.

The American and British Governments, by joint action on March 20, seized the Dutch shipping in all the har-

bors of both countries. This amounted to about 750,000 tons, of which 500,000 were in American waters. The use of this shipping had been sought by negotiations with Holland, but these had been so protracted by the dilatoriness of the Dutch Government that seizure was resorted to. This step was taken under the provision of international law, which, in the language of President Wilson's proclamation, "accords to a belligerent power the right in times of military exigency and for purposes essential to the prosecution of war to take over and utilize neutral vessels lying within its jurisdiction." The action was protested by the Dutch Government, but its legality and propriety were maintained by Secretary Lansing in a communication of April 12, and the commandeered ships were immediately put into service.

AERIAL DEVELOPMENTS

Supremacy in air fighting during the second quarter of 1918 tended increasingly toward the side of the Entente. The work of the allied airmen over the western front was a most important factor in checking the German drive, as it has been in delaying its resumption. Immense damage was wrought by the destruction of munition depots behind the enemy lines, the scattering of convoys, and the breaking up of troop concentrations. Great numbers of German planes which sought to thwart the allied air operations were destroyed or brought down out of control. On May 15 alone 55 German planes were accounted for by French and British aviators, and the following day 46 more met a similar fate at the hands of the British alone. The losses on the allied side were less than half those suffered by their opponents.

Much success also attended the work of British seaplanes in hindering the reconstruction of the mole at Zeebrugge and delaying enemy efforts to clear the blocked fairways at Zeebrugge and Ostend.

Aerial raids continued on the French and British capitals, although in the latter case these were not so frequent as before. Paris was bombarded from the skies on the night of March 11 by nine squadrons of German airplanes, consisting of nearly sixty machines. Thirty-four persons were killed and 79 injured by explosives, and in addition 66, chiefly women and children, were suffocated in a subway entrance where they had taken refuge. Four of the enemy machines were brought down by anti-aircraft guns. A less formidable attack, three days previous, had resulted in casualties of 13 killed and 50 injured. In another raid, on the night of April 12, 26 were killed and 72 wounded.

A German bombing squadron of seven or eight planes raided England on the night of March 7. Little damage was done outside of London, but in the metropolitan area 11 were killed and 46 injured. A later attack on the east coast by Zeppelins resulted in trifling losses.

It became clear that hopes placed by the Germans on Zeppelins were greatly diminished. The losses suffered in this branch of air service were overwhelming, and at the end of June few of the monster machines still remained available. A report issued by the Intelligence Department of the French Army gave details of the destruction that overtook thirty Zeppelins and showed also that five of the eight Schuette-Lanz dirigibles, closely resembling the Zeppelins, were put out of commission. The greater mobility and swiftness of bombing airplanes for raiding purposes led to their being employed almost exclusively.

Italy was not immune from airplane raids, both Venice and Naples having been attacked. The chief damage to the former was the havoc wrought on famous buildings, but in Naples 16 persons were killed and 40 wounded on the night of March 11.

While the French consistently refrained from extensive reprisals, British aviators made damaging raids on German territory. Attacks were concentrated as far as possible on munition factories, military barracks, and railway centres, but many fatalities resulted to the civilian population in Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Metz, Saarbrücken, Coblenz, Düsseldorf, and Cologne. The damage done was minimized by the German authorities and exact figures were not ob-

tainable, but it was significant that petitions in increasing volume came to the German Government from the districts affected, urging that an effort be made to reach an agreement with the Entente, whereby air raids on places outside the war zone should be abandoned.

GERMANY

The most noteworthy happening in German political life during the period under review was the publication of the Lichnowsky memorandum. It created a profound sensation not only in Germany but throughout the world. This was due to the former official position of the author, his exceptional sources of information, and the amazing frankness with which he discussed and exposed the part played by Germany in plunging Europe into war.

Prince Lichnowsky was the German Ambassador to England when the war began. After his recall he returned to his country seat and there prepared the now famous memorandum. It is entitled: "My London Mission, 1912-14," and is dated August, 1916.

Professedly the document was written to justify to his personal friends his political course during his Ambassadorship. Only half a dozen typewritten copies were said to have been made. One of these fell into the hands of the German Foreign Office, another was secured by the Minority Socialist Party. A third, smuggled across the border, was published in Stockholm, and thus became the property of the world.

The story was told simply and clearly, and with a wealth of detail calculated to carry conviction. Proof was given that for many years the Mitteleuropa scheme had been in contemplation, and that war had been frankly regarded as the inevitable prelude to its achievement. Lichnowsky showed also how bitterly the Algeciras incident had rankled in military circles, and how it had been used to make war seem desirable in order to rehabilitate the prestige of Germany in the eyes of Europe.

He depicted Germany acting as the shield beneath whose aegis Austria was permitted and encouraged to make predatory excursions into the Balkans. Coming down to the period just before the war, he furnished proof of Great Britain's eager desire to maintain peace, and described how Berlin perversely misconstrued or deliberately rebuffed the repeated efforts of England to reach a friendly understanding on the questions at issue. Just as all the spokes of a wheel tend toward the hub, the facts marshaled by the Prince point relentlessly to Prussian militarism as the instigator of the world war.

The effect produced by its publication was prodigious. Junkerdom and the Pan-German press fell heavily upon the author. The Socialist and Moderate press deplored the glee with which the revelations would be hailed in the capitals of the Entente. Lichnowsky's arrest was urged on the charge of treason. The Reichstag seethed with debate. Vice Chancellor von Payer and Under Secretary von Stumm made labored explanations to break the force of the disclosures. Von Jagow, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs at the outbreak of the war, wrote a refutation which was in effect scarcely less than a confirmation of Lichnowsky's statements. In fact, he went quite as far as the Prince himself in absolving England of bloodguiltiness.

A striking corroboration of the memorandum was given in a letter by Dr. Mühlon, a former member of the Krupp Directorate, then residing in Switzerland, in which he confirmed from his own knowledge and from conversations with public officials the deliberate purpose of the Prussian oligarchy to precipitate the war.

The Prince was forced to resign his rank, drastic punishment was threatened, and later he was expelled from the Prussian House of Lords.

President Wilson, in an address to Congress on Feb. 11, had laid down four fundamental principles, the acceptance of which by the Central Powers would be regarded as offering a basis for peace negotiations. These were, briefly stated, that each part of the final settlement must be based on the essential justice of that particular case; that peoples and provinces were not to be bartered about

as if they were mere chattels and pawns in the game; that every territorial settlement must be made in the interests and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and that all well-defined national aspirations should be accorded the utmost satisfaction possible without introducing and perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism.

On Feb. 25 Chancellor von Hertling spoke before the Reichstag in answer to President Wilson. He declared that these four principles met with his approval; but his statements were so vague, the modifications so many, the avoidance of any concrete application so marked, that the speech was regarded unanimously by the allied nations as meaningless and insincere. It made no real move in the direction of peace. A month later the German success in the Picardy offensive led to a recrudescence of Pan-German ambitions, and peace was looked for through victory rather than through negotiations.

An outstanding feature of Prussian politics was the attempt to pass an electoral bill containing features and reforms on the lines promised by the Kaiser in his Easter message of the preceding year. As had been expected, it met with stormy opposition from the Conservative ranks, and was so emasculated in the course of debate that it was far removed from any prospect of carrying out the imperial pledge. The fate of the bill was still unsettled up to July, 1918.

The economic situation in Germany was worse than in any preceding period. The bread ration, already meagre, was still further reduced. There was a great increase in sickness and mortality, due in part to malnutrition. The promised supplies of wheat from the Ukraine, the prospect of which helped to sustain the civilian morale, did not materialize, except in very limited quantities. The embargo placed by the American Government on certain food products to Holland and the Scandinavian nations shut off an important source of Germany's supplies and greatly aggravated the situation. Suffering and discontent were rife, increased by an unpromising outlook for the coming harvest.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The food situation in the Dual Monarchy was far more menacing than in Germany. In Austria the bread ration was heavily cut. Various provinces were reported as on the actual brink of famine. Bread riots occurred in Vienna, Prague, and other cities, and strong military forces were brought into use to quiet disturbances. Bitter recriminations against Germany appeared in the Austrian press because of the alleged failure of the former to allot Austria her proper proportion of the small supplies received from Russia and the Ukraine. The tension between the two monarchies was marked.

Nowhere was war weariness more pronounced than in Austria-Hungary, and demands for peace were almost as insistent as the cries for bread. In Prague the name of President Wilson was publicly greeted with cheers, and many public meetings passed resolutions for peace without indemnities or annexations. Political upheavals occurred in the Reichsrat, owing to the inability of the Cabinet in power to satisfy the demands of the various elements—Germans, Czechs, Croats, Magyars, Poles, Ruthenians—that make up the conglomerate population. Especially threatening was the stand taken by the Poles against the cession of Kholm to the Ukraine—a stand so determined that the Government receded from its position. A mixed commission was appointed to mark the delimitation of frontiers.

On April 2 Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, delivered an address to a deputation of the Vienna City Council, which was in the nature of a reply to President Wilson's speech of Feb. 11 on peace aims. Like Count von Hertling, he agreed nominally to the four fundamental principles enunciated by the President as the indispensable basis of negotiations. He deprecated what he declared was the President's effort to weaken Austria's loyalty to its alliance with Germany, asserted that peace discussions had already occurred between France and Austria on the initiative of Clemenceau, the French Premier, and endeavored to show that in the treaty im-

posed on the Russians at Brest-Litovsk there had been no violation of the principle of "no annexations, no indemnities" or free self-determination of peoples.

The speech called out a scathing rejoinder from England, through Lord Robert Cecil, who pointed out that the phrase "frontier rectifications" in the Count's speech was only a veiled term for annexations; that the self-determination of the Russian provinces severed from their parent country was a sham, and that the onerous terms imposed on Rumania amounted to the most crushing of indemnities.

But the most sensational aftermath of the Czernin speech was the prompt denial by Premier Clemenceau that the French Government had initiated discussions of peace with Austria. He stigmatized it curtly as "a lie," and offered proof that the first steps had been taken by Austria itself, through the medium of Count Revertata, a personal friend of the Emperor Charles.

This flat contradiction was reinforced by a document in Revertata's own handwriting and was confirmed by Painlevé, who had preceded Clemenceau as Premier. A lame and unconvincing rejoinder by Czernin practically ignored the Revertata document and laid stress upon the fact that, by whomever initiated, the conversations nevertheless took place.

Clemenceau returned to the charge with the statement that "a diluted lie was still a lie," and startled the world by declaring that no less a personage than Charles himself had, in a letter to Prince Sixtus of Bourbon, written in March, 1917, put on record in his own writing his adhesion to "France's just claim relative to Alsace-Lorraine." He followed this up on April 12 by the publication of the text of the letter.

The interest aroused in the early stage of the controversy was instantly transferred to this later development. The Foreign Chancellery at Vienna was painfully embarrassed in its effort to explain away the document. Various allegations, many of them conflicting, were put forth. It was charged that the letter was private, that it was written by Prince Sixtus himself, that it was not intended to be communicated to the French Government, that its contents were garbled and falsified. To these explanations the French Premier opposed so detailed a statement of facts and dates as to demolish the attempts at defense and leave little doubt regarding the imperial tergiversation.

The surprise and resentment produced in Germany by the statement of Charles that the French claims to Alsace-Lorraine were "just" were very great. Relations between the Teuton allies became strained. To smooth the situation Emperor Charles sent a telegram to the Kaiser, affirming the solidarity of interests between the two empires and declaring that his "cannon in the west" would be his reply to the Entente. The Kaiser replied, accepting without reserve the Austrian explanation and expressing indignation at the methods used by their joint enemies.

Thus the threatened breach was officially closed, but important political consequences followed shortly after. Count Czernin was compelled to resign because of his alleged maladroitness in handling the delicate situation. Emperor Charles himself made his "pilgrimage to Canossa" by visiting the German Emperor and making with him a treaty that put Austria-Hungary in still greater subjection to Germany. The terms of the treaty were not made known in detail, and were said to be subject to ratification by the Parliaments of both States; but it was stated that they provided for a close military and economic union for a period of twenty-five years and insured the control of the Austrian Army by German officers.

As a less important sequel to the "Dear Sixtus" letter, the banishment from Vienna of Sixtus and the mother of the Empress Zita was said to have been decreed.

FRENCH AFFAIRS

On March 23 it was announced that Paris was being bombarded by long-range cannon. The news was received with almost universal skepticism, as it

was known that German troops were nowhere less than sixty miles from Paris. Various conjectures were hazarded as to the origin of the shells, which fell at regular intervals of fifteen minutes. It was thought that they might have been dropped from airships flying at so great a height as to be invisible. By some it was imagined that enemy guns had been emplaced at some hidden spot not far from the city. Dunkirk had been bombarded from a point twenty-three miles distant, but no cannon of longer range was believed to be in existence.

Doubt, however, was replaced by certainty when examination of the shattered missiles showed that they had been discharged from a cannon. Scientific calculations, based on the angles at which the shells struck, showed that the point of discharge was in the region of the Forest of St. Gobain, about seventy-five miles from Paris.

Ten persons were killed and fifteen wounded on the first day of the bombardment. Measures were at once taken to warn the people by special signals, and French batteries at the front sought to locate and destroy the bombarding cannon. The firing continued for several days thereafter, with a number of casualties resulting. The most serious loss of life occurred on March 29, when a shell struck the church of St. Gervais during a Good Friday service, killing seventy-five persons and wounding ninety, many mortally.

This slaughter of noncombatants evoked an indignant protest from the Pope and shocked the religious sentiment of the world. The German Foreign Office justified the outrage on the ground that Paris was a fortress, and the Kaiser sent a special message of congratulation to the manager of the Krupp works.

The evident purpose of the attack was to destroy the morale of the French civilian population, but in this it failed. The guns were said to be ninety-six feet long, and the projectiles weighed about 200 pounds each. The shells rose to a height of twenty miles and made the journey to Paris in three minutes. The violence of the concussion caused by the discharge was indicated by the fact that every shot was recorded by seismographs all over the United States.

It was discovered by French aviators that three of these super-cannon existed, one of which they put out of commission by dropping bombs upon it, while another, according to German prisoners, exploded on March 29, killing an officer and nine men.

Bolo Pacha, convicted of treason, was executed at Vincennes on April 17. Before his death he made damaging statements against former Premier Joseph Caillaux and Senator Humbert, who were also under indictment for treason. Duval, director of the suppressed newspaper Bonnet Rouge, was condemned to death as a traitor on May 15. Six other defendants were given various terms of imprisonment. Louis J. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior under Ribot, was put on trial in July on a charge of having delivered to the enemy the scheme of the French offensive in Champagne, in April, 1917.

The most notable event in French Parliamentary circles was the signal triumph scored by Premier Clemenceau, when, after interpellation by Socialist members following the reverses to French arms in Picardy, he carried the Chamber of Deputies with him by an overwhelming majority.

GREAT BRITAIN

One of the great addresses of the war was that delivered in the House of Commons by Premier Lloyd George on April 9. The outstanding features of the speech were his proposals to raise the age limit of military service to 50 years, and in special cases to 55, and the extension of conscription to Ireland.

The occasion was solemn and momentous, for the British forces were being steadily pressed back in Flanders. The Premier reviewed soberly the conditions on the battlefront and the necessity of reinforcements, and indicated the classes and callings from which, with certain exemptions, the needed forces would be drawn.

His proposals met with general approval until the question of Ireland was raised, when a storm of protest rose from

the Irish members. John Dillon declared that the application of conscription to Ireland would plunge the country into bloodshed and confusion. In this he was supported by other members of his party. The Premier insisted, however, that conscription should apply to Ireland as to other parts of Great Britain, and, after a hot debate, leave to introduce the Government's Man Power bill was carried by a vote of 299 to 80.

In April the bill passed both houses by large majorities and immediately received the royal assent. The provision for Irish conscription was temporarily suspended, as its enforcement was intended to be simultaneous with the adoption of some form of home rule for Ireland.

Unfortunately, the convention of Irishmen who had been summoned in July of 1917 to find a solution of the vexed question upon which all parties and interests could measurably agree was not able to present a plan that had any prospect of being adopted by the British Parliament. The differences between Ulster and the rest of Ireland appeared irreconcilable, as they had been for centuries. It was not without reason that the Chairman of the convention declared the problem to be one of the knottiest in history. The racial, industrial, and religious differences seemed incapable of being harmonized. The customs and excise questions were also stumbling blocks, and the practical postponement of this matter until after the war, proposed by the Premier, failed of general acceptance.

Formidable opposition to conscription developed among the Nationalist population of Ireland, immediately after the passage of the Man Power bill. All parties, including the Sinn Feiners, were welded together in opposition. April 23 was fixed upon for the stoppage of all work as an earnest of the country's unalterable resolve. The Catholic clergy took the lead in administering an anti-conscription convenant. So serious did the situation become that the Government deemed it wise to postpone the date on which conscription was to go into operation, and a system of voluntary recruiting was planned in the hope that its success might render conscription unnecessary. The response, however, was negligible, and the whole matter remained in suspense.

On May 17 drastic action by the Government resulted in the arrest of all Sinn Fein leaders on the ground that they were maintaining treasonable relations with Germany. The arrested men were taken to England.

A minor development in British politics was the charge made by Major Gen. Sir Frederic B. Maurice that Premier Lloyd George and Andrew Bonar Law had made inaccurate statements in regard to the military situation. The Premier promptly refuted the charge and carried the House with him. General Maurice was retired from the service and from his position in the War Board.

EVENTS IN RUSSIA

The reluctance, whether assumed or real, of the Lenine-Trotzky régime to accept the onerous terms of peace set forth by the German plenipotentiaries and the attempt to demobilize the Russian Army and thus end the war without the signing of a formal treaty were of no avail. The termination of the armistice and the prompt resumption by the Germans of their advance into Russia led to abject surrender on the part of the Bolshevist Government, and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on March 3.

The terms of the treaty were shameful and humiliating to Russia and amounted to complete capitulation. The fairest and most fertile provinces were severed from the empire. Livonia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, Courland, and Finland, though recognized as self-determining and independent, passed virtually from Russian to German control. A summary of the territorial and economic losses of Russia included 301,000 square miles of territory, 56,000,000 inhabitants, over 13,000 miles of railway, 73 per cent. of the total iron output and 89 per cent. of the coal production.

The ratification of the treaty by the All-Russian Soviet Congress took place in Moscow on March 14-16, and eight days later it was approved by the Main Committee of the German Reichstag.

The Entente nations refused to recognize the treaty, and in a joint statement expressed their repudiation of "the political crimes that under the name of a German peace have been committed against the Russian Nation."

If hapless and dismembered Russia imagined that peace, for which she had paid so high a price, would follow the conclusion of the treaty, her mistake soon became apparent. The German armies, in insolent contravention of the treaty, continued their invasion. The repeated protests by the Bolshevist authorities, unsupported as they were by any respectable military force, went unheeded.

The first objective of the invaders seemed to be Petrograd, but toward the last of March the advance swerved in the direction of Moscow. At the same time Austro-German forces were pressing forward in the Ukraine, ostensibly to aid the Ukrainians in the struggle still going on with the Russian Soviets. Kiev and Odessa soon fell into Teuton hands, and shortly afterward Poltava, Yekaterinoslav, and Kharkov were occupied. This was followed about the 1st of May by the capture of Sebastopol, with a portion of the Black Sea fleet.

The patent violations of the letter and spirit of the treaty caused representations to be forwarded to Berlin through M. Joffe, the newly appointed Ambassador to Germany, who had been one of Russia's plenipotentiaries at Brest-Litovsk. These, however, proved unavailing. Sporadic guerrilla warfare and peasant risings provoked by German outrages proved equally futile. Trotzky threatened to organize a national army for resistance if the invasion were not stopped, but his words had no results. What warlike energy still remained in the enfeebled Government was expended in combating uprisings under Korniloff, Semenoff, and others that threatened to turn it out of power.

The Ukrainians, whose defection from Russia at the time of the Brest-Litovsk proceedings had secured for them comparatively favorable terms from the Central Powers, soon had their own experience of the value of German pledges. A clash occurred in Kiev between the German commander and the Ukrainian Government on account of the conduct of the German troops, and bitter resentment was aroused by the demand that 85 per cent. of the nation's grain and all its sugar, apart from the limited supplies left for local consumption, should be sent to Germany.

German control had been steadily extended on the alleged ground of suppressing disorders, and, in an ingenious phrase worthy to rank with Czernin's "frontier rectifications," General von Eichhorn, the German commander, proclaimed a state of "enhanced protection" under which all offenders against law and order should be subject to German court-martial. These steps were the prelude to a coup d'état on April 28, when German troops entered the hall where the Rada was sitting and arrested the Ukrainian Minister of War and some of the Rada members. The next day a convention dominated by German influence voted the dissolution of the Rada and proclaimed General Skoropadsky Hetman of the Ukraine. His powers were almost autocratic and his acts indicated that he was fully in sympathy with German purposes.

The collapse of Russia had as its inevitable corollary the withdrawal of Rumania from the war. Rumania's fidelity in principle to the Allies was not questioned, and no recriminations followed her recognition of the impossible position in which she was placed by the breakdown of the eastern front.

The peace negotiations scarcely deserve that name, for they were really an ultimatum from the enemy that had to be accepted with only the pretense of discussion. The Central Powers took full advantage of the situation. The Dobrudja was given to Bulgaria. The Carpathian passes that defended the integrity of Rumania's frontiers were ceded to Austria. The immensely valuable oil fields were delivered up to German monopoly, and Rumanian wheat for an unlimited period was to be held solely at Germany's disposition, exclusive of the needs of the Rumanian population. In addition, the Rumanian Army

was to be at once demobilized and Rumania was pledged to assist the passage of German armies through her territories on the way to Odessa.

As a consolation prize for these concessions Rumania was invited to annex the southern part of Bessarabia, a proceeding which would still further aid in the breaking up of Russia. Even prior to the signing of the peace treaty at Bucharest, which occurred May 6, this union had practically taken place, for on April 9 the National Assembly of Bessarabia, by a vote of 86 to 3, had decided to unite itself with Rumania.

The state of chaos and civil war existing in Finland offered a fruitful field for German penetration and domination. Berlin announced on March 7 the signing of a treaty of peace between Germany and Finland. Five days previously a German detachment landed on the Aland Islands, located between Finland and Sweden and belonging to the former country. It was explained that the islands were to be used as a halting place for a following German expedition, which at the invitation of Finland proposed to co-operate with the Finnish Government for the restoration of order. A month later, on April 3, the Germans landed on the peninsula of Hango a force of 40,000 men. The Russian Government protested against the landing, but the protest was dirsegarded, and four Russian submarines then in Finnish waters were fired upon and sunk.

Forty thousand German troops landed at Helsingfors on April 17. The city was taken by storm, and on April 30 the fall of Viborg practically ended the fighting. On May 4 a dispatch from Berlin announced that Finland had been "cleared of the enemy."

The distracted state of the country during the period of civil war, which had been marked by frightful atrocities on both sides, apparently had a deleterious effect upon the democratic tendencies of the Finnish people. Certain elements among the propertied classes were reported as inclining toward monarchical rule. German influence was strengthened and extended by the promise of aid in securing the establishment of a Greater Finland by the inclusion of the territory of the Petrograd-Murman railway to the Arctic, thus cutting an additional section from the shrunken Russian country.

The encroachment of the Central Powers on Russian soil after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty was viewed with apprehension by the Entente. It was thought that German control of Russian resources might eventually neutralize the economic blockade imposed on the Teutonic Powers at sea and might threaten not only the result of the present war but the future peace of the world. A lively interchange of views was in progress between the allied capitals, but no definite decision was reached until July. England, France, and Italy favored military intervention, either by joint action or by giving a mandate to Japan. The latter country, which felt its interest immediately menaced by the extension of German power toward the Pacific, was understood to be willing, but hesitated to act without the sanction of all the Allies, especially the United States. Washington, however, did not give its adhesion to the plan for months, although a powerful body of public opinion in the United States indorsed the project and believed that prompt intervention would bring about a restoration of the eastern military front.

The landing of a limited Japanese force at Vladivostok occurred on April 5, in order to protect the immense stores of allied munitions and supplies at that port. A vigorous protest against this action was issued by the Bolshevist Government, which hinted that this course might tend to throw Russia into the arms of Germany. No further move of note was made, however, up to July 1.

The internal condition of Russia was reported to be desperate in the extreme. In some districts anarchy prevailed, while in others there was only a pretense of orderly control. Famine threatened, the transport system broke down, while the industrial and agrarian tenets of the Bolshevist régime paralyzed trade and agriculture. The roseate hopes engendered by the revolution faded before the reality of destitution.

AMERICA'S PART IN THE WAR

America's weight was thrown heavily into the war during the three months under review. There was a quickening in every branch of war activity. The apex of production was by no means reached, but great strides were made. Airplane production was speeded up, shipbuilding progressed at an accelerated ratio, and troops were shipped overseas in numbers that surpassed expectations.

April 6 marked the first anniversary of the entrance of America into the struggle. The year necessarily had been one of preparation, and it had not been without its mistakes. Changes in plans had been made, with resulting delay. Shipyards had to be constructed before keels could be laid, factories erected before products could be fashioned, cantonments built before soldiers could be trained, ordnance manufactured before armies could be equipped; but from this stage of preparation the country had at length emerged into the period of actual production, and the results achieved were highly gratifying to the nation and very encouraging to the Allies.

In the vital matter of tonnage progress was especially marked. The appointment on April 16 of Charles M. Schwab as Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, with practically unlimited power over construction, was justified by the results shown under his administration. Ships were built and launched in record time. On April 20 an 8,800-ton steamship was launched at Seattle, Wash., fifty-five working days after its keel had been laid. This was at the time a world's record, but it was far surpassed when on May 5 the steel steamship Tuckahoe of 5,548 tons was launched within twenty-seven days after laying of the keel.

Since the beginning of the war the Government had been able to put more than 3,000,000 tons of shipping in service for carrying men and munitions to France. In a statement issued in March by Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, it was said that there were then in operation 130 shipyards with 700 ways, employing 500,000 men, occupied with the production of 1,600 ships. The prospects were bright that the Government shipbuilding program would be met and perhaps exceeded. A request for an appropriation of $2,223,835,000 for shipbuilding in 1919 was laid before the Appropriations Committee of the House.

The production of airplanes at first proved disappointing. Despite the enormous sums appropriated for construction, the number of airplanes completed fell short of what was promised. This was explained on the ground of the limited number of airplane manufactories in the country at the outset of the war and the frequent changes made in the design of the Liberty Motor. Complaints of graft and inefficiency were not lacking, and in response to a report submitted by Gutzon Borglum, President Wilson asked Charles E. Hughes to aid Attorney General Gregory in making a thorough investigation of the situation. A committee appointed by the Senate sent in a report which dwelt on the two main factors of delay already mentioned, but expressed the hope of betterment in the immediate future.

The Third Liberty Loan campaign, in which the Government sought $3,000,000,000 for the prosecution of the war, closed on May 4 with a subscription of $4,170,019,650. No more successful national loan had ever been floated. There were 17,000,000 individual subscribers, one-sixth of the country's total population. Apart from the results obtained, the great number of subscribers was significant of the popular purpose to win the war.

The Ordnance Department, after initial delays that caused much criticism, reached a rapid stride. It provided for an army of 1,400,000 rifles and was turning out in June 45,000 a week, enough to equip three army divisions. It secured the delivery of 17,000 machine guns, and in May was producing them at the rate of 225,000 a year. Field guns, heavy and light, were being manufactured at the rate of 15,000 a year; 35,000 motor trucks and tractors were being built to carry the guns with their ammunition. The Browning machine gun was pronounced a remarkable success, and it

was stated that early in June thousands of these guns would be turned out weekly.

The Administration's plans, submitted to Congress early in May, contemplated a force of approximately 3,000,000 men and 160,000 officers. These were to be in the field by July 1, 1919. For the support, transportation, and equipment of the army, $15,000,000,000 was asked for the next fiscal year, although it was explained that other large sums would be needed for ordnance and that a deficiency bill might have to be introduced.

Although the exact figure of the troops already in France was not then given out, it was officially announced by Secretary Baker on May 8 that more than 500,000 American soldiers were then abroad and it was intimated that by July 1 the forces in France would number at least 1,000,000.

The fighting in Picardy hastened troop movements, and a most gratifying feature of the situation was that the accelerated transportation was effected with a loss of less than 300 men through attacks of enemy submarines.

A notable address was made by President Wilson in Baltimore on April 6. The meeting was called for the purpose of stimulating enthusiasm in the Liberty Loan campaign, which was just opening. But after a brief reference to this the body of the speech was devoted to a denunciation of the terms imposed on Russia and Rumania by Germany. The keynote of the speech was unalterable determination to prevent Germany's retention of the spoils secured through these treaties, and the most striking sentence was the one with which the President concluded:

"There is therefore but one response possible for us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

Seldom had an official utterance more fully caught or expressed the spirit of the nation. A hardening of the popular will to win the war was patent to every observer. Pacifist voices were stilled. German cynicism, expressed alike in treaty making and treaty breaking, went far toward convincing America that freedom from Teutonic domination could be assured only by a military decision. That decision was being sought with America's first military blows in France. When this period ended a great and growing army under the United States flag was facing the enemy on the western front in readiness to do its part in deciding the future of civilization.

WHERE THE AMERICANS ARE FIGHTING IN FRANCE

The eight-mile sector on the Lorraine front taken over by the Americans lies between Fliry and Apremont on the southern side of the St. Mihiel salient. Arrows indicate other sectors where Americans are fighting

(© *The New York Times Company*)

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

A new portrait of the British Commander in Chief from a drawing in color by Francis Dodd

(Reproduced from "Generals of the British Army," by courtesy of the George H. Doran Company)

PERIOD XLIII.

America in the War—Blockade of Germany Complete—A Review of the U-boat Campaign—Russia's Capitulation—Allies Denounce Russian Treaties—Rumania Forced to Make Peace—The Brest-Litovsk Debates—The Internal Policy of the Bolsheviki—German Methods of Decoying Russians—Poland Asserts Herself—The Causes of Russia's Downfall—The Menace of the Modern Thug—Germany's Plan to Divide Belgium—History of the Belgian People—Chancellor von Hertling's Reply to President Wilson—Mr. Balfour's Rejoinder to Count Hertling—Labor's War Aims—The Battle of Cambrai—Heroic Deeds of British Soldiers—War Widows of the Poor in Paris—The Bombardment of Rheims—Food Shortage in the Central Empires—New Light on Polish History—Serbia's History in the Light of the War—Italy's Rescue of the Serbian Army—The Jerusalem Campaign—British Victories in Mesopotamia.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended March 20, 1918]

The Month's War Developments

THE chief events during the month ended March 20, 1918, were political. Transcending all else in importance was the complete collapse of Russia, an event in which the policy of the Bolsheviki attained its logical result in their acceptance of a humiliating peace, forced upon them by the Central Powers. Rumania followed suit, being compelled by her isolation to sign a mortifying peace in order to escape the complete extinction of her separate sovereignty. The secession of Ukrainia and Finland from the former Russian Empire had provoked civil war, and fierce struggles raged in both regions throughout the month between the secessionists, who were aided by the Germans and Austrians, and the Bolsheviki.

The Germans made a separate peace treaty with Finland, as they had with Ukrainia, and crossed the latter country to the Black Sea, occupying Kiev, Odessa, and other chief cities on the pretense of aiding the Rada. The Turks at the same time received a valuable strip of Trans-Caucasia, torn from Russia by the peace treaty, while Rumania was forced to give up her Black Sea littoral, thus placing that sea wholly under control of the Central Powers, with unobstructed rail connection from Berlin to Odessa, thence through Batum, on the Asiatic side, into the heart of Asia.

The Supreme War Conference, consisting of the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, issued a declaration on March 19 refusing to acknowledge the peace treaties signed by the Russians and Rumanians, and pledging their countries to continue fighting until they had "finished once for all the German policy of plunder, and established in its place the peaceful reign of organized justice."

There was considerable agitation over the possible intervention of Japan in Siberia in order to protect the allied interests in that part of Asia. All the allied countries gave their assent; the United States registered no protest, but refused to assent to the suggestion.

The United States and Great Britain, on March 14, announced their intention of seizing more than 600,000 tons of Dutch shipping which had been lying idle in their ports, agreeing to make reparation and give compensation at the end of the war, meanwhile supplying fuel and food to Holland. This action was taken in consequence of the refusal of the Dutch to transfer their ships voluntarily on account of threats by Germany to torpedo these vessels if Holland yielded to the Allies' request.

The American troops took over three sectors of the front in France. Troops continued to leave American ports in large numbers throughout the month. No figures were given out, but it was stated that the expectation of having 500,000 men in France in the early Spring would be realized. Details of the prodigious progress made by the United States in war preparations appear in subsequent pages of this issue.

The military operations of the month were unimportant. The expected German offensive on the western front did not materialize. The activities consisted of numerous raids from both sides. The British made further advances in Palestine and Mesopotamia. There were intermittent raids and bombardments on the Italian front, but no general engagement developed.

* * *

The War Forced on France

STEPHEN PICHON, the French Foreign Minister, in an address at the Sorbonne in Paris, March 1, 1918, made public two documents, one of which made clear the German Government's long-standing determination to force war upon France, while the other furnished an acknowledgment by Germany that she regarded Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 as French territory. It was explained that the documents had not previously been

published, because the code could not be deciphered; the Foreign Office had succeeded only a few days before in decodifying the document. In referring to the forcing of the war, M. Pichon said:

I will establish by documents that the day the Germans deliberately rendered inevitable the most frightful of wars they tried to dishonor us by the most cowardly complicity in the ambush into which they drew Europe. I will establish it in the revelation of a document which the German Chancellor, after having drawn it up, preserved carefully, and you will see why, in the most profound mystery of the most secret archives.

We have known only recently of its authenticity, and it defies any sort of attempt to disprove it. It bears the signature of Bethmann Hollweg (German Imperial Chancellor at the outbreak of the war) and the date July 31, 1914. On that day von Schön (German Ambassador to France) was charged by a telegram from his Chancellor to notify us of a state of danger of war with Russia and to ask us to remain neutral, giving us eighteen hours in which to reply.

What was unknown until today was that the telegram of the German Chancellor containing these instructions ended with these words:

If the French Government declares it will remain neutral your Excellency will be good enough to declare that we must, as a guarantee of its neutrality, require the handing over of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun; that we will occupy them and will restore them after the end of the war with Russia. A reply to this last question must reach here before Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

That is how Germany wanted peace at the moment when she declared war! That is how sincere she was in pretending that we obliged her to take up arms for her defense! That is the price she intended to make us pay for our baseness if we had the infamy to repudiate our signature as Prussia repudiated hers by tearing up the treaty that guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium!

Bethmann Hollweg on March 18 acknowledged the accuracy of M. Pichon's quotation and declared that his instructions to von Schön were justified.

Taking up the question of Alsace-Lorraine, M. Pichon said:

Our mortal enemy in the war of 1871, von Moltke, declared on the morrow of the Treaty of Frankfort that it would require no less than fifty years to wean the heart of her lost provinces from France.

M. Pichon contrasted the German acceptance then that the provinces were in reality French with the reiterated pretensions of German statesmen since, especially the assertions of former Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg and the present Chancellor, Count von Hertling, that in the main the provinces were always German.

The Foreign Minister made public for the first time the full text of a letter written by William I., the grandfather of the present German Emperor, to Empress Eugénie. The letter is dated Versailles, Oct. 26, 1870, and says:

After the immense sacrifices for her defense, Germany desires to be assured that the next war will find her better prepared to repel the aggression upon which we can count as soon as France shall have repaired her forces and gained allies. This is the melancholy consideration alone, and not a desire to augment my country, whose territory is sufficiently great, that obliges me to insist upon a cession of territories that has no other object than to throw back to the starting point the French armies which in the future will come to attack us.

After reading this passage M. Pichon asked:

Can one better destroy the legend which von Hertling tries to establish—that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine had for its origin in the minds of its authors the wish to return to Germany German provinces of which she had been dispossessed by French usurpation?

* * *

Germany's Annexation Plans

HUGO HAASE, leader of the Independent Socialists, during an argument in the Main Committee of the Reichstag early in February, read excerpts from a secret official communication sent to the Austro-Hungarian Government by Chancellor Michaelis outlining the German Government's plans for annexation of parts of Russia and France. He read these for the purpose of proving that the German Government, while pretending to pay heed to the Reichstag majority resolution of July 19, 1917, calling for peace without annexations or war indemnities, really had no idea of giving up its Junker policy of seizing all the foreign territory it thought practicable. When the items were read the Government's representa-

tives at the session did not question their genuineness, but a few days later the Kölnische Zeitung, a Government mouthpiece, tried to prove them falsified. In answer, says The Manchester Guardian, Deputy Haase gave the document, which was written by the then Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, to the Leipziger Volkszeitung for publication. Its sailent paragraphs read as follows:

The motive of all of Germany's acts is the lack of territory, both for the development of commerce and colonization. Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of a route to the southeast. And these two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England. Our object is the permanent securing of the German Empire in Central Europe and the extension of its territory.

No one who understands the significance of this war can doubt that, in spite of our wish to be moderate, we shall not allow ourselves to be deterred from extending the borders of the empire and from, under all circumstances, annexing such territories as are fitted for colonization and are not subjected to the influence of the sea powers.

We cannot defeat Russia, because we are not in a position to strike directly at the heart of the country, but we can weaken her materially by taking away her border territories, the Baltic provinces. By using skillful policies the Baltic provinces can easily be Germanized. They will be settled with Germans and their population will double itself. That is the reason why they must be annexed.

We wish the independence of the Ukraine and hope that the Ukraine will, if possible, be bounded by a line that can easily be defended against the Russians.

The frontier between the German Empire and Poland must be materially altered. Esthonia and North Livonia will be completely protected through the fortification of the right bank of the Narva and the Pripet. The lakes, which we shall not leave in the hands of the Russians at any price, will be included within our borders. The Dagö and Oesel Islands will remain German in order to make the Baltic safe against attack from the sea.

We shall take only parts of French territory so as to safeguard the empire against future attacks by the republic.

In the Vosges the boundary line must be improved through the annexation of some valleys, so that the German frontier troops can no longer be fired upon from French territory. France will lose Briey and a strip of land west of Luxemburg. The value of Briey in an economic and military sense is evident from the fact that 16,000,000 tons of iron ore are produced there. For the safeguarding of the German and Luxemburg iron industry and its territory Longwy must remain in our hands. France must be compensated by a piece of the provinces of Hennegau, Brabant, and Luxemburg.

* * *

Duration of the Present War and of Former Wars

IN considering the probable duration of the war, the analogy is suggested that in earlier periods of European history wars continued through whole generations. When, in 1066, the Duke of Normandy, the greatest vassal of France, became also King of England, the Kings of France began a struggle, which continued at intervals for centuries, to drive the rulers of England from French soil. A period of great military activity began in 1338, when Edward III. declared war on France, thus opening the first hundred years' war, which lasted, with brief truces, until 1453, and of which Joan of Arc was the heroine. A second period of protracted fighting began with the wars of Louis XIV., in 1667, when his ambition to conquer the Netherlands was frustrated by William of Orange, (later King of England.)

After a lull fighting began again in 1689, which was destined to continue almost up to the time of the French Revolution, and which involved both America and India. In 1756 Washington and Clive, the one in Pennsylvania, the other on the Ganges, were both English officers fighting against France. This second hundred years' war included the war of the Spanish succession, in which the first Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, won supreme distinction, and the war of the Austrian succession, which laid the foundation of Prussia's future power. The last period, from 1775 to 1783, covered the time of our own Revolution.

After a very brief interval the wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon I. followed, covering the periods from 1792 to 1815. From 1803 to 1815 there was almost incessant fighting, made notable by the supreme military genius of Napoleon. Another long war belongs more to German history—the Thirty

Years' War, 1618-48. It is recorded to have been the most destructive and bloodthirsty war in history. Mansfield and Wallenstein, one on either side, adopted the policy of "frightfulness," by which half the population and two-thirds of the property of Germany were swept out of existence. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

* * *

For a Czecho-Slovak Nation

A DECLARATION in favor of complete independence for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in a unified Czecho-Slovak State was adopted at Prague on Jan. 6, 1918, by a convention which included all the Czechoslovak Deputies in the Austrian Reichsrat and in the Diets of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, together with representatives of the commercial and literary classes, besides Dr. Kramarzh and other Deputies who were deprived of their seats in the Reichsrat, and imprisoned for their participation in a similar declaration on May 30 last by the club of Czech Deputies in the Reichsrat. The convention was described as "a Constituent Assembly of the Czech Nation."

The declaration of the convention was suppressed by the Austrian censor and did not reach the United States until March 14. It was reaffirmed on Feb. 10, according to Czechoslovak leaders in this country, by a meeting of Czech Deputies of the Reichsrat, including all the representatives of all parties.

The resolution of Jan. 6, together with criticisms of Count Czernin's attitude in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk which were made at the same meeting, were bitterly attacked in the Austrian Reichsrat on Jan. 22 by Dr. von Seydler, the Prime Minister, who has since resigned. "One looks in vain in this resolution," he said, "for even a distant note of at-"tachment to the dynasty and the State "as a whole. Our enemies may read in "it an encouragement to persevere in "the pursuit of principles which conflict "with the existence of the present Aus-"trian State. It must be rejected with "indignation by every Austrian and re-"sisted by every Austrian Government "with all the means at its disposal."

The only reply to this was the reaffirmation of Feb. 10 and the declaration of Czech newspapers of all parties, including the Socialist, that the nation stood firmly behind its representatives.

* * *

American Lithuanians in Convention

A CONVENTION of 1,800 Lithuanian delegates from all parts of the United States, comprising representative men of that nationality in this country, was held in New York, March 14-15, 1918. Resolutions were adopted repeating the demand for absolute independence for Lithuania "as a sovereign and independent "democratic State within its own ethno-"graphic boundaries, with the necessary "corrections." Fear that the peace conferences at the war's end might be influenced to insist on union with Poland was expressed by many of the speakers, and there was insistence by the entire convention that the independence to be accorded the nation must be entire and free from any Polish connection.

While the suggestion of several delegates that Poland be named specifically in the resolutions demanding independence was not carried out, the opposition to union with Poland was so marked that a resolution was adopted declaring that land in Lithuania should be owned only by citizens of Lithuania. "This is aimed," said a statement issued by the organization of the convention, "against the dan-"ger of other nations buying up the land "and colonizing with men of their own "nationality." This danger is feared from both Germany and Poland, and the present ownership of large estates in Lithuania by a Polonized nobility gave a considerable impetus to the support of this resolution.

It was also voted as the sentiment of the convention, however, that full freedom should be accorded to the peoples of other nationalities living within the Lithuanian Republic. This would give recognition of cultural rights to the Polish minority found in many districts where the population is predominantly Lithuanian, but more particularly it would operate to guarantee cultural autonomy for the very

large Jewish element in the population of the country.

The Roman Catholic delegates joined in a cablegram to the Pope expressive of appreciation for his "hearty support of "the right of nations to self-determina- "tion," and for his "paternal interest in "Lithuania."

* * *

The Kaiser's Paeans of Victory

THE capitulation of the Bolshevist Government of Russia was the occasion of a series of telegrams by the Kaiser in response to congratulations. These characteristic utterances indicate a fresh increase in the Kaiser's faith in the sword. On March 6 the following telegrams were sent:

To Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

Now the costly prize of victory in the long struggle is in our hands. Our Baltic brethren and countrymen are liberated from Russia's yoke, and may again feel themselves Germans. God was with us, and will continue to aid us.

To King Frederick August of Saxony:

I feel the greatest gratitude toward God and the army, which has extorted this peace. The east front now having become free, we have made an enormous step forward. Firmly trusting in the sword, I face a future which will, after all heavy sacrifices, bring us victory and a strong peace.

To Prince Leopold of Bavaria (Praising his troops):

In irresistible marches over bad roads in ice and snow they did their utmost. The victorious march in the last fortnight will remain a glorious page in the history of the German Army.

On March 8:

To Philip Heineken, Director North German Lloyd Steamship Company:

The German sword is our best protection. With God's help it will also bring us peace in the west and, indeed, the peace which, after much distress and many troubles, the German people need for a happy future.

To the Vice President of the Reichstag:

The complete victory fills me with gratitude. It permits us to live again one of those great moments in which we can reverently admire God's hand in history. The turn that events have taken is by the disposition of God.

The heroic deeds of our troops, the successes of our great Generals, and the wonderful achievements of those at home have their roots in moral forces and in the categorical imperative which has been inculcated in our people in a hard school. They will also carry us through in a decisive and final battle to victory.

In the great tasks upon which the conclusion of peace, reconstruction, and the healing of the wounds of war will set us I desire my people to rely on the old historical experience that unity means strength. May our people face the new time and its tasks with a strong sense of the realities, with unbending faith in themselves and their mission, and with strong, patriotic, and proud joy in the Fatherland, bound to me and my house by old and proved bonds of mutual trust. I do not doubt that a rich, strong, and happy people will arise out of the storms and sacrifices of this time.

On March 9 the following:

To the Bremen Senate:

In long years of struggle the German people in arms, led by ideal Generals, have broken the Russian power and won the safety of the empire in the east. Moreover, we are finally able to respond to the call for help by the hard-pressed Germans and border peoples of Russia, who were striving for free development, and to secure for them a guarantee of new and better times.

When we look back over the events of these years and grasp the significance of the peace gained in the east, which means the bursting of the ring the enemy laid around us, we must look up to Almighty God with heartfelt thanks, who has so gloriously directed everything. We will draw from this fact strong confidence that the end of the world war will open a happy future to our beloved German Fatherland.

On March 10:

To the Prussian Upper House:

Even if the road to a general peace is a long one, a good beginning has been made, and I confidently trust that our victorious sword and steadfast unity in this serious work soon will bring us within sight of the goal, which will give us the great peace. God grant it.

To the East Prussian Diet:

The Province of East Prussia is especially dear to my heart. In this war it has made great sacrifices and, therefore, it will more gladly acknowledge the hand of God as now shown in the east. We owe our victory largely to the moral and spiritual treasures which the great philosopher of Königsberg bestowed upon our people. [The reference is to Immanuel Kant, who was born there in 1724.]

* * *

THE number of noncombatants, including women and children, who lost their lives in air raids in England up to Feb. 13, 1918, was 1,284; 3,105 were in-

jured. The number of noncombatants of Great Britain, including women and children, killed by German U-boats during the war up to Feb. 13, 1918, totaled 12,836. No statistics are given of the number of submarine victims whose health has been permanently injured by their experience.

* * *

The Checkered History of Odessa

THE seizure of Odessa by a German force, several days after the signing of a peace with Ukrainia, in whose territory Odessa is at present, recalls the many vicissitudes of the great Black Sea port, which has, at different periods, been in the hands of half a dozen nationalities. During the days following the expedition of Jason and the Argonauts to seek the golden fleece in what is now Georgia, (a small country which still depicts the golden fleece in its national coat of arms,) there was extensive Greek colonization of the northern shore of the Euxine or Black Sea, and a grand trade route ran from Odessos, a Greek settlement half way between the Dnieper and the Bug, as far north as the Baltic, from which amber was brought to Greece.

For several centuries, this region drops out of history, to reappear, in the fourteenth century, as a port of Lithuania; it was subsequently held by the Poles, who absorbed Lithuania; by the Tartars, and by the Turks, who, after much hard fighting, finally ceded it to Russia in 1791, in the days of Catherine the Great, who owes her title largely to this victorious war against Turkey. A French Captain, de Ribas, a French architect, Voland, and a French nobleman, Armand, Duc de Richelieu, greatly enlarged and beautified the city under Catherine's orders, and Richelieu's statue still dominates the city, standing in the central square at the head of the immense staircase of 200 granite steps which leads down from the high ground on which the city is built to the quays of the port.

This high ground, from 100 to 150 feet above sea level, runs back into the "black soil" of the rich wheat lands. It rests on sandstone, which has been quarried out, forming catacombs beneath the town. Odessa, (which had, just before the war, a population of 630,000, being the third city in Russia,) though it is in the south of Russia, lies, in fact, about on the latitude of Montreal, and has a correspondingly severe climate, with a Winter average of 23 degrees Fahrenheit, so that the harbors are frozen for two or three weeks each year. Moscow is more than a thousand miles north of Odessa.

* * *

Achievements of Great Britain in 1917

ANDREW BONAR LAW, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking in the House of Commons Feb. 14, summarized the achievements of the Government in 1917 as follows:

Man-Power.—In 1917 we put into the army 820,645 additional men. We placed in civil employment at home 731,000 men and 804,000 women.

Food Production.—Last year 1,000,000 additional acres were brought under the plough. The additional amount of cereals produced was 850,000 tons, and of potatoes 3,000,000 tons. Already this year a further 800,000 acres had been brought under the plough in England, and 400,000 in Scotland and Wales.

Wheat Stocks.—There were 2,000,000 more quarters of wheat in this country at the end of last year than at the end of December, 1916.

Shipbuilding.—In 1916 the total quantity built was 539,000 tons. In 1917 the tonnage built in this country was 1,163,474 tons, and we secured abroad 170,000 tons in addition.

Better Use of Ships.—Notwithstanding the loan of 1,500,000 gross tons to the Allies we imported precisely the same amount from September to November last year as from February to April. Whereas before the war every 100 tons net shipping brought to this country 106 tons of goods, the average was now 150 tons.

Timber.—We succeeded last year in reducing the imports of timber by 3,000,000 tons. That has been made good by an increase of 1,800,000 tons at home, and the balance has been made good by our work in France.

Munitions.—The number of guns available in France increased last year by 30 per cent. The supply of airplanes in 1917 was two and a half times as great as in 1916.

AMERICA IN THE WAR

A MONTH'S PROGRESS IN BELLIGERENT ACTIVITIES AT HOME AND AT THE FRONT

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 18, 1918]

A LARGER number of American troops on four different sectors of the French front and a growing casualty list have been the chief indications during the last month of the increasing strength of the United States as a military factor in the war. At home the army has been growing mainly through enlistments in the regular branch of the service, by the calling up of the last increments of the first draft for the national army, and of additional men to replace those who have fallen out through death, illness, and other causes. The multifarious activities of equipping troops, providing munitions and supplies, and keying up the war machine are outlined in the article on Page 14. War Department and army officials have made many changes and improvements in the light of criticism and experience, and there has consequently been a marked decrease in the amount of faultfinding and dissatisfaction.

In the industrial sphere there has been corresponding progress. The railway congestion and coal shortage of January were relieved by the drastic measures already recorded in these pages, and the projected series of ten "heatless Mondays" was discontinued after the third week. The most serious delay in the war program has been in aircraft production; in consequence, German aviators have been able to fly over the American lines and obtain valuable information as to the positions held by our troops.

In shipbuilding, the initial stage of creating and equipping yards is well-nigh complete, and all the big establishments created in the last few months are now rapidly laying keels. From some of the new yards ships have already been launched, and will soon be ready for service. Much of the discontent of the workmen has disappeared, and by a process of eliminating the less competent and more unruly the labor forces are both more adequate and more adapted to fulfilling the nation's requirements.

With the passing of the Winter the fuel situation has eased; while food, though still at the abnormal prices caused by unusual conditions, causes no anxiety.

The chief measure passed by Congress has been the Railroad Control bill, which in its final form prescribes that the roads are to remain in the hands of the Government for twenty-one months after the war, and that the guaranteed income to the owners shall be about $945,000,000 a year. Legislation to establish a War Finance Corporation is still under discussion. A bill to increase the war powers of the President is meeting with considerable opposition. A bill to set forward the clocks of the country one hour during the seven months beginning the last Sunday in March has been passed. The daylight saving law, as it is called, will, it is expected, effect considerable economies in fuel for lighting purposes.

The further financing of the war is to be partly met by a third Liberty loan, the opening of which has been set for April 6.

The embargo laws, controlling exports and imports, have proved very effective in compelling the neutral countries of Northern Europe to enter into agreements which practically complete the blockade of Germany.

The summary of casualties to March 18 among American troops showed 152 killed in action, 142 killed by accident, 671 died of disease, 237 lost at sea, 6 fatally gassed, 584 wounded, 21 captured, and 14 missing.

Americans' Baptism of Fire in France

FOR an ever-increasing number of American soldiers life in the trenches, with its attendant risks and excitements of making or repelling raids, is becoming a matter of course. Slowly and steadily the men of Pershing's army have been taking over parts of the line hitherto held by the French, and are now in positions on at least four sectors of the front. The longest of these sectors is that northwest of Toul, and is about eight miles in length. [For maps see article on "Military Events of the Month."]

While the primary object of occupying trenches on different parts of the line has so far been that of training officers and men in modern warfare, the beginnings of the nation's sacrifice are seen in the classified list of casualties which was published by the War Department on March 15. From the arrival of the first contingent in France up to that date the summary showed the following:

Killed in action	136
Killed by accident	134
Died of disease	641
Lost at sea	237
Suicide	11
Unknown causes	13
Died of wounds	26
Executed	1
Civilians	7
Gassed	6
Total deaths	1,212
Wounded	475
Captured	21
Missing	14
Total casualties	1,722

Soon after the Americans took up positions in the sector northwest of Toul the Germans began to concentrate artillery opposite them, and, aided by airplanes, which flew repeatedly over the American positions, made a target of them. From hardly more than 150 shells a day the Germans now increased the number to about a thousand, but the American guns replied with at least two or three shells for every one fired by the Germans. Artillery dueling thus became as much a feature of the Americans' training under actual war conditions as infantry work. The activity of the German airplanes was the most exasperating to them, because of lack of machines to fight them, especially when German aviators dared to fly low enough to empty machine guns into the American trenches and positions behind the lines.

The participation of American units in the defense of the famous Chemin des Dames (Aisne) sector was announced on Feb. 22. They had been there for some time, but their presence was kept a secret until it was certain that the enemy knew of their presence. This announcement showed that United States troops were now on the front in three different sectors, namely St. Mihiel, Champagne, and the Aisne. The first raid in which Americans took part in the Chemin des Dames sector was in conjunction with French troops on Feb. 23. A whole battalion volunteered, but only two officers and twenty-six men were selected to make up the party of 100 men who, protected by barrage fire, raided the German lines and captured a number of prisoners.

Americans were subjected to two formidable gas attacks on the morning of Feb. 26. Some of the men were caught by the gas before they were able to adjust their masks, with the result that several were fatally gassed; altogether about sixty men were more or less severely affected by the poisonous fumes. A couple of days later the Germans again used gas in a vigorous attack which was preceded by a heavy barrage fire directed against the American positions. The French and German official reports of March 1, describing a hand-to-hand encounter in which Americans were associated with French troops, indicated that one of the American positions was near Chavignon, north of the western end of the Chemin des Dames and a mile and a half northwest of Pargny-Filain.

Both on the Chemin des Dames and Toul sectors the Germans continued to make attacks which were obviously

directed against the American positions and to counter the raids by American troops. American heavy artillery was brought into action with good results, while the infantrymen acquitted themselves excellently. They were becoming accustomed to gas attacks and to meet the onset of German troops specially trained in trench raiding and shock tactics. A map found on the body of a German officer who was killed in one of these attacks proved how completely the Germans prepared their raids. It showed in detail every machine-gun emplacement, every trench, and every depression in the ground within the American lines.

A dispatch dated March 6 contained the information that American troops were on still another part of the French front, a sector in Lorraine. This position was described as east of Lunéville, near the border between French and German Lorraine. From the point of view of artillery fighting, this sector became the liveliest of any occupied by the Americans. American artillerymen demolished the German trenches and American infantry captured enemy positions northwest and northeast of Badonviller, which is about fifty-five miles southeast of where the United States troops were located in the Toul sector. The raids carried out by the Americans near Lunéville were the most important to date.

General Pershing returned to his headquarters on Feb. 22 after a tour of inspection of the American front. He found that the troops were making steady progress daily and that by the midsummer of 1918 they ought to be in a position to give material aid to the Allies. The improvement since his visit four weeks previously was most marked.

It became known on March 7 that the American expeditionary force, before undertaking its first campaign, was to be organized into army corps consisting of six divisions each on the basis of the three-line method of trench warfare evolved in France, and that three or more army corps would constitute a field army. In addition to the six infantry divisions, each corps commander would have under him about 30,000 men known as corps troops, comprising artillery units, engineers, and all types of service battalions for work on the communication lines.

Negotiations between the United States and Spanish Governments were concluded by the ratification on March 8 of an agreement under which General Pershing is to obtain army supplies from Spain.

The Secretary of War Visits France

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, with a staff of seven persons, arrived in France on March 10 on an American armored cruiser. The visit was undertaken at his own desire and with the approval of President Wilson. Mr. Baker was accompanied by Major Gen. William N. Black, Chief of Engineers of the Army; Lieut. Col. M. L. Brett, and Ralph Hayes, private secretary. During his absence the affairs of the War Department were handled by Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, with Major Gen. Peyton C. March as Acting Chief of Staff.

In Paris, where he arrived on March 11, Mr. Baker was received by General Pershing, General Bliss, French officers representing Premier Clemenceau, and Ambassador Sharp. French opinion, as expressed by the press, was enthusiastic over the visit of the American War Secretary. In the statement he gave out for publication, Mr. Baker said:

> Our purpose in visiting France is to confer with General Pershing, to visit the American expeditionary force, and inspect its lines of transportation and its storage and supply systems, in order that we in America can more effectively support our own army and the armies of our allies.
>
> Of course, any visit to France at this time is a pilgrimage to the very shrine of heroism, and it will be an inspiration actually to see the great commanders and the armies which have so long held the frontiers of freedom against all attacks.

In America, as in France, we have a civilian Secretary of War, and civil power is supreme. That is one of the characteristics of the free institutions which we are fighting to maintain.

Civil power must bring up the supplies of organized industrial resources and support its armies. In America now the dominant thought in all minds is war. Industry is organized and supplies are beginning to be produced in a satisfactory quantity. War materials are accumulating and a great army is completing its training to join the force already here.

There can be but one result when the forces of civilization in great countries like those now allied are combined to defend the vital principles of liberty. Our President has nobly phrased the spirit in which America entered the war, and his subsequent declarations reflect the feeling of the entire country that we are committed with all our resources to the winning of the war.

The American troops in the camps were delighted when they heard the news of Mr. Baker's arrival, because he would be able to see for himself the progress they had made and also discover on the spot deficiencies and requirements with which it was difficult to become acquainted in Washington.

Vast Supply Centres for Pershing's Army

Behind the Lines in France

BEHIND the American Army in France there has been steadily growing up an organization which may almost be likened to that of a vast colonial enterprise, including the building of docks, warehouses, railroads, plants, and dwelling places, all for the purpose of supplying the men at the front with war material and catering to their physical needs. All this work is being done by Americans and nearly everything required has been sent from America. In one French port alone the American docks are costing millions of dollars. Over $15,000,000 has already been spent on railroad construction, and it is now [March, 1918] possible to travel nearly 100 miles from the French coast on an American railroad.

Remarkable progress has been made by the American engineers in building warehouses and ordnance depots, despite the difficulties of transporting all the materials from America. The advance regulating station has nineteen warehouses completed, with a capacity of 5,000 tons each, to supply an army of 1,000,000 men. All this work, including the construction of the ordnance depot, railroad tracks, and barracks for several thousand men, has been completed since October, 1917.

Two intermediate stations can feed the same number. One has a refrigerating plant almost ready to hold 5,000 tons of meat and to manufacture 500 tons of ice daily.

There is a camouflage studio, where a number of American and French artists are employed to supply the army with imitation forest screens for the communicating roads at the front, and coverings for guns and artillery bases. Another depot has a salvage plant, repairing 2,000 garments and 200 pairs of shoes daily. Several thousand men are employed in construction work at the various American depots. A total of 125 miles of tracks has been laid to the depots.

The various functions of the system of storage, transportation, and distribution of the hundred and one kinds of supplies are localized in three towns or cities situated respectively at the three corners of a triangle, and near enough to the training camps and front so that supplies can reach the furthest points in twenty-four hours.

GREAT ARMY BAKERIES

No link in the chain between "a port in France" and the American front is, perhaps, more interesting than the bakeries. When the troops began to arrive last Summer it was announced that they would be the first soldiers in Europe to receive white bread. For a time the troops, however, had to eat the dark French bread, until bakeries could be

established. Then, when a few field ovens had been set up a short distance behind the camping-training line, the men began to get their pure white bread. But the output required for the first arrivals was relatively small, and imposed few difficulties either on the bakers or on transportation.

Not only has all that changed, but the task of supplying the American troops in France with white bread has become a genuine industry, which is growing all the time. The few bakers originally have grown into companies, the relatively small daily quantity of bread turned out in July, 1917, has increased to scores of thousands of pounds, and entire shiploads of flour are arriving weekly and are being stored away in warehouses with capacity of millions of pounds, as a reserve against the arrival of still more troops.

The site originally chosen for the baking industry was selected by those who foresaw that it soon would develop to large proportions. The American Army first took possession of a huge bakery in a central French city, formerly operated by a German, and having a capacity for storing 1,500,000 pounds of flour, in addition to a not inconsiderable daily output of bread from its cake ovens. For the moment this establishment was more than ample for the needs of the first troops, but these making the arrangements knew that the time would soon come when the city bakery would be inadequate. So they went outside of the city and leased from the French a tract of land consisting of several thousand acres, upon which the conventional military wooden shacks soon sprang up and where there is room for an indefinite number of additional field bakeries, as the need may arise. By the time the city bakery had reached its capacity, the shacks were fully equipped with the very latest in baking machinery, while alongside of each building where are operated the mixing and kneading troughs there had been installed rows upon rows of field ovens that open conveniently a few feet from side entrances to the shacks, so that the kneaded loaves may be passed directly into place over the fire.

BAKING BY WOOD FIRE

The American authorities early foresaw probable difficulties in procuring a steady supply of coal, and decided from the outset to use only wood, for which the ovens were accordingly arranged. A large detachment of engineers was assigned to assist the bakers, and now furnishes a daily carload of wood for each of the baking companies. Additional engineers have arrived as fast as have been needed, and the reserve supply of wood on hand makes the plateaulike baking camp resemble a felled forest.

One of the first concerns of the officers in charge of the bakery was to provide railroad facilities, and to this end spur tracks have been constructed out to the field from the city. Over these tracks whole carloads of bread leave each morning and afternoon for the training camps and the front.

Each baking company, though supposed only to have an output of 30,000 pounds a day, for some time has been turning out from 33,000 to 35,000 pounds. The men, 101 in the company, work in two twelve-hour shifts, alternating week by week in day and night work. Their product, chiefly great, round, hard-crusted loaves, constitutes about forty separate shipments that are made daily by train, motor truck, and horse-drawn vehicles. The loaves are very hard on the outside to protect the bread as it is transported, but are soft inside. No soldier's bread is more than twenty-four, in rare instances thirty-six, hours old when he gets it. The bread is supplemented by biscuits and rolls to vary the monotony at breakfast and supper. All the product of the bakery is made as in ordinary times at home, except that sugar, one and a quarter pounds to 100 pounds of flour, is now omitted. The ingredients are flour, water, salt, and yeast. Shipments of these ingredients are arriving very regularly and satisfactorily.

In the city itself the Americans found one of the largest refrigerating and meat storage warehouses in France, and absorbed it last July, even though it was then many times larger than their needs. Its capacity is close to 2,000,000 pounds,

and while at times it has been full or nearly full, the supply is never permitted to fall below 500,000 pounds. There are more than 600,000 pounds there now. Direct railroad lines lead not only from the bakery and the refrigerating plant to the camps, but also from the seaports and the city, so that there is a constant flow of material into town as well as out.

Several miles westward, at the lower apex of the triangle, lies another French town which has all but bodily been taken over by the Americans as a storage centre. Here everything that comes under the head of nonperishable foods—canned goods, salt, sugar, vegetables, other than those bought fresh from the French peasants—is stored in huge quantities against the time of need.

One of the largest buildings which the Americans have taken over is devoted to equipment. Here are stored thousands upon thousands of uniforms and every article of clothing from shoes and caps down to buttons and handkerchiefs. The supply is not only large enough to meet all the re-equipment needs of the troops, estimated at several pairs of shoes a year and three or four uniforms, but to outfit all the newcomers who may arrive.

The bakery and cold storage plants at one apex of the triangle and the storage houses for clothing and nonperishable goods at another apex are all permanent sources of supply, where materials and goods come in huge quantities and whence they leave in bulk. At the third and upper apex is the "separator," into which everything flows, where it is split up and parceled out, and from which it is sent in large and small lots, according to the needs of this or that camp. Here a complicated organization has grown up which, with endless freight cars, motor trucks and horse-drawn vehicles at its disposal, seizes the bulk goods as they arrive, divides them into the requisite shipments, and is responsible for their arrival at camp behind the front.

The men who are doing all this work have long hours—none of them is on duty less than twelve hours and most of them work longer—and what they do lacks the zest of the spectacular without being entirely free from the dangerous features of warfare. Minus the popular acclaim which the fighting soldier gets, they are steadily and earnestly making the latter's task possible, and in their own way doing their share to win the war.

Providing Pershing's Army With Battleplanes

Secretary Baker's Report of Progress

WIDE attention was attracted by a dispatch, dated Feb. 20, 1918, from The Associated Press correspondent with the American Army in France, stating that control of the air in the American sector was at that time held by the Germans. The dispatch, as passed by the censor, said:

> German airplanes come and go over the American lines almost at will. The chance of hitting an airplane with anti-aircraft shells is so remote that the enemy aviators calmly fly along as if on a pleasure tour. They take pictures, make observations, and do virtually whatever else they desire. It would be possible to carry quotations from virtually every officer at the front, urging a speedy appearance of large numbers of American airplanes with American pilots. There is only one way to wrest control of the air from the enemy—that is to fight him for it in the sky and to relieve him of it by force of overwhelming numbers.
>
> Any officer will say that the safety of individual soldiers depends upon keeping the enemy from doing as he pleases overhead. For days the Germans have been flying over some towns where American troops have been resting after periods in the trenches. Once or twice these daylight observation tours have been followed the same night by visits by enemy bombing planes. So free and unrestricted are the German airmen that in some towns the commands are under strict orders to disappear under cover the moment a German airplane is sighted. Moreover, officers say, more and more German airplanes are appearing in the sky, and in various quarters there is a growing belief that these are the first of

the machines which the Germans have been building to offset the large number of expected American airplanes in accordance with plans announced in the United States. Whether this belief is true or not, the fact remains that American troops are holding the sector and are endangered daily because there are no American airplanes with them. The question most asked from one end of the American front to the other is: "When are some American planes coming here?"

SECRETARY BAKER'S SUMMARY

Just before this dispatch was received, Mr. Baker, the Secretary of War, announced that the first American-built battleplanes were en route to the front in France. In the course of an important statement Mr. Baker summarized the story of America's efforts in aircraft production:

This first shipment, though in itself not large, marks the final overcoming of many difficulties met in building up this new and intricate industry.

These planes are equipped with the first Liberty motor from machine production. One of them in a recent test surpassed all records for speed and climbing for planes of that type.

Engine production, which began a month ago, is now on a quantity basis, and the peak of production will be reached in a few weeks. Only the twelve-cylinder type is being made, as developments abroad have made it wise to concentrate on the high-powered engine instead of the eight-cylinder.

These statements should not be exaggerated, but should be considered in the light of the following facts: After three years of warfare the total number of planes able to take the air at any one time on either side of the western front has not been over 2,500. This, combined with the fact that forty-six men are required on the ground for every plane in the air, gives a truer perspective of the European aviation situation than commonly possessed.

For every plane in the air there must be two replacement planes on the ground, and one training plane for every pilot who eventually reaches the front, with a spare engine for each plane. Moreover, while the American program has been delayed by difficulties which were impossible to foresee when the tentative program was adopted in all our lack of knowledge last Spring, it may be said that American planes are not due in France under the original schedule until July.

At the outbreak of war, the first step, both in sequence and importance, was to build up an industry to rush out the training planes needed for the prospective aviators who were immediately on hand. This fresh and most promising personnel afforded indeed America's largest immediate source of aid to her associate nations in the war, which, while well able to turn out the latest type of airplanes, were seriously drained of men capable of manning them. The ultimate goal, however, was the construction of a large fleet of battleplanes.

Serious Problems Solved

Two serious problems, interwoven and reacting, were immediately met, the almost total lack both of airplane industry and of airplane engineering knowledge. The industry was rudimentary, with only one company on an appreciable production basis and another dozen small experimental companies. The metal work was mostly done by hand, each machine built as a separate unit, and little attempt made to manufacture from dies, jigs, or gauges. The estimates of the total value of the industry vary from $2,000,000 to $10,000,000 and of employes from 5,000 to 10,000. The Government was practically the only purchaser, having ordered 366 planes the year before the war, of which only sixty-six were actually delivered.

The engineering problems were even more complex. Europe, at war with the best engineers of each country pitted against each other in a struggle which knew no close, had worked out the most ingenious developments in the light of actual fighting experience. Information reaching here was generally fragmentary and always late. As a result, when war came, the United States had practically no airplane engineering staff and no modern fighting planes.

Construction of planes presented a much more complex problem than that of engines, which had been developed and produced here for other purposes on a colossal scale. The extreme refinement of their manufacture, requiring 23,000 screws in a single fighter, or 700 pieces of wood in a single wing, necessitated the most expert workmanship and balance to secure the essential combination of lightness with strength, and seemed to militate against quantity production.

New Ideas From Europe

The first step was to secure information from Europe. A commission was early sent across and rushed back the last minute details, upon the strength of which a large number of fighting planes of a certain type were ordered. The raw materials were very largely in hand and the drawings within several days of completion, when another cable said that this type had been superseded and should not be built. Nearly a month was thus

lost. Drawings then came for another type. They had just been redrawn for American manufacture and the diemakers put to work when a second and different set arrived. The work had to be cast aside and the process begun over again. Just as it was nearing completion, still a third set of drawings arrived and a third start was necessary. The unavoidable loss of time was preferred to turning out a design known at the outset to be out of date.

The effect of separation from the battlefields by 3,000 miles is further shown in that anywhere from seventeen days to eleven weeks have been required to secure various important samples from abroad. Another three weeks of day and night work is necessary to reduce the samples to drawings for American manufacture. It is significant of the rapid development of the art of aviation that not a single type of the original schedule has survived into the present program.

During the last months, however, a responsive channel of communication with the Allies has been opened, the latest types adapted to American manufacture, the industry increased at least twenty-fold, the training plane problem solved, and the production of battleplanes begun. It is still very necessary, however, to view America's effort in aviation against the true perspective, both in this country and in Europe.

The great problem now remaining is to secure the thousands of skilled mechanics, engine men, motor repair men, wood and metal workers, &c., needed to keep the planes always in perfect condition. This great engineering and mechanical force at the airdromes, the flying fields, and the repair depots, both here and behind the line in France, is a vital industrial link in the chain to air supremacy. Without them the planes turned out would soon be useless and the fliers helpless.

At best the life of a plane is but two months, and the engines must be overhauled after seventy-five hours, while a pilot on a plane allowed to leave the hangars in imperfect condition is as helpless as a bird with a broken wing. Now that American battleplanes are going overseas, a great increase in the volunteering of skilled mechanics is both essential and expected.

On being questioned regarding the report that German airplanes were in control over the American lines in France, Mr. Baker said: "We are in close touch with the situation, and it is only fair to assume that the American aviation program is being pressed forward as rapidly as possible." Mr. Baker refused to deny or confirm the statements contained in the dispatch.

General Pershing already has the services of a considerable contingent of experienced airmen. All the "aces" and other leading American members of what was known as the Lafayette Escadrille, composed of American fliers who until recently served under the French Army, have been commissioned for service in the American Army.

Military Preparations at Home

THE month ended March 20 brought visible progress in improving the organization of the new American armies. With the appointment of two additional Assistant Secretaries of War, by authority of an act of Congress, the personnel of Mr. Baker's staff now consists of:

BENEDICT CROWELL of Ohio, the present Assistant Secretary of War, Administrative Director of the War Department, who has relieved the Secretary of War of a large amount of his administrative duties and who acted as Secretary of War in the absence of Secretary Baker in Europe.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS of New York, Assistant Secretary of War in charge of all industrial work and all purchasing for the army.

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK of New York, Assistant Secretary of War in charge of all nonmilitary work pertaining to soldiers, such as training camp welfare work.

JOHN C. SCOFIELD of Vermont, the present Assistant Chief Clerk of the War Department, in charge of all departmental routine, including the supervision of the heavy increase in the clerical force of the War Department and the army.

The War Council of the War Department, established by Secretary Baker on Dec. 15, 1917, was strengthened on March 8, 1918, by the addition of:

MAJOR GEN. GEORGE W. GOETHALS, the Quartermaster General of the Army;

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, and

MAJOR GEN. PEYTON C. MARCH, in place of General Bliss, who is remaining in

AN IMPOSING REVIEW OF UNITED STATES TROOPS

Selectmen of the National Army at Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga., passing in review order a group of General Staff officers. The photograph was taken at the moment when the officers were saluting the Stars and Stripes

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

Five thousand artillerymen with their guns assembling on the parade ground at one of the new training camps in the United States

(© *Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood*)

France indefinitely as a member of the Interallied War Council.

The Administration initiated a policy of taking Congress into its confidence on March 14 when Acting Secretary Crowell invited members of the Senate Military Committee to attend a session of the War Council. This was followed by a similar invitation to the House Military Committee, and it was stated that these conferences were to be held regularly. In this way the War Department met the demand of Congress for a greater share in the conduct of the war, giving members an opportunity to co-operate while policies were in the making instead of criticising afterward.

SIX MONTHS' EXPENDITURES

In a financial statement issued by the Secretary of the Treasury on Feb. 17, covering the first half of the fiscal year ended Dec. 31, 1917, it was shown that the military establishment had expended $1,762,000,000 in six months, as compared with estimates of War Department heads that expenses for the entire year ending June 30, 1918, would be $8,790,000,000. Although the rate of expenditures thus shown was far under the early estimates, the Treasury statement indicated a rapidly increasing outlay, the month of November accounting for $387,000,000, whereas December figures amounted to $450,000,000.

Voluntary enlistments in the regular army after April 1, 1917, reached 389,685 on March 14, 1918. This was more than double the authorized war strength of the regular army.

Reclassification according to physical condition of the men to be called in the second draft for the national army was required in revised instructions issued on March 7 to Medical Advisory Boards. It was provided that every man summoned should be placed in one of the following classes: (A) Acceptable for general military service; (B) Acceptable for general military service after being cured of remediable defect; (C) Acceptable for special or limited military service in a specified capacity or occupation; (D) Rejected and exempted from any military service.

Plans for the division of the United States into munition districts to bring about decentralization and closer contact with the manufacturers of munitions were announced on March 10 by General Wheeler, Acting Chief of Ordnance. The country was divided into ten zones, with district headquarters at New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Rochester, Boston, New Haven, Detroit, Cincinnati, and Chicago. In each of these cities a leading business man was selected as District Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department. Colonel Guy E. Tripp of New York, ex-Chairman of the Westinghouse Company, and now Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department, worked out the details of the plan. General W. S. Peirce, head of the bureau in which is the Finance Division of the Ordnance Department, and Colonel B. W. Dunn, head of the Inspection Division, arranged to follow the same decentralization plan and to have their field forces in the same district headquarters as the Production Department. Colonel Samuel McRoberts, formerly Vice President and Executive Manager of the National City Bank, who is now at the head of the Procurement Division of the Ordnance Department, is also co-operating with the district officers.

NEW MACHINE GUNS

The much-discussed Browning automatic machine guns, light and heavy, which have been adopted for the American Army, were publicly demonstrated and tested on Feb. 27. Before 300 persons, including British, French, Italian, and Belgian Army officers, Members of Congress, and about fifty newspaper men, the tests were conducted on the Government rifle range at Congress Heights, southeast of Washington. After the demonstration every spectator was impressed with the success achieved by the weapons.

The light Browning rifle weighs only fifteen pounds. The heavy gun weighs thirty-four and one-half pounds. Both guns fire the same ammunition that the American forces in France are using in the Springfields and modified Enfields—the rimless .30 calibre, cupro nickel jack-

eted bullets, which have a pressure of 50,000 pounds to the square inch when fired. The ammunition is interchangeable for all four weapons, the Springfield, the modified Enfield, the light Browning automatic rifle, and the heavy Browning machine gun.

The light Browning rifle, demonstrated in the hands of ten enlisted men of the army, is officially described as "the Browning machine rifle, model of 1918, air-cooled," and is the authorized lightweight machine gun of the United States Army. It may be fired from the shoulder or hip, in bursts of twenty shots, or by single shots. It is both semi-automatic and fully automatic, that is, the soldier by pressing a lever on the side of the weapon may have it shoot continuously or semi-automatically, or in single shots. In the hands of the ten enlisted men advancing across the range during the public test, firing at dummy targets, the light Browning rifle fired twenty continuous shots in 2½ seconds. These shots are carried in cartridge magazines, which are attached beneath the gun just forward of the trigger, and can be changed by the rifleman in 2½ seconds. Advancing behind each rifleman was another enlisted man carrying the reserve supply of ammunition, which was handed to the riflemen in magazines each containing twenty shots.

The Browning heavy machine gun is also of 1918 model and water-cooled. This gun is fed from a belt of 250 rounds of cartridges. Its features are endurance and simplicity of mechanism, rendering manufacture easy. In the official Government test this gun fired 39,500 shots without a break. At another test 20,000 shots were fired in forty-eight minutes, eighteen seconds, without malfunction and only three stoppages, each due to a defective cartridge. This gun weighs only thirty-four and one-half pounds with the water jacket around the barrel filled. It operates from a tripod and is effective for overhead, indirect, barrage, and defensive fire.

Both guns are being manufactured by machine process, and will reach the peak of production on a large quantity basis by June, when several thousand guns of each type will be turned out weekly. It is the intention of the War Department to get both types of weapons to the fighting fronts as rapidly as they can be transported for use by General Pershing's men.

RIFLES IN LARGE QUANTITIES

In regard to rifles, it was reported on Feb. 22 that the Ordnance Department was producing the new Enfields in such quantities that all camps and cantonments had been supplied and full reserves had been provided. In addition a reserve stock of slightly more than 100,000 modified Enfields was stored in arsenals and depots. The Ordnance Department was now obtaining these rifles at the rate of about 250,000 a month.

A summary of the reorganization of the Quartermaster Corps effected by Major Gen. Goethals, issued on Feb. 21, showed that radical changes had been made to insure greater efficiency in the supply of food and clothing for the army and especially the forces in France. A series of embarkation storehouses have been established at the ports of departure, where vast quantities of foodstuffs are kept constantly in stock. A new element of organization is the outfitting of troops bound overseas at special camps maintained for that purpose. Heretofore they were outfitted at their training camps. Some interesting figures were given in the summary. The total food bill of the army since the war began is $193,000,000. Through the remount division $55,000,000 already has been spent since last April to obtain 289,352 animals. The motors division now totals more than 22,000 vehicles, as against 3,200 when the war began. More than 15,000,000 shoes were on hand and due on contracts, with another million necessary before the end of 1918.

MEDICAL RESERVE CORPS

Surgeon Gen. Gorgas announced on Feb. 26 that during the interval elapsing from the declaration of war up to Feb. 23 he had discharged 1,050 officers of the Medical Reserve Corps for various reasons, including physical disability, inaptitude for service, and to take up

other professional work. During the same period there were 2,265 promotions of medical reserve officers, including some officers promoted more than once. The discharges were in addition to about 4,000 rejections of applicants, 21,740 having been accepted and recommended to the Adjutant General's office for commissions, and of these 13,687 were on active duty on Feb. 23. The total strength of the Medical Corps on that date was as follows:

Regular Army Medical Corps.....	768
Medical Reserve Corps.....	13,687
Medical Corps, National Guard.....	1,207
Medical Corps, National Army.....	32
Total	15,694

At the outbreak of the war there were 877 medical officers, 490 regulars and 387 reserve officers, on active duty.

Friction between the Army Medical Corps and high officers of the line came to an open break March 15 when Surgeon Gen. William Gorgas appealed to Congress, over the heads of his departmental superiors, for help in obtaining compliance with recommendations of the Medical Corps designed to safeguard the army's health. The question at issue was whether the Medical Corps should receive higher rank, in order that its recommendations might be received with consideration by line officers. That this might be accomplished, General Gorgas urged the Senate Military Affairs Committee to report favorably the Owen bill, putting men of the Medical Reserve Corps upon an equal plane with the Navy Medical Corps as to rank. This would permit army medical men to attain higher rank than that of Major, the present limit for Reserve Corps men.

Recommendations by Major Gen. Charles G. Treat, commanding the 37th National Guard Division, that the death penalty be imposed to check desertions and to bring soldiers to a realization of the gravity of that offense were disapproved by Secretary Baker, it was announced on Feb. 27. General Treat based his recommendation on the number of desertions from his command. Mr. Baker, however, instructed the Adjutant General to issue a bulletin to the army pointing out the seriousness with which desertions must be regarded in time of war. The Secretary acted on an opinion by the Judge Advocate General, which held that there is a clearly drawn difference between desertion from training camps in this country and desertions in the zone of hostilities.

DECORATIONS FOR BRAVERY

Announcement was made by the War Department on March 6 that President Wilson had authorized four new decorations for bravery, service, or wounds in the war against Germany, as follows:

First—The Distinguished Service Cross.
Second—The Distinguished Service Medal.
Third—War service chevrons.
Fourth—Wound chevrons.

The first and second medals will be awarded to women as well as men.

The Distinguished Service Cross will be a bronze cross with a ribbon, to be awarded to any person serving with the army for extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations which do not justify the award of the medal of honor.

The Distinguished Service Medal will also be of bronze, with a ribbon, and will be awarded for exceptionally meritorious service to the Government in a duty of great responsibility in time of war in connection with military operations.

The war service chevrons will consist of a gold chevron of standard material and design, to be worn on the lower half of the left sleeve of all uniform coats, except fatigue coats, by each officer and enlisted man who has served six months in the zone of the advance in the war, and an additional chevron for each additional six months of similar service thereafter.

The wound chevron is a gold chevron of pattern identical with that of the war service chevron, to be worn on the lower half of the right sleeve of all uniform coats, except fatigue coats, by each officer and enlisted man who has received a wound in action with the enemy that necessitates treatment by a medical officer, and an additional chevron for each additional wound. Disablement by gas necessitating treatment by a medical officer is to be considered as a wound.

RAILROAD CONTROL BILL

The law under which the United States Government will control and operate all the railroads of the country for the duration of the war was passed by Congress on March 14, 1918, and sent to the Presirent to be signed. Among its chief provisions are these: Government control of the roads shall not continue more than twenty-one months after the war; there is an appropriation of $500,000,000 for a revolving fund; the short lines are included within the Federal system, and compensation of the railroads is provided for on the basis of their average net income for the three years ended June 30, 1917, amounting approximately to $945,000,000 annually. The bill also provides that the State power of taxation of carriers shall be undisturbed, and that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be the final arbiter of rates, in the fixing of which increases in expenses due to the war are to be taken into consideration.

Following the passing of the bill, plans for the future organization of the Government Railroad Administration were discussed the same night at a conference between President Wilson and Mr. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads. One of the first tasks is making contracts with each railroad company for Government compensation on the basis provided in the bill. The contracts are to be negotiated under the direction of John Barton Payne, chief counsel; John Skelton Williams, Finance Director, and C. A. Prouty, Chief of the Division of Accounts. The railroads have been ordered by Director General McAdoo to make an inventory of materials and supplies on hand Dec. 31, 1917, when private control ceased, for use in connection with Government administration of purchases, additions and betterments, and railroad financing.

Our Soldiers Insured for $12,000,000,000

Nearly All Have $10,000 Policies

[The appended summary of the work of the War Risk Board is based on a recent study by Lawrence Priddy, President of the National Association of Life Underwriters]

THE act creating this insurance as passed by Congress and approved by the President Oct. 6, 1917, makes three separate and distinct provisions for those in active military service:

1. Family allowances and compulsory savings.
2. Compensation for death and disability.
3. Optional life insurance. (Meaning that, in addition to the benefits provided under the first two headings, those who desire may purchase additional life and disability insurance.) The insurance to be issued on the yearly renewable term plan.

The act provided that any person then in the military service would be insured automatically against death and permanent disability for the sum of approximately $5,000, provided he had a wife, child, or widowed mother. Persons joining the service after that have the privilege of applying for the insurance within 120 days after enlistment. The automatic feature expired Feb. 12.

At the time of the passage of this act those representatives of the Government who were particularly instrumental in promoting the measure believed that with the passage of the bill there would be a tremendous demand for this insurance, but it was early discovered that the demand had to be created; that "life insurance is sold and not bought," and this notwithstanding the fact that the guarantee back of the contract is the United States Government itself, and that it is offered at a cost to the insured of about one-tenth of what it will cost to provide the insurance.

For example, the Government offers to insure all applicants (up to $10,000) at age 20 for $7.68 per $1,000 per annum. (Most of the Government premiums are payable monthly.) At age 30 the Government rate is only $8.28 per $1,000.

The Government policy also furnishes

disability insurance in addition to life insurance. The rates for four ages are:

Age.	Govt. Rate.	Age.	Govt. Rate.
20.....	$7.68	40.....	$9.72
30.....	8.28	50.....	13.68

While the premium paid by the soldier is very small, it is believed that the cost to the Government for those soldiers who take part in actual warfare will be about $80 per thousand per annum.

The preliminary campaigns to induce the soldiers to take out insurance were not entirely successful, so on Dec. 29 the Secretary of the Treasury summoned to Washington a group of practical insurance men. That group was told that it was the earnest desire of the Secretary of the Treasury and others in charge of the administration of this measure that the benefits of this insurance should be clearly and forcefully presented to all soldiers and sailors then in the service, and this group was asked to arrange a campaign for the sale of this insurance.

The responsibility for this campaign was vested in a smaller group, known as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Campaign Council, and they spent about ten days investigating what had been done, how it had been done, and in planning a selling campaign to be conducted with more or less uniformity at all military and naval stations, and this campaign was launched Jan. 12. Up to that time there had been received at the Bureau of War Risk Insurance 427,811 applications for a total of $3,633,213,000, (an average of $8,493 per person.)

The records indicate that the work done was highly successful, for at the close of the campaign, Feb. 12, there had been actually received at the bureau 1,123,749 applications for a total of $9,189,156,500 insurance, and on March 6 the applications received or in transit totaled more than $12,000,000,000, covering 1,500,000 persons in the military and naval service.

In many of the units of the various camps every man has purchased the full ten thousand; there are eight camps in which 99 per cent. of the men are insured by the Government, and on Feb. 28 more than 90 per cent. of all the men in the service had availed themselves of this privilege. The average policy on the lives of our soldiers was $9,186.

War Activities of the United States Navy

Address by Franklin D. Roosevelt

Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in a recent address to the Harvard Alumni Association, threw some new light on the work of the United States Navy in European waters. He said in part:

THERE are two present phases of naval warfare, the first being the anti-submarine defense and second the battleship fleet. We sent a few destroyers in April, 1917, and kept sending more during the following months. These destroyers operated in certain localities on the other side, and charts plotted to show the sinkings by submarines proved an immediate falling off in the number of sinkings in these zones. The difficulty is that the ocean is altogether too large to cover as a whole with anti-submarine craft.

As a matter of fact, sinkings are still going on in very great numbers. Those sinkings are almost wholly confined to a small area within a short distance of land. You would think the Allies would be able to control this area, but we have not one-tenth the amount of equipment necessary to patrol all the waters close to shore, let alone further out. The reason submarines go close to shore is because there they find a concentration of ships, as almost day and night a continuous procession of merchant ships go up and out of the English Channel, Irish Channer, &c.

It is quite a mistaken notion to think

that the English Channel is closed to submarines or that all the submarines have their base on the Belgian coast. Only some of the older and smaller submarines and mine layers are there, the majority of the larger ones coming out from Wilhelmshaven, which is on the North Sea side of the canal, or from Kiel, on the Baltic side.

We are making as good a contribution as we can toward the increase of patrols. We are building a great number of destroyers, which we hope to have completed in from ten to sixteen months. That seems a long time, but under the 1916 program the best bid for completion was twenty-five months, and getting down to ten, or even sixteen, months is quite an achievement. In addition to the destroyers, we are turning out other types. We have turned out a type of vessel which has taken the officers by surprise. This is called the 110-foot patrol boat. It is very interesting, built of wood and propelled by gasoline. A great number of these boats have been placed in commission already, and on their sea trips they seem to have excellent sea-keeping qualities.

In fighting the submarine the depth charge is very useful and effective. These charges have a small piece of mechanism which is set, and when the bomb has descended to a given depth it will explode; it can be set to explode at any depth. The first depth charges were those of fifty pounds, and they would hurt a submarine only if they went off almost in actual contact. The result was that they had to be increased in size, and now the depth charges weigh much more than fifty pounds, and their area of destruction is large. One interesting feature of increasing the size of depth charges was that we had to increase the speed of the ship to protect the ship itself.

Much work has also been done on other devices that we may not talk about. Experimentation is going on, and will increase if the war lasts, and it will in the end prove an effective answer to the submarine. The answer to the submarine is being carried today by building as many vessels against them as can possibly be built, and, second, by building all the merchant tonnage we can and arming that merchant tonnage.

We are apt to forget that over on the other side the control of the surface of the ocean has been absolutely maintained by the existence of the British battleship fleet. There have been a few raids on the coast of England, and a few engagements in the North Sea, but today the relative strength of the British Navy is at least as great against the German Navy as at the outbreak of the war. Furthermore, they have the active cooperation of the French and American surface ships of heavy tonnage. We have, of course, many battleships on this coast that little is heard about. We have had to use the oldest ones largely as training schools, especially for the training of the gun crews of the merchant ships.

We have already armed over 1,000 merchant ships with fairly heavy guns. There have been few, and there will be fewer, cases of American ships being successfully shelled and put out of action by the submarine. We learned the lesson from the English.

As to surface control no one is worried. The British, with the assistance of the Americans, have successfully bottled up the Germans in the North Sea. It is a pity to have to hold them on defensive terms only. There are many who believe in the dictum that a defensive policy on the sea leads to defeat, and the rôle of the British battleship fleet has been considered by many to be purely defensive. However, authorities like Mahan and others have always maintained that an offensive can consist of two methods of war; first, to seek the enemy and destroy him in his own 'rat hole'; secondly, so to place yourself about the 'mouth of the rat hole' that the rat cannot come out. That is practically what has happened. The Germans are free at any time to come out with their battleship fleet, and very often they do come out, but for a very short distance. The stories we read from Berlin that the Germans came out for three days, &c., are true, but they have always kept conveniently close to their hiding place.

So ready is the British fleet that it is said that on one occasion they had given shore liberty to many hundreds of men; then word came that the German fleet was out and might be cut off, and within twenty-two minutes the British fleet was ready and on the way to the scene of action.

Shipbuilding Difficulties Overcome

Mr. Hurley's Report of Progress

THE shipbuilding program adopted by the United States as an urgent war measure encountered many obstacles, including those due to the worst Winter in the recorded history of the Eastern United States. The Spring of 1918, however, has found definite results accomplished in many new shipyards that have been brought into existence since the United States entered the war.

Figures issued by the Shipping Board on March 9 showed that in February seventeen vessels of 120,700 tons were completed and put into service. The total was nearly twice that of January, admittedly a bad month, when only nine vessels, with a tonnage of 79,541, were delivered. Launchings more than kept pace with deliveries, sixteen ships of 112,500 tons being put into the water in January, and fifteen of 77,900 tons in February. Of the vessels completed in February, fifteen were cargo carriers, one was a tanker, and one a collier.

Summing up the situation on March 4, 1918, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, said that there were then 130 shipyards, with 700 ways and 500,000 men, occupied with the production of 1,600 ships. A Seattle shipyard had already broken all world's records by launching an 8,000-ton steel ship in sixty-four days, and yards on the Atlantic Coast were preparing to beat the Pacific Coast record.

At the Hog Island yard of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation the first keel was laid on Feb. 12, six days ahead of schedule time, and on Feb. 28, the date set for the second keel, there were ways ready for ten additional ships. A fuller account of the Hog Island shipyard, the largest in the world, will be found under a separate heading.

On March 1 it was reported that vessels were to come from the plant of the Federal Shipbuilding Company, at Kearny, N. J., six weeks ahead of the time fixed in the contract with the Government. Instead of finishing one ship every month the yard had reached a stage wherein it could finish one ship every three weeks. The Federal Shipbuilding Company was incorporated in July, 1917, by the United States Steel Corporation. At that time the 175 acres occupied by the yard went under six feet of water every time the tide came in. Now they have been built up nine feet, and twelve miles of railroad track have been laid. Five thousand men will be employed when shipbuilding is in full swing.

In a much more advanced condition in every respect is the new shipyard of the Merchants' Shipbuilding Corporation at Bristol, Penn., the second of the huge fabricating yards being built for the construction of standardized steel merchant ships. In respect to the number of ways it is the smallest of the three, for while there are to be fifty ways for building ships at Hog Island and twenty-eight ways at the yard at Port Newark, at the Bristol plant there are only twelve. The Bristol plant, however, is to build the largest ships of the three yards, freighters of 9,000 tons deadweight capacity, while 7,500-ton and 8,000-ton ships are to be built at Hog Island, and 5,000-ton vessels at Port Newark.

The shipyard of the Submarine Boat Corporation on Newark Bay, with twenty-eight shipways, has thirteen keels laid of the fifty ships of 5,000 tons which it is under contract to build before it begins work on another contract of 100 vessels of the same size.

The important question of housing the armies of workers was settled on March

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

1, when President Wilson signed the Emergency Fleet Corporation Housing bill, which empowers the Government to commandeer boarding houses, hotels, apartments, and even private homes near shipyards, and to build new houses wherever necessary. The bill carried an appropriation of $50,000,000, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation has authority to extend loans to private shipyards at 5 per cent. to carry on this work. It does not, however, bear the expense of the new homes, except at Government-owned yards.

Following President Wilson's intervention in the dispute between the shipyard workers and the employers, (See CURRENT HISTORY, March, 1918, Page 422,) conferences were held and differences finally adjusted by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Shipping Board. A new cause of delay, due to the attitude of labor unions, arose from the shortage of caulkers. In reply to an appeal for caulkers, William L. Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters' Brotherhood, notified the Shipping Board on March 8 that it could expect no assistance from him in speeding up ship construction until his "closed shop" demands had been granted.

The American merchant fleet was increased by 399 seagoing vessels in the last six months of 1917, or an average of more than two a day. Many of the vessels were built in the United States, having been under construction for foreign account and taken over by the United States Government. Others were interned German ships, but the large steamers like the Vaterland, which were commandeered by the navy, were not included in the total of 399. Figures previously made public showed that more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping were added to the American merchant marine in 1917.

Speaking in the House of Commons on Feb. 13, Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that in 1917 there were built in Great Britain 1,163,474 tons of shipping, and 170,000 tons were obtained from abroad. The Chancellor explained that the Premier's estimate of ship construction was not realized because the Government had arranged to have a large quantity of tonnage built in America, but when America came into the war she preferred, as the British would have preferred, to take the tonnage herself, but the tonnage, he remarked, was there. The output of the United States during 1917 was 901,223 tons, making a total combined tonnage of 2,064,697 for the two countries.

Heroic Rescue by American Naval Men

The heroism and seamanship displayed by the crew of the United States destroyer Parker when rescuing survivors of the British hospital ship Glenart Castle, which was sunk in the Bristol Channel on Feb. 26, 1918, was the subject of eulogistic references in the House of Commons on March 13. According to the official report 153 persons perished in the sinking of the Glenart Castle.

Thomas J. Macnamara, Financial Secretary of the Admiralty, said that the Admiralty had expressed its very deep gratitude for the manner in which the Americans had dealt with this matter. He understood that the American authorities were averse to the award of personal distinctions. Nevertheless, if the Admiralty could properly make any suggestion to them which would enable it in a substantial way to emphasize its opinion of this act of gallantry it certainly would do so. Two of the destroyer's complement deserved the greatest credit for their action in jumping overboard to effect rescues, in view of the temperature of the water, the choppy sea, and the distance of the raft from which the rescues were effected.

The Americans who jumped into the water in the course of the rescues were: J. C. Cole, quartermaster; R. E. Hosses, boatswain's mate; David Goldman, machinist's mate; Jerry Quinn, coxswain; F. W. Beeghley, yeoman; W. W.

Mathews, ship's cook; J. Newman, seaman, and T. F. Troue, seaman.

The Glenart Castle sank at 4 o'clock in the morning. The destroyer, although far distant, picked up a wireless message and hurried to the scene, where she searched the sea for survivors. The first survivor was sighted at 1 o'clock in the afternoon—a lone man on a raft. In the submarine-infested waters it was impossible for the destroyer to halt and launch boats. She threw a line to the survivor, but he was so weak that he became entangled in the line and was carried astern of the destroyer and severely cut by her propellers. He managed to climb back on the raft.

The destroyer circled the scene and as it passed the raft again Quartermaster Cole jumped overboard, succeeded in swimming to the raft and brought the man back to the destroyer. He was a fireman, Jesse White of Southampton. He died later on board the destroyer, which continued her search, and in the course of the afternoon sighted three more groups of survivors clinging to rafts and wreckage, all of whom were similarly rescued. The survivors were landed in Wales.

The World's Greatest Shipyard

Created to Meet Demands of War

ONE of the romances of America's participation in the war is the establishment within a few months of some of the greatest shipyards in the world, one of them being actually the largest yet called into existence in any country. This is the Hog Island yard, on the Delaware River, near Philadelphia. Here, on a tract of land 860 acres in extent, the American International Shipbuilding Corporation, a subsidiary concern of the American International Corporation, has created what is virtually a city so large that it requires a water system as large as that serving Minneapolis, and as much electric power as is consumed by Providence, R. I.

The waterfront site and adjacent property which now comprise the Hog Island shipyard were acquired by the American International at $2,000 an acre with the approval of the United States Shipping Board, and a contract was drawn up to build the yard. The American International, together with Stone & Webster, the engineering and contracting firm whose senior partner is President of that corporation, submitted an estimate of $21,000,000 for the construction of the yard, but this was increased to $35,000,000 after the Shipping Board decided that most of the ships to be built should be larger and speedier than originally planned in the contract.

Owing to quarrels among members of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, which necessitated drastic reorganization, the contract was not signed till Sept. 13, 1917, and a start on constructing the yard was not made till Oct. 1. Not much progress was made before the severest Winter ever recorded on the North Atlantic Coast intervened and made operations almost impossible. During this inclement weather there was one week when seven times as many new workmen were taken to the island as all the men at work, but at the end of the week the force was no larger than at the beginning. This "labor turnover" of 700 per cent. was the worst, but there were several other weeks when it amounted to 300 per cent. or more, and 100 per cent. of men quitting in a week was below the average. At last, however, by a process of the survival of the fittest, a labor force was created able to meet the demands of the corporation and carry the work to a successful conclusion.

The contract received by the American International Shipbuilding Corporation was for 120 ships, totaling 935,000 tons—50 of 7,500 tons each, with a speed of eleven knots and each costing $1,100,000; 70 of 8,000 tons, with a speed of sixteen knots, costing $1,600,000 each; a total for the 120 ships of $167,000,000.

To build these 120 ships, and the additional vessels which will follow, fifty great shipways were constructed. These ways cover an unbroken space of a mile and a half, presenting a spectacle to be seen nowhere else in the world. Behind them are the ships and warehouses, and further back the barracks, where the workmen are housed, the kitchens and mess halls, hospitals, and administration buildings. The site, originally swamps and sand dunes, is now well paved, with seventy-two miles of railroad track, all lighted with electricity, so that work can be carried on by night as well as by day.

After the initial difficulties were overcome, progress was greatly accelerated, and the first keel, scheduled to be laid on Feb. 18, was actually in place six days ahead of that date. Subsequent keels have also been laid ahead of schedule time.

Some idea of the vastness of the enterprise may be gathered from the following facts and figures: Approximately 1,000 shops and factories throughout the United States, employing 350,000 men, are manufacturing the parts of the vessels which require, for example, 75,000,000 feet of lumber, 400,000 tons of steel, and 570 boilers. At Hog Island the 20,000 parts of each ship are assembled. This in turn indicates the number of freight cars required to convey the fabricated parts to the yard, which is actually handling about 400 cars a day. The total of workmen when work is in full swing will number 30,000, many of them being housed in barracks on the island, and others in the new accommodations which are being rushed to completion.

Hog Island is practically a city complete in itself, with its own water, sewerage, and electric supply systems, its own fire department, its military police force, including a large mounted force and numbering several thousand; its own base hospitals, emergency hospitals, dispensaries, and dentists' offices; the whole organized, officered, and controlled as if it were an army corps, as, indeed, it is, for the sole object of co-operating in giving the United States the world's greatest merchant fleet, to make American participation in the war possible to the fullest extent, and after the war to enable the nation to secure the maritime supremacy of the world. When the American International Corporation, capitalized at the start with $50,000,000, came into existence it declared that its purpose was to secure for America its proper share of world trade. The Hog Island enterprise, so far the corporation's greatest step toward the carrying out of its objects, is eloquent of the industrial power which the United States is able to exert in the great emergency created by the war.

Life of the Former Czar in Siberia

When delegates from all over Russia assembled at Petrograd in January, 1918, for the Constituent Assembly, (which was never held,) the member from Tobolsk, Siberia, gave a correspondent the following sketch of the daily life of the exiled Czar and his family:

The people of Tobolsk exhibited a lively curiosity regarding Nicholas II. when he first arrived there, but this gradually evaporated, and now scarcely anybody pays any attention to the former Czar of all the Russias. Nicholas II. soon accepted the routine of his new life. Every morning regularly he attends religious service at a church near his château, if one may so designate the house he occupies. On leaving the church he takes a roundabout way back to his residence. Sometimes a few curious persons follow him at a distance. At first the ex-Czar saluted the crowd; now he walks with head down and does not reply to salutations addressed to him. After service Nicholas II. saws wood, and this exercise, which he adopted while still at Tsarskoe Selo, apparently has a good effect upon his health, which seems greatly improved. The former sovereign devotes most of his afternoon to reading. He receives French and Russian books, besides a large number of newspapers. In the evening he gives lessons in history to his son. The Czarina passes a large part of her day in prayer; in the evening she converses with her friends and often plays cards.

Blockade of Germany Complete

The United States War Trade Board Stops the Flow of Supplies Through Neutral Countries

THE completion of the blockade of Germany, made possible by America's entry into the war, was disclosed in the annual report of the War Trade Board submitted to President Wilson on Feb. 24, 1918. That board, of which Vance McCormick is Chairman, is responsible for the execution of the embargo policy in regard to exports and imports and of various other measures to prevent trading with the enemy. It wields the powerful economic weapons which have made the British blockade immeasurably more effective than before America became a belligerent, completing in fact the plan of economic strangulation which the British Government had been endeavoring to carry out since the beginning of the European war.

Such supplies as the Central Powers may now be able to obtain from Russia, Rumania, and the Ukraine will mitigate the grip of the Atlantic blockade, but those countries have little to give. The blockade is still a sharp weapon, and the United States has given it its new edge. While this country has only gradually been developing as a military factor, through the War Trade Board prompt and effective steps have been taken in the field of commercial, financial, and industrial activity to make the Central Powers feel the full weight of having America as an enemy.

When the policy of temporary embargoes was adopted by the United States on July 15, 1917, Germany was obtaining from the neutral countries of Northern Europe a sufficient quantity of fats to supply a full ration to 2,500,000 men. Foodstuffs and fodder imported into those countries from the United States alone made possible such wholesale traffic. From that time onward the exports of fats from the neutral countries of Northern Europe were steadily reduced until they reached a negligible quantity, so that in February, 1918, it was calculated that Germany had available less than a fifth of the former supply. This reduction was reflected in the steady diminution of the German fat ration and in the desperate efforts of the Central Powers to obtain supplies of fats from other sources. The total food exports from the Northern European neutrals to the Central Powers were reduced by from 65 to 85 per cent. This result was pointed to in the report as the most important obtained by the embargo policy adopted by the United States in the face of opposition on the part of neutral nations.

By using the embargo policy as a potential weapon the United States has been able to secure control for Great Britain and itself of 1,650,000 tons of shipping belonging to Norway and Sweden. On this point the report of the War Trade Board says:

> In November, 1917, we became party to Great Britain's tentative agreement with Norway, as a result of which action on our part 1,400,000 tons, dead weight, of Norwegian shipping were chartered into the service of the United States and Great Britain for the period of the war.
>
> An agreement with Sweden gives us the use for three months of tonnage estimated at 250,000 tons, dead weight, which had not theretofore been employed in service useful to us.

DUTCH SHIPS SEIZED

Holland was notified on March 14 that the United States and British Governments intended to take over all Dutch ships in their ports, to be compensated for and returned after the war; the tonnage aggregated about 600,000. For seven months Holland had delayed acceptance of a proposal from the two Governments by which that country was to be supplied with food and fuel, provided the ships lying idle were leased to the United States and Great Britain. Holland appeared willing to agree, but Germany threatened to torpedo any Dutch ships

encountered at sea if the agreement was made. As no further agreement could be negotiated with Holland, the seizure was decided upon under the international law of angary, which gives a belligerent the right to use neutral shipping in cases of emergency.

The temporary embargoes, by which the Northern European neutral nations were forced to place this shipping at the disposal of the United States and Great Britain, are being replaced by comprehensive agreements regulating trade. It was announced at Washington on Feb. 22 that a complete economic agreement with Norway had been reached, but the terms have not yet been made public. In the case of Switzerland an agreement has been concluded, assuring to the Swiss the periodic receipt of a stipulated grain ration and of other articles required to maintain the economic existence of the people of Switzerland. The Swiss Government secured this concession by giving satisfactory assurances against exportation to the Central Powers of the imported foodstuffs and other articles, and by agreeing, in certain other respects, to limit trading with the Central Powers.

The general policy of the War Trade Board is summed up in the principle of supplying the food and other vital wants of neutral peoples, under carefully considered agreements, so as "to prevent acute suffering in those countries and to prevent them from falling under the economic power of the enemy," while conserving for the United States and its associates in the war "such commodities as are required to maintain adequately the economic life of the several nations and to carry out their war programs."

The War Trade Board effects its purpose through a system of licenses covering both exports and imports, and through measures for preventing trading with the enemy. The extent of the business under the control of the board may be gathered from the fact that its Bureau of Exports has handled approximately 425,000 applications for licenses to export, and was, at the date of the report, passing upon between 4,000 and 5,000 applications per day. The Bureau of Imports, of more recent formation, has received to Jan. 1, 5,279 applications for licenses to import, upon which 4,719 licenses, covering commodities of an aggregate value of $237,810,949, had actually been issued.

ENEMY TRADING LIST

Trading with foreigners is regulated by an "enemy trading list," which, since its first publication in October, 1917, has been continually revised. New firms are added with which it is unlawful to trade, and firms which have cleared themselves of the taint of enemy character have been removed from the list.

The majority of firms on the "enemy trading list" are in the Latin-American countries, and, according to the report of the War Trade Board, the effect of these restrictions is already palpable.

Concurrently with the enforcement of the embargo policy against the Central Powers, the United States has rendered enormous service to the Allies by its efforts to maintain an increasing supply of foodstuffs. The Food Administration, in a statement issued on March 5, showed that from the beginning of the war to Jan. 1, 1918, the United States had shipped food sufficient to furnish a balanced ration to an average of more than 16,000,000 men yearly. In addition, there was a surplus of some 625,000 tons of protein and 268,000 tons of fats. Russia received less than 1 per cent. of the total, or only enough to feed about 10,000 men a year. Great Britain took more than half of the entire total, or enough to feed about 8,000,000 men. France was next, with enough for 4,200,000 men, and Italy sufficient for more than 2,000,000 men. The three together received an excess of protein capable of supplying this portion of the diet to some 20,000,000 additional men.

The total exports of wheat and wheat flour to Great Britain, France, and Italy was equivalent to 384,000,000 bushels, or an average of 110,000,000 bushels per year. Exports of pork and pork products totaled almost 2,000,000,000 pounds, while sugar exports to those countries showed a yearly average of

648,000,000 pounds. Oats exports for the three and one-half years totaled 212,751,000 bushels, corn 24,310,000 bushels, and rye 3,618,000 bushels. Exports of fresh beef amounted to 443,484,000 pounds in the three and one-half years, while exports of butter totaled 29,000,000 pounds, cheese 103,500.000 pounds, and condensed milk 126,000,000 pounds. Cottonseed, linseed, and other oil products and by-products to be used for feeding cattle totaled 611,000,000 pounds.

A serious food famine in the Entente countries was averted only by the rigorous measures adopted by the United States in concentrating transportation facilities and conserving food supplies for domestic consumption. In thus preventing a crisis that might have caused a breakdown in the Entente countries, the Food Administration, the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board, and the Railroads Board have all played important parts.

A Review of the U-Boat Campaign

Address by Sir Eric Geddes

First Lord of the British Admiralty

[Delivered in the House of Commons, March 5, 1918]

ON the whole, naval warfare during the last year has proceeded increasingly in our favor. It has continued chiefly to test the strength between the enemy submarine and the measures we and our allies have taken for combating that menace.

[Sir Eric stated that 30 per cent. of the losses of merchant ships was accounted for in the Mediterranean, and that conditions there had been more difficult to meet than in the Atlantic, the resources having been less adequate and success against the submarine less satisfactory.]

It became increasingly evident that as our resources improved we would be able to turn our attention more to the Mediterranean. I recently went to Rome for a meeting of the Allied Naval Committee and also inspected the naval establishments in the Mediterranean, including those of the Greek Navy. British naval officers are assisting the Greeks in the reorganization of their navy, which is already co-operating in the Mediterranean and rendering valuable service.

The meeting of the committee in Rome was representative of all the allies with naval forces in European waters. It accepted fully the anti-submarine proposals put forward by Vice Admiral Calthorpe, British Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. It agreed we should forthwith adopt and adapt to the Mediterranean the same measures which have given success in the waters of the British Isles, and the main anti-submarine operations decided on will be undertaken under Vice Admiral Calthorpe's orders.

It is perhaps natural that the co-operation between ourselves and the United States should be extremely close. I wish in behalf of myself and my colleagues publicly to pay tribute to the wholehearted and generous devotion to the prosecution of the war which has governed the action of every representative of the United States Navy with which we came into contact. The personnel of all ranks has the respect and esteem of the officers of the British Navy.

The trend of the figures of loss by enemy action is steadily improving. The loss to the world's tonnage during February was little over half the loss in February last year.

The loss for the five months ended in February is 10 per cent. less than the loss in the corresponding months the year previous, although during four months of the latter period unrestricted submarine warfare had not been proclaimed by the enemy. If during the last five months the rate of loss had been maintained at the same rate as for the immediate preceding quarter—that is, the third quarter of last year—the

world's shipping would be 600,000 tons less than it is today.

Instead of a rise in ship production we have a serious drop. Why? The main fact is that owing to labor unrest and strike difficulties the men in the yards are not working as if the life of the country depended on their exertions. The employers are perhaps not doing all they could. The long strain of the war must have an effect upon their nerves as upon every one else. The serious unrest which existed in January will have an effect on completions in later months. I am driven to the conclusion that even at this late date the situation is not fully realized.

MORE TONNAGE NEEDED

To reach production at the rate of 3,000,000 tons a year is well within the capacity of our shipyards, but these results cannot be obtained unless the maximum output is given by every one concerned.

As to the destruction of German submarines, I have no reason to depart from my opinion that the submarine is held, but not mastered. Submarines are being destroyed in increasing numbers, and as our methods develop the numbers will further increase. There is a growing reluctance on the part of the German crews to put to sea. The chances of a submarine returning from a voyage in the waters around England are one in four or one in five. For some months, we believe, we and the Americans have been sinking submarines as fast as they are built.

The efforts of the British Navy and the navies of its allies are being steadily developed and a large program of anti-submarine craft and devices is being pushed forward, although the lag in the mercantile shipbuilding is reflected here also. Nevertheless, we and our allies are now able to devote more resources to the Mediterranean, which in the past has been regarded by submarine commanders as a rest cure and happy hunting ground. The convoy system has been greatly developed and is a real success. Since it was adopted 35,000 ships have been convoyed with very low losses.

One result of the convoy system has been to drive the enemy closer to the shore, thus rendering the open sea safer for navigation. During the first months of the unrestricted submarine war 50 per cent. of the losses occurred more than fifty miles from land, and only 21 per cent. within ten miles of the shore. Today the losses outside the fifty-mile line have fallen to 1 per cent., while the losses close to land have risen to 61 per cent.

This transfer of attacks nearer the coast gives increasing opportunities for attacking the enemy by patrolling surface craft and airplanes, and enables us to salve many vessels which would otherwise have been lost. The improved salvage arrangements have made tremendous demands on labor and material. Repairs are today occupying more men than new mercantile construction. The salving is so efficient that of all British armed ships damaged last year only eight were abandoned.

The Month's Submarine Losses

British Admiralty figures of ships sunk by submarine or mine during the last month showed an increase over the previous period. The British ships lost were:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Feb. 17, 1918..	12	3	1
Week ended Feb. 24.....	14	4	7
Week ended March 3.....	12	6	..
Week ended March 10.....	15	3	1
Total for four weeks.....	53	16	9
Total previous 4 weeks...	38	19	7

To the above losses must be added those of other allied nations and of neutral countries.

The British hospital ship Glenart Castle, with 182 persons, but no patients, on board, was sunk in the Bristol Channel on Feb. 26. The United States torpedo destroyer Parker helped to rescue survivors, but 144 persons, including Red Cross doctors, orderlies, and seven women nurses, were lost when the vessel went down. Only seven of the lifeboats could be launched, partly because the ex-

plosion smashed nearly all on the starboard side and partly on account of the rough sea. The ship sank in seven minutes.

One hundred and ten persons perished when the French steamer La Dives was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean on Feb. 1, according to an official statement issued Feb. 20.

Two officers and forty-eight men were lost in the British armed mercantile cruiser Calgarian, which was torpedoed and sunk on March 1. The Calgarian, 17,515 tons, was one of the finest merchant ships in the British service. An unusual feature of the case was the fact that the ship was struck by four torpedoes, suggesting that several German submarines concentrated to make certain of sinking it.

The Spanish Government decided on Feb. 21 to publish three notes to the German Government relative to the sinking of Spanish ships by submarines and the invasion of Spanish territorial waters by U-boats. The first note took up the case of the Duca di Genova, and demanded that Spanish territorial waters be respected. The second, concerning the Giralda, demanded German recognition of Spain's right to regulate her coastwise traffic without reserve. The third, concerning the Ceferino, asked an explanation or the information thus far received officially in Berlin. A dispatch from Bilbao to Madrid on Feb. 26 stated that the Spanish steamer Neguri had been sunk by a submarine. Her crew was landed on Ferro Island, one of the Canary group. The Neguri was the fifth Spanish vessel torpedoed by submarines in as many weeks.

The month brought a completed death roll of Americans lost in the Tuscania, the sinking of which was described in these pages a month ago. The total was 212.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From February 16, 1918, Up to and Including March 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

A National Labor Conference Board, composed of representatives of capital and labor, was formed at the suggestion of Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson to lay down a basis of relations during the war. The first conference was held in Washington on Feb. 25.

Announcement was made March 8 that an economic agreement with Spain, providing that General Pershing should get mules, army blankets, and other materials in that country in return for cotton, oil, and other commodities, had been signed in Madrid. France was also a party to the agreement, and arrangements were made for supplying her army.

A complete economic agreement was reached with Norway on Feb. 22.

President Wilson, in a decree made public March 6, authorized four new decorations for bravery, service, or wounds in the war against Germany.

Secretary Baker arrived in France March 10 to confer with General Pershing and to inspect the American forces.

Plans for the division of the country into ten munition zones to push production were announced by the War Department on March 10, and a leading business man was appointed from each section to be District Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department.

The casualties among the American expeditionary forces, as announced by the War Department on March 17, reached a total of 1,856.

The Daylight Saving bill, setting the nation's clocks ahead one hour, beginning March 31, passed its final legislative stages on March 16 and went to the President for signature. The measure provided that the clocks should be turned back again on the last Sunday in October. It was estimated that the change would save $40,000,000 in the nation's lighting expenditure.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Dover was bombarded by a German submarine Feb. 16. One child was killed and several persons were injured.

British losses for the week ended Feb. 16 included twelve ships of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Feb. 23, eighteen; for the week ended March 2, twelve, and for the week ended March 9, fifteen.

The British hospital ship Glenart Castle was sunk in Bristol Channel Feb. 26, and 164 persons were reported missing. The hospital ship Guilford Castle was attacked March 10 in the Bristol Channel, but escaped damage.

Commander Carlyon Bellairs announced in Commons on March 5 that submarine sinkings of merchantmen averaged 70,000 tons weekly in January and 80,000 tons weekly in February.

The British armed mercantile cruiser Calgarian was sunk March 1. Forty-eight men were lost.

French and Italian losses amounted to one or two vessels of over 1,600 tons weekly.

Spain lost three ships—the Mar Caspio, which was sunk Feb. 23; the Neguri, Feb. 26, and a grain ship, chartered to the Swiss, which was torpedoed on March 2 while on its way from America to Europe.

Norway announced on March 14 that two steamers, the Skrymer and the Estrella, had been sunk.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 17—Active artillery fire west of Lago di Garda, east of the Brenta, and on the middle Piave.

Feb. 22—Artillery actions in the Trentino and from Asiago Plateau east on Monte Grappe.

March 2—Italian patrols seize enemy stores in fighting on Asiago Plateau; artillery active on both sides of the Brenta.

March 3—Austrian attack in the Frenzela Valley breaks down under Italian barrage.

March 8—Italians repulse raids in the Valfreddo region and fire on enemy troop movements in the Val Brenta and Col della Berretta regions.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Feb. 19—British advance two miles on a front of fifteen miles east of Jerusalem.

Feb. 20—British advance three and a half miles east of Jerusalem.

Feb. 21—British capture Jericho.

Feb. 23—Turks retire across the Jordan.

March 4—British advance two miles on a twelve-mile front on their northern advance from Jericho.

March 8—British troops on the Jerusalem-Nablus road advance three miles on an eighteen-mile front.

March 10—British occupy Hit in Mesopotamia.

March 11—Turks fall back twenty-two miles from Hit and occupy Kahn-Baghdadi on the Euphrates; British advance a mile and a quarter in Palestine.

March 13—British advance three miles on an eleven-mile front in the coastal region of Palestine, capturing many villages.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Feb. 16—British repulse German raids south of the Scarpe; French penetrate German lines near Vauquoise.

Feb. 18—French repulse German attacks in the Butte du Mesnil sector.

Feb. 20—French enter German lines over a large front in Lorraine.

Feb. 21—Announcement made that British have taken over from the French a part of the line south of St. Quentin.

Feb. 22—Patrol action on the Aisne front reveals presence of American troops there.

Feb. 24—German fire northwest of Toul checked by American guns.

Feb. 25—American patrol, in conjunction with French patrol, penetrates German lines in the Chemin des Dames sector.

Feb. 26—Germans make gas attack on American line, killing three men and disabling a number of others.

Feb. 27—Germans fail in two attempts to recapture French positions at Butte du Mesnil.

Feb. 28—German surprise attack north of Dixmude repulsed by Belgians.

March 1—Americans repulse German attack north of Toul; Germans engage Americans and French in hand-to-hand struggle east of Chavignon.

March 2—Americans again repulse attacks in the Chemin des Dames sector.

March 3—German assaults in the Champagne sector repulsed.

March 5—Americans repulse German attacks in Lorraine.

March 8—Germans force British advance posts on the Ypres-Dixmude sector to fall back, but British re-establish their lines.

March 11—British repulse heavy assaults near Ypres and Armentières; Americans enter German trenches in the Toul sector.

March 12—Americans raid German trenches near Lunéville; German raiding party, attacking Portuguese positions near Lavantie, caught in flanking machine-gun fire.

March 14—Americans in the Lunéville sector occupy German trenches northeast of Badonviller.

March 15—French gain a footing west of the Mauroy road in the Champagne district.

March 17—Germans raid American positions in the Toul sector and a few Germans enter the American lines; French repulse German attacks in the direction of Samogneux and in the Bezonvaux region of the Verdun sector, and enter German trenches at Malancourt.

AERIAL RECORD

Allied aviators raided Innsbrück, Feb. 20, killing many Austrian soldiers.

Venice was raided on Feb. 26 and the Church of Santa Giustina, the Church of San Simeone Piccolo, and the Church of St. John Chrysostom were damaged.

Naples was attacked March 11. Sixteen persons were killed and forty wounded.

Bombs were dropped on Petrograd March 3. Three persons were killed and five wounded.

The British bombarded Mainz on March 9,

"NEW YORK'S OWN" ON PARADE, FEB. 4, 1918

The 308th Infantry Regiment, or "New York's Own," as it is more popularly called, passing the reviewing stand outside the Public Library at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City

(© *International Film Service*)

NATIONAL ARMY MEN READY TO LEAVE FOR FRANCE

Ten thousand men of the draft army from Camp Upton, N. Y., marching through New York City on Feb. 22, 1918, during a snowstorm. These men, after less than six months in camp, were already fit to leave for France and conclude their training there

(© *International Film Service*)

killing eight persons. On March 10 they caused several fires by dropping bombs on the Daimler Motor Works and other objectives at Stuttgart. On March 12 they raided Coblenz, and on March 13 they dropped bombs on munitions plants and barracks at Freiburg. Zeveibrüeken was raided March 16, and on March 17 they bombed Kaiserslautern.

Nancy was bombed by the Germans on Feb. 27.

Paris was raided on the night of March 8 and thirteen persons were killed and fifty hurt. Another raid occurred on the night of March 11, when thirty-four persons were killed by bombs, seventy-nine were injured, and sixty-six suffocated in a panic at a subway entrance. Four German machines were brought down and fifteen raiders killed or made prisoner.

German aircraft crossed the Kent coast of the Thames estuary on the night of Feb. 16 to bomb London. Eleven persons were killed and four injured. A raid on Dover was repelled by British pilots. Fifteen persons were killed and thirty-eight injured in a raid on the next evening, and a third consecutive raid was mado on the night of Feb. 18, but the Germans were driven off and there were no casualties. This was the one hundredth raid on London. On the night of March 7 eleven persons were killed and forty-six injured in London. Bombs were dropped on Hull March 12, and one woman died of shock. The northeast coast of England was again raided on the night of March 13. Five persons were killed and nine injured.

In the first ten days of March British aviators destroyed thirty-nine German airplanes and brought down forty others out of control on the western front.

Two British seaplanes destroyed one German seaplane and downed another in a battle over the North Sea on March 14.

NAVAL RECORD

The German auxiliary cruiser Wolf returned to Kiel on Feb. 24 after sinking eleven vessels in a fifteen months' raid in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. The Spanish ship Igotz-Mendi, with a German prize crew on board, was driven ashore near the Skaw Lighthouse, and twenty-two prisoners, including two Americans, were taken off. The ship was interned by the Danes, with the result that Germany protested to the Danish Government.

Two Russian transports were attacked and sunk by German destroyers after a fight south of Aland Islands on March 7.

The Russian fleet at Odessa withdrew to Sepastopol on the entry of the Germans into Odessa.

RUSSIA

German forces began a new invasion of Russia on Feb. 18, the day when the armistice agreement between Russia and the Central Powers expired. The next day the Bolshevist Government issued a statement, signed by Lenine and Trotzky, announcing that Russia had been forced to sign a peace dictated by the delegates of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk. The German terms included the retention of Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, and Moon Island. Within a few days the Germans had occupied Dvinsk, Lutsk, Minsk, and Rovno, and many important cities in Esthonia. Resistance was ordered by the Bolshevist Government on Feb. 22, and Petrograd was declared in a state of siege. The next day, Feb. 23, Germany made a new offer of peace, calling for the cession of more territory and the demobilization of the army and navy. At the same time her armies continued to advance. On Feb. 23 they occupied Walk, on Feb. 25 they took Reval, and on Feb. 27 they occupied Boriseff.

Turkey began an offensive in the Caucasus on Feb. 23 and occupied Platana. Three days later the Turks occupied Trebizond.

The Bolshevist Government announced on Feb. 24 that Germany's peace terms had been accepted. The treaty was signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, Russia ceding Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to Turkey. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, resigned because of a disagreement over the peace terms.

The All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which met at Moscow March 14, voted to ratify the treaty in spite of a message sent to them by President Wilson expressing sympathy with the Russian people. Germany announced that German commissions with the power of veto would be appointed to the Russian Ministries to control the fulfillment of the agreement. The Caucasus Government issued a statement refusing to indorse the treaty because of the cession of territory to Turkey, and declared that peace with Turkey could be signed only by the Caucasus Government. The Moscow Congress also authorized the creation of an army of both sexes, expressed appreciation of President Wilson's message, and approved the removal of the capital to Moscow.

Japan and China signified their willingness to intervene in Siberia for the protection of allied interests. A clash between the Maximalists and the Japanese occurred at Blagovieshtchensk, capital of the Amur province, on March 15, and 150 Japanese were murdered.

General Semenoff led a movement of the Cossacks in Siberia to redeem the country from the Bolsheviki and the Germans.

Intense fighting occurred in Ukraine between the Germans and the Bolsheviki. The Germans captured Kolenkowtz on Feb. 26, and on March 2 they took Kiev.

Premier von Seydler announced in the Austrian Reichsrat on Feb. 20 that a supplementary treaty had been arranged with the Ukraine Rada by which the Polish provice of Kholm would not be handed over immediately to the Ukraine Republic, but its future would be determined by a mixed commission.

German troops landed in Finland on Feb. 21, and on March 1 a treaty was signed between Russia and Finland providing for the evacuation of Finland by the Russians. On March 7 official announcement was made that a treaty of peace had been signed between Finland and Germany, and the next day it was reported that the Finnish Government had asked the German Emperor to appoint Prince Oscar of Hohenzollern King of Finland.

The Aland Islands were seized by Sweden on Feb. 19. German troops occupied them March 3. Russia protested, on March 10, against German occupation as a breach of the peace treaty. On March 14 the people sent an appeal to the Finnish Government and to the German and Swedish monarchs, asking that their wishes concerning their Government be considered before the final peace conference, and requesting that a plebiscite be taken. The United States Government protested to the Finnish Government, March 15, against the arrest by the Germans of Henry Crosby Emery, and the British protested against the arrest of sixteen Britishers in the same party with Mr. Emery, all of whom were taken aboard a German steamer and taken to Danzig, Germany.

The State Council of Courland offered the Ducal Crown to the King of Prussia, March 15.

Germany replied to Lithuania's requests for recognition by making it dependent upon an agreement to certain military, customs, railway, and currency conventions, according to an Amsterdam dispatch dated March 14.

Armenia again became exposed to Turkish cruelty as a result of the cession of territory by Russia in the peace treaty. Massacres ocurred in Trebizond, which was reoccupied by the Turks on Feb. 26. On March 3 reports were received at The Hague of the massacre of the entire male population of Samsun. On March 14 the Turks occupied Erzerum, and the Armenians offered resistance.

RUMANIA

Rumania received an ultimatum from the Bolshevist Government on Feb. 17 demanding the evacuation of Bessarabia by the Rumanian and counter-revolutionary troops and the right to transport Russian troops through Rumanian and Bessarabian territory. Conclusion of a treaty of peace, in which Rumania conceded these demands, was announced on March 9.

A preliminary peace between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed on March 6. It provided for the cession to the Teutons of Dobrudja as far as the Danube and portions of the frontier of Rumania bordering on Austria-Hungary. Rumania undertook to further the transportation of Teutonic troops through Moldavia and Bessarabia to Odessa. On March 13 the Teutons demanded a "rectification" of the boundary between Austria-Hungary and Rumania. On the same day German troops entered Odessa. The Averescu Cabinet resigned on March 15.

On March 17 the Germans occupied Nikolayev, and the Russian fleet escaped from Odessa to Sebastopol.

MISCELLANEOUS

General Sir William Robertson refused to keep the post of Chief of the British Imperial Staff, according to an announcement made on Feb. 16, and General Sir Henry Wilson was appointed to succeed him. General Robertson declined appointment on the Versailles War Council, but accepted the command of the eastern parts of the British Isles.

Charles Humbert, Senator from the Meuse and proprietor of the Paris Journal, was arrested on Feb. 18, and charged with treason as the result of his alleged dealings with Bolo Pacha. The appeal of Bolo Pacha from the sentence of death was rejected by the Court of Revision March 12. The same action was taken in the case of Darius Porchère.

An Interallied Labor Conference was held in London, beginning Feb. 21. It accepted the war-aims program enunciated by British labor on Dec. 28.

Chancellor von Hertling addressed the German Reichstag, Feb. 25, on peace, announcing that he agreed fundamentally with President Wilson's four principles. Secretary Balfour replied in the British House of Commons on Feb. 27, announcing that he saw no basis of peace in Hertling's speech.

The United States and Great Britain notified Holland on March 14 of their intention to take over Dutch ships in American and Entente ports on March 18 unless Holland was able to reach a definite agreement regarding them by that time. On the same day the United States War Trade Board announced that Germany was deliberately seeking by a campaign of ruthlessness to starve out the North European neutrals by cutting them off from American and allied food supplies.

[OFFICIAL]

Military Events of the Month

From February 13 to March 17, 1918

[ISSUED BY THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT IN WEEKLY REPORTS]

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *herewith presents five weekly reports, beginning with the week ended Feb. 20, 1918, issued by the United States War Department, giving the official review of military operations on all fronts.*

Week Ended Feb. 20

While there have been outwardly no new developments in the military situation in the west during the period under consideration, yet it is apparent that both the enemy and the Allies, after extensive preparations, which have been silently and systematically carried on, are ready for battle. The Germans have recently withdrawn a number of their veteran west front units from the first-line trenches and are busily training them in mobile warfare.

According to advices received, the German General Staff hopes that by massing a large number of these picked shock battalions, which have been intensively trained, they may deliver a crushing blow. The bulk of the German forces are now assembled in the west. But a large number of these units are wholly untrained in the method of western front warfare, which differs radically from that conducted along other fronts. Furthermore, the German higher command realizes fully that their forces will meet with far more difficult tactical obstacles than any hitherto encountered by an attacking army. A break through was possible in Russia only after the morale of the Russians had been undermined; the same was true in Italy, and we witnessed how speedily the Italian line was mended.

During the week there has been much activity of a minor character along the entire western front. In Lorraine a segment of the line is entirely under the control of our forces. Along our front patrol encounters were numerous. The Germans undertook a raid against our positions and succeeded in inflicting a few casualties. A small American patrol, while scouting in No Man's Land, was ambushed by the enemy.

The weather was very rainy during the first part of the week and our troops were busy manning the pumps in an effort to keep their trenches dry. Later clear weather prevailed and hostile aircraft made frequent flights to reconnoitre our positions. A marked improvement in our anti-aircraft barrage is reported. Artillery duels took place and the Germans showered our lines with gas shells, which, however, caused no casualties owing to efficient gas-mask protection.

AMERICANS UNDER FIRE

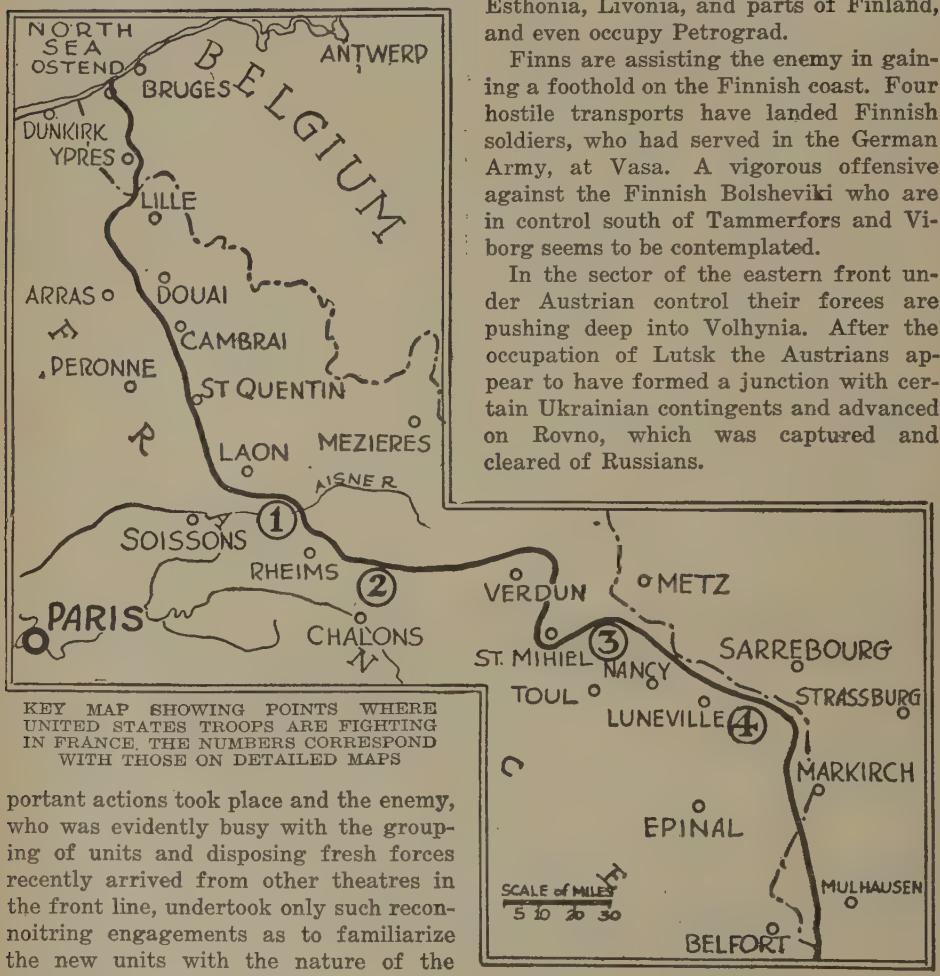
In Champagne units of American artillery participated in an engagement undertaken by French forces. This operation was the most important of the week in the west. After very careful artillery preparation, during which our batteries co-operated usefully, French infantry advanced to the assault southwest of the Butte du Mesnil, along a front of about 1,400 yards. The French, succeeding in penetrating the German positions, broke through the second and reached the third German line. During this brisk attack the French destroyed many enemy shelters, inflicted much damage to enemy positions, besides bringing back 150 prisoners.

Other successful raids were undertaken by French detachments in the vicinity of the Chemin des Dames, east of Rheims, in Upper Alsace and elsewhere. In all, the French drove forward twelve very fortunate reconnoissance undertakings along different parts of the line.

German units were also active. Their attempts to reach the French lines were

temporarily successful in the vicinity of Bezonvaux and in Alsace. However, seven German raids at various other points broke down. French artillery kept the enemy constantly engaged along a widely scattered area.

The British front was also the scene of numerous minor engagements. No important actions took place and the enemy, who was evidently busy with the grouping of units and disposing fresh forces recently arrived from other theatres in the front line, undertook only such reconnoitring engagements as to familiarize the new units with the nature of the terrain in front of them.



KEY MAP SHOWING POINTS WHERE UNITED STATES TROOPS ARE FIGHTING IN FRANCE. THE NUMBERS CORRESPOND WITH THOSE ON DETAILED MAPS

Week Ended Feb. 24

The most important news of the week comes to us from the Russian theatre. As was anticipated last week, the German forces have again taken the offensive. The enemy is moving eastward along a broad front. Dvinsk, Minsk, and Lutsk were occupied without resistance. The crossing of the Dvina was unopposed. In the region of the Gulf of Riga the German forces are rapidly advancing through Esthonia and have already reached a point 100 miles east of Riga. German warships have appeared off Reval. Harpsal has been captured.

The Germans apparently plan to seize Esthonia, Livonia, and parts of Finland, and even occupy Petrograd.

Finns are assisting the enemy in gaining a foothold on the Finnish coast. Four hostile transports have landed Finnish soldiers, who had served in the German Army, at Vasa. A vigorous offensive against the Finnish Bolsheviki who are in control south of Tammerfors and Viborg seems to be contemplated.

In the sector of the eastern front under Austrian control their forces are pushing deep into Volhynia. After the occupation of Lutsk the Austrians appear to have formed a junction with certain Ukrainian contingents and advanced on Rovno, which was captured and cleared of Russians.

The number of prisoners taken by the Central Powers is increasing rapidly, and the war material already enumerated which has fallen into the hands of the enemy includes 1,353 guns, 120 machine guns, between 4,000 and 5,000 motor cars, and 1,000 freight cars filled with food supplies, airplanes, and other booty.

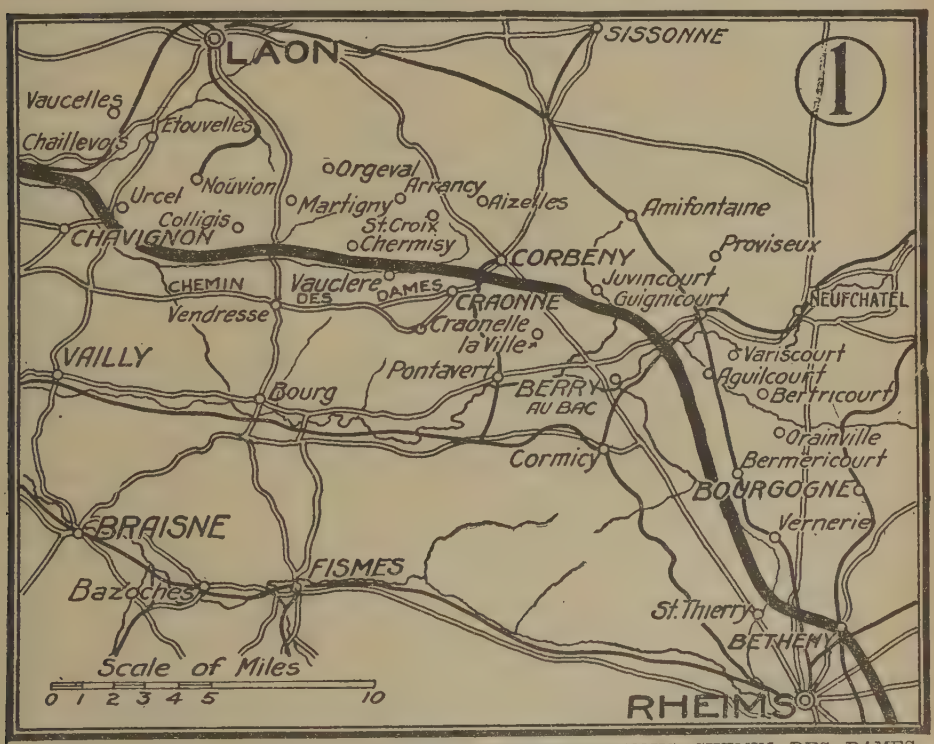
Hitherto little opposition has been offered to the advancing Germans, and it

is not as yet clear what preparations the Russians are making to meet the enemy. Owing to the disorganization of the Russian forces, it is difficult to presage what effective opposition they may be able to place in the path of the invaders. It is reported that Russian units are concentrating at Vitebsk, 150 miles southeast of Dvinsk.

While no major undertakings were recorded in the west, yet the entire front was the scene of hard-driven assaults of a minor character.

AMERICAN PATROLS ACTIVE

Our own forces are taking an increasingly important part in the operations.



AMERICAN TROOPS OCCUPY POSITIONS ALONG THE FAMOUS CHEMIN DES DAMES, NEAR CHAVIGNON

Last week we recorded the participation of our artillery in the very successful thrust made by the French in the region of the Butte du Mesnil. This week the presence of our infantry in a very important area of the Chemin des Dames is reported. Here our patrols have been outside our barbed wire and have undertaken a number of scouting expeditions in No Man's Land, which were successfully carried through.

At the time our detachments were coming up into the trenches they were under heavy hostile shellfire; nevertheless, our men made their way to their stations without confusion or casualties. It is useful to note that our forces now in action in this, one of the most active sectors of the entire French front, have acquitted themselves very creditably.

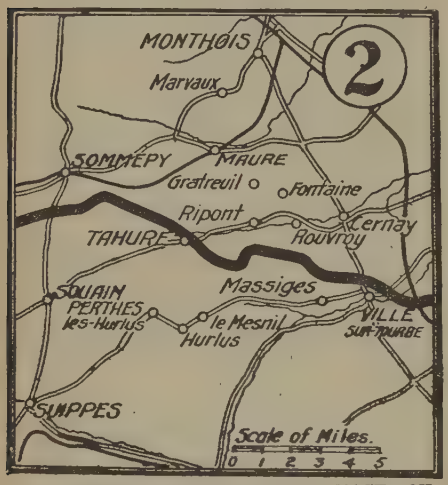
During the week General Pershing made a personal inspection of the American sector northwest of Toul. He visited all of our first-line trenches, observation posts, battery emplacements, and other points of interest. During the two days spent on this tour the Commander in Chief came in close contact with the men in the trenches, heard their comments or complaints, and noted carefully all suggestions offered to better the condition and welfare of our troops in action.

Our men who have completed their first period of duty in the trenches have

arrived at the leave centre established at Aix-les-Bains. This is the first of a series of rest centres it is proposed to establish, where our men can find rest and recreation after the trying ordeal of trench life.

MANY ENEMY RAIDS

Along the French front the enemy reacted energetically in the region southwest of the Butte du Mesnil. After a sanguinary encounter, the Germans succeeded in regaining part of the trenches



LE MESNIL AND TAHURE, EAST OF RHEIMS, ARE AMONG THE POINTS WHERE AMERICANS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING

lost last week. A further attempt, in which three German battalions participated, was repulsed. In a third assault the Germans took 125 prisoners, but the French forces regained the lost positions after a spirited counterattack. Our artillery participated in these operations.

Numerous hostile raids were executed, only two of which were partially successful, the one at St. Mihiel, the other along the Aisne-Oise Canal, while enemy reconnoitring parties were driven off in Champagne, Upper Alsace, and elsewhere.

The French carried out three well-planned raids, and in Lorraine took 525 prisoners.

Artillery duels took place along the entire front. A decided increase in the intensity of bombardments was noted.

The British have taken over an additional segment of the French line. The transfer of an appreciable mileage of the front below St. Quentin was made to the British without difficulty or delay.

Along the British front great activity prevailed. Near Epehy the Irish, near Lens the Canadians, east of Polygon Wood the New Zealanders, conducted successful local drives against enemy positions. The Germans raided the British lines north of Ypres, near La Vacquerie, and at a few other points.

After a heavy bombardment east of Arleux-en-Gohelle, the Germans began to advance against British positions. The attacking party was completely routed and a number of Germans were made prisoner.

U-BOAT BASES BOMBED

The weather was favorable for work in the air. The British again successfully bombed the submarine bases of Zeebrugge, as well as hostile concentrations in the vicinity of Ghent, Laon, Courtrai, Lille, &c. French aviators made a series of air attacks against points of military importance in the rear of enemy positions.

The Germans were also active, and a decided increase in hostile aircraft over our sector was reported.

In Italy, from the Val Guidicaria to the Adriatic, incessant reciprocal artillery bombardments took place. Slight infantry activity in the Val Lagarina was recorded. The Italians conducted a fortunate raid in front of Capo Sile, and the British forces operating in the Montello Hills announce a raid undertaken against hostile intrenchments.

In Palestine the British are following up their recent victories. On a fifteen-mile front east of Jerusalem the British advanced to a depth of two miles and along a seven-and-three-quarter-mile front they have pushed ahead for over three miles. Jericho has also been occupied. The offensive operations of the British are greatly facilitated by the successful completion of direct rail communication with Egypt.

In Arabia the detachment of Arabs are rendering useful assistance by the repeated raids along the railway north of Medina.

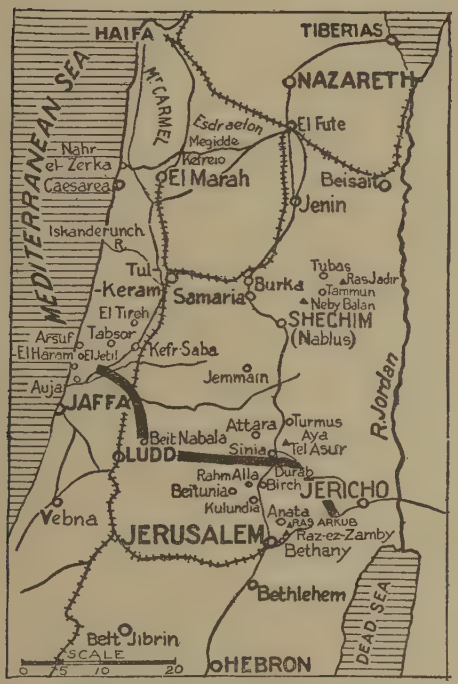
Week Ended March 2

The third month of relative quiescence on the western front has come to a close. During this period both belligerent groups have been massing their forces.

There is evidence that the enemy continues to bring up fresh units. Owing to transportation difficulties this has been a slow and laborious process.

The allied war council is now in continuous session, assuring complete unity and flexibility of control.

The British have extended their front.



BRITISH ADVANCE IN PALESTINE. JERICHO WAS CAPTURED FEB. 21

Our own forces have taken over a sector northwest of Toul. In addition, a number of our detached units are in action in Champagne.

The momentum of battle is increasing.

We have but to note the occurrences of the past week in our own sector in Lorraine in order to gain an idea of what is taking place on an even larger scale along the entire western front.

Patrols have been very active. Early in the week the enemy made two attempts to reach our lines, but was driven off by machine-gun fire. On March 1 the enemy developed a sharply driven attack. After a short struggle the hostile detachment was repulsed.

The Germans are now using gas along our front. Our men are becoming accustomed to this weapon. Our gas masks are efficiently protective. Our artillery was very busy shelling enemy dispositions and inflicted considerable damage on gun and mortar emplacements.

Important troop movements took place behind the German lines opposite our front.

In spite of the low visibility, hostile aircraft continued active and made frequent incursions over our lines.

In the region of the Chemin des Dames lively encounters took place. A French raid against the German outposts, in which a number of American volunteers participated, was very successfully carried through.

No important engagements occurred along the French front, which was less active than during the preceding period.

COUP DE MAIN BY FRENCH

On Feb. 24 the French executed a coup de main, destroying hostile defensive works and shelters near Aspach in Upper Alsace. Small raids in Champagne and Lorraine were also recorded.

The enemy was active in the vicinity of Avocourt and Les Eparges, and was driven back while attempting to react in the vicinity of the Butte du Mesnil and the Chemin des Dames.

Artillery duels were insistent along the entire front, flaring up with peculiar intensity in the Verdun salient and Upper Alsace.

Along the British front the Germans were more alert. They made numerous attempts to reach the British lines, and their raids were partially successful in the vicinity of the Ypres-Roulers railway and along the Yser; while in the vicinity of Passchendaele and in the Cambrai area repeated assaults were driven off.

The boldest enterprise undertaken by the enemy during the week took place north of Dixmude. Here, after prolonged artillery preparations, the enemy endeavored to throw a bridge across the

Yser. The Belgians successfully prevented six consecutive attempts to push this operation to successful conclusion, and the Germans were finally compelled to abandon the undertaking.

INVASION OF RUSSIA

The operations in the eastern theatre will probably have some repercussion along the western front. The new trend of events in Russia has no doubt modified German plans to a certain degree.

For the time being the enemy continues to advance eastward. Following the highways and railroads, six columns of invasion along a 700-mile front are operating in careful co-ordination.

In Esthonia the enemy has reached a point approximately 100 miles from Petrograd. In Livonia, Jurjev, 160 miles east of Riga, has been entered.

The column moving on Vitebsk is advancing at an average rate of sixteen miles daily and has passed beyond Pskov. This force has met with some opposition.

After the capture of Minsk the hostile army operating in this area continued its advance, and is apparently headed for Smolensk, and its ultimate objective, should it continue to find its course unimpeded, would be to cut off and possibly occupy Moscow.

The fifth column, operating in the Pripet sector, is also converging on Smolensk, with Moscow as a final objective.

The sixth column, composed of Austrian forces operating in Volhynia, owing to the favorable reception the Austrians have received at the hands of the Ukrainians, has been able to advance more than 200 miles into the interior and is reported to be within sixty miles of Kiev.

The Russians are believed to be preparing to stem the tide of invasion. Petrograd is being prepared to withstand a siege.

ITALIAN THEATRE

In the Italian theatre the Allies executed a number of minor raids along the Piave. The enemy confined his activity to increasingly heavy bombardments west of the Asiago Plateau. In the region of Val Largarina and Lake of Garda hostile preparations were particularly noticeable.

The enemy is continuing the bombardment of the cities of Venetia by aircraft. Repeated attacks were made against Venice, and much damage was inflicted upon churches and other buildings during these raids.

In the Caucasus the Turkish forces are meeting with little opposition. The region from the Lake of Van to the Black Sea is again in Turkish hands. In the districts reoccuppied by the Turks it is stated that they are massacring the Armenians.

In Palestine the British are in close contact with the Turks, who are retreating northward through the Valley of the Jordan.

In Mesopotamia the British are advancing up the Euphrates and have arrived in the vicinity of Hit, which is reported to have been evacuated by the Turks.

Week Ended March 9

In spite of the fact that 120,000 square miles of Russian territory have been invaded during the last three weeks, and the enemy now is sweeping forward into the heart of Russia and has reached a point within seventy miles of the capital, nevertheless the centre of gravity of the war remains in the west.

The Germans have for the last three and a half years done all in their power to upset the centre of gravity and shift it eastward. This explains the successive blows struck in Russia and later in the Italian theatre.

Notwithstanding the diversions of the minor campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and on the Balkan front, the key positions of the war are France and Flanders. Here the strategic situation remains relatively constant. The enemy is completing the redistribution of available forces. There are some new units flowing into the lines in the nature of replacements. Nothing in the situation should lead us to estimate that the Germans have abandoned their plans of a major offensive in the west.

Considering tactical dispositions, we note that the enemy has developed two principal axes of activity, the one pivot-

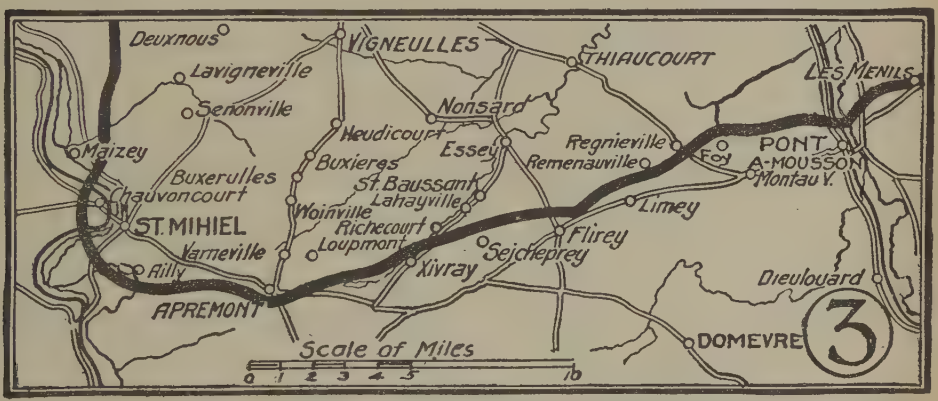
ing on Rheims, the other in Alsace, in front of Lunéville. The Allies, while assuming an alert defensive, are resting content with allowing the enemy to break the strength of his assaults against their impregnable line.

The morale of the French and British forces has never been better. They are keenly anxious to give battle to the enemy, confident of their superiority.

AMERICANS ON FOUR SECTORS

Our own forces have been constantly engaged. The scope of their activities is being daily extended. The number of our detachments in the line is increasing. We now have troops in the trenches at four separate points.

At dawn on March 5 the enemy attempted a strong raid against one of



ST. MIHIEL SALIENT, WHERE AMERICANS HOLD SEVERAL MILES OF TRENCHES THROUGH SEICHEPREY, XIVRAY, AND FLIREY

our advance posts further south. This thrust was repulsed with a loss to the enemy. Our casualties were slight and no prisoners or missing were reported. The French General commanding this sector congratulated our commander on the splendid manner in which our troops repulsed the assaulting columns.

We now hold four and a half miles of the battle front in our principal sector.

On March 7 the enemy, making use of liquid fire, advanced to the assault against our trenches. This is the first time this weapon has been tried out against our men. The assaulting column was repulsed and the Germans were compelled to abandon the flame-throwing apparatus, which was captured and later brought into our lines. During this attack the liquid fire reached a trench segment which contained none of our men, and little damage was inflicted. Our own patrols are continuously out on scouting missions, keeping in close contact with the enemy.

In our Toul sector the Germans are carrying on extensive preparations, continuing to bring up fresh units and accumulating material, apparently with a view to undertaking more extensive operations.

FRENCH SURPRISE ATTACK

During the period under review the French along their front have remained relatively inactive. However, they carried out a very successful surprise attack east of the Meuse against the enemy positions in the Calonne trenches. The French forces, on a frontage of some 1,200 yards, advanced to a depth of 600 yards and were able to reach the German fourth-line positions. The enemy counterattacked in force on the French left flank, but was repulsed without difficulty, and the French brought in over 150 prisoners.

French units drove the Germans from positions where they had recently gained a foothold in the vicinity of Fort Pompelle, southeast of Rheims. By a fortunate stroke, the French were able to dislodge the enemy and regain complete control of their old line.

During the last seven-day period the

Germans conducted no less than twenty hard-driven raids along the French front. The greater part of these were repulsed without difficulty, though the enemy was able to capture some 400 prisoners west of the Meuse early in the week, as well as to retake part of the trenches in the region of the Butte du Mesnil, which the French had captured in February.

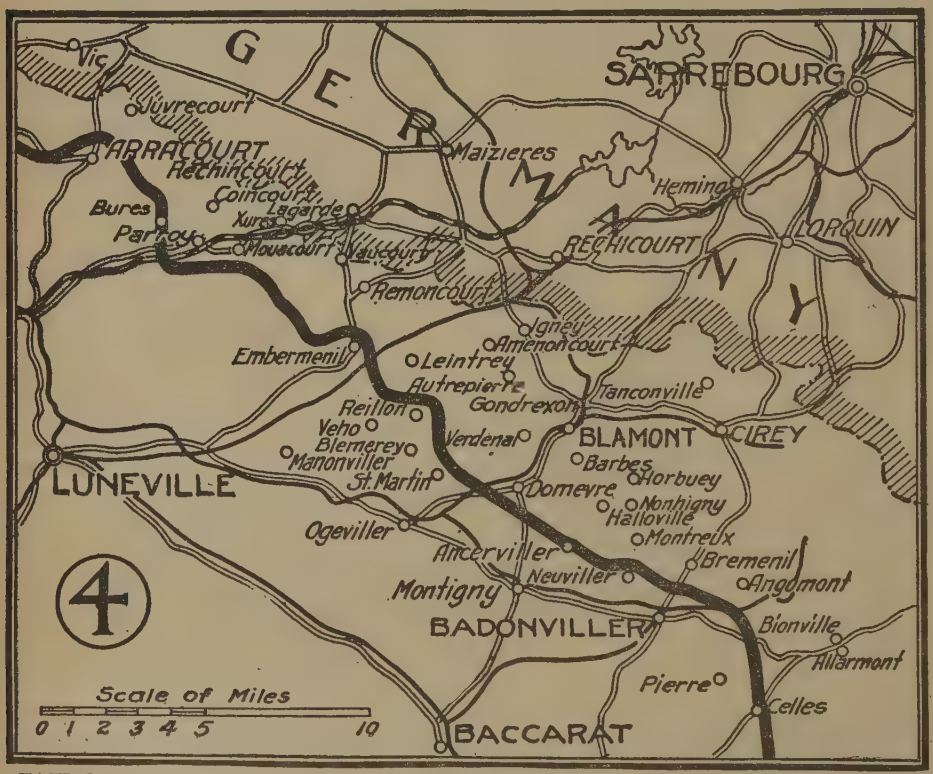
Along the British front, the British continued to hold the initiative and drove forward a series of successful minor raids along the Ypres salient, as well as at many points southward. The Australians carried out a very successful reconnoissance at Warneton, taking a number of prisoners and several machine guns. Though the attacking forces met with strong resistance, nevertheless they were able to mop up the enemy trenches in short order and reached the German second line after repulsing two strong counterthrusts. The English brought in prisoners south of St. Quentin and north of Scarpe.

TWO ACTIVE NIGHTS

The Germans made raids into the British lines at a large number of points. Along the whole sector hostile raiding is increasing, and during two successive nights the Germans undertook no less than ten operations which were more than mere raids.

More serious fighting took place in the Ypres-Dixmude sector. Here the enemy launched an attack in force on a frontage of over a mile and was able to gain a temporary foothold in the British advance post, south of Houthulst Wood. Severe fighting ensued, and as a result of a very brisk engagment the British units not only repulsed the enemy, but drove forward 300 yards from their original starting point.

In the region of Messines a trench element held by the Portuguese forces was



EAST OF LUNEVILLE AMERICANS ATTACKED AND SEIZED ENEMY TRENCHES NEAR BADONVILLER

assaulted by the enemy, but the Portuguese troops held their ground firmly and drove off the attacking column.

As indicative of the intense air activities which now prevail, 214 enemy aircraft were brought down during last month on the western front. The Allies lost only eighty-eight machines on all fronts, while the enemy is credited with the loss of 273.

ITALIAN FRONT

In the Italian theatre heavy snow in the mountain area has prevented further operations. Artillery duels were, however, lively from the Astico to the Brenta, and from the eastern slopes of the Monte Grappa to the Piave.

The Italian front remains temporarily quiet. Advices indicate that the enemy contemplates taking the offensive in the mountain area, possibly in an effort to debouch through the Val Lagarina into the plain. We may look for increased activity in this theatre, which will, no doubt, develop spontaneously when preparations have been completed and weather conditions are more favorable.

In the meantime, Italian forces have now fully recovered from their losses of the campaign of last Autumn. Their cadres are reorganized, and the Italian armies are operating in close conjunction with the British and French divisions now at the front in Italy.

INVASION OF RUSSIA

In Russia the situation is changing with eruptive rapidity. The Germans continue to advance inland. The lists tabulated by the enemy of terrain captured, of guns, stores, and other war material taken, grow daily more voluminous.

In Finland the Germans are operating in conjunction with the White Guards against the Red Guards, and are in control of the line north of Tammerfors and Viborg. The Germans have landed on the Aland Islands, which they will probably use as a base for an invasion of Finland.

The German invasion of Russia is in full swing. One hostile column, at least, is now meeting with some opposition. In Esthonia the Russians are holding off the invaders in front of Jamburg. This centre, though occupied by the enemy, has been retaken by Russian forces. Advices from Petrograd indicate that 100,000 workmen have enrolled in the Russian Army and are rallying for the defense of the capital.

Petrograd has been bombarded by German aircraft. Two additional invading columns, making eight in all, are making some headway along their respective lines of advance. The Livonian column has progressed about 130 miles in five and a half days, capturing many prisoners. The column advancing on Smolensk has arrived on the Dnieper and reached a point seventy-eight miles from this city. Two new columns under Austrian control are bearing down through Podolia into Northern Bessarabia. Three Russian infantry divisions are said to have surrendered to the Austrians.

In Siberia it is reported that the ex-German war prisoners are armed and drilling in the vicinity of Irkutsk, and that throughout Siberia German and Austrian prisoners of war are being assisted by certain Russian elements. Railway bridges east of Lake Baikal and in the vicinity of Chita have been destroyed as a result of the rumor of Japanese intervention.

A detachment of American engineers is en route for Harbin.

IN ASIA MINOR

In Mesopotamia the British are in constant contact with the Turks and have taken a number of prisoners in the vicinity of Hit.

In Palestine the British are pushing steadily forward, particularly along and west of the Nablus road. Cavalry encounters east and north of Jericho are reported.

In Macedonia a Bulgarian raid was repulsed southwest of Seres, and intermittent artillery action is noted in the vicinity of Monastir.

Week Ended March 15

The period of inactivity in the west is being prolonged. Though the raids now taking place would in the past have

been considered important engagements, nevertheless, owing to the fact that they are merely of minor tactical value, they cannot be held to be major operations. While hostile preparations for an offensive in the west are not slackening, it is becoming more evident that the enemy will launch this offensive only if compelled to do so by the exigencies of the general strategic situation.

While fresh German divisions are reported as arriving in the west, it is important to note that the density of the enemy forces has nearly reached a point beyond which it will be impracticable to go, for, should any large additional body of men be massed, the chances are that the congestion of the lines of communication will become so great as to make it impossible to maintain the flexibility of manoeuvre, which is so essential.

Our own forces in France have been constantly in action. Our troops are now in the trenches at five different points. This week we undertook our first assault against German positions unassisted by any allied contingent.

At dawn, on March 11, after a preliminary bombardment lasting three-quarters of an hour, we drove a highly successful raid against a German trench segment. Our men penetrated the German line to a depth of 300 yards. The enemy was driven off after a hand-to-hand fight, whereupon our contingent returned to our lines.

TWO SUCCESSFUL RAIDS

At three places in Lorraine American troops, acting in co-operation with small French detachments, raided German trenches. Two of these operations were carried out simultaneously, each on a frontage of some 600 yards. After a prolonged bombardment the attacking units were able to reach their objectives. Few of the enemy were found in the first-line trenches and the attackers swept forward into the German second line. Our men remained for nearly an hour in the German positions and retired after inflicting much damage and capturing a considerable quantity of material.

There has been a decided increase in sniping, owing to more favorable weather conditions. Our artillery was also very active. We kept up a vigorous bombardment on the rear areas opposite our Toul sector. Near the Swiss border, where another detachment of our men are in the trenches, hostile bombardments were frequent.

The western front, from the North Sea to the Aisne, was the scene of much hard fighting. In Flanders the British were able completely to re-establish themselves in the advance posts near Polderhoek Ridge and Houthulst Wood, which the enemy had captured during the preceding week.

The Germans initiated a number of important raids undertaken on a wide frontage which, had they proved successful, might possibly have developed into engagements of a broader character, as the blows driven in the vicinity of Passchendaele, Houthulst Wood, and along Menin road could readily have been linked together into an offensive having a frontage of eight and one-half miles. The British successfully raided the German lines from south of St. Quentin to Houthulst Wood.

ITALY AND THE EAST

In the Italian theatre the arrival of further hostile units, and the concentration of material coming from Germany, is noted in the area east and west of the Lake of Garda, which would point to hostile operations having Verona and Brescia as their objectives.

In the eastern theatre the enemy has stopped advancing in the north, while consolidating the territory gained in the south.

The chief operation of the week culminated in the capture of Odessa. An Austrian column bearing down from the north formed a junction with a German column which had advanced rapidly across Bessarabia. The occupation of Odessa will no doubt be of economic importance to the enemy. In Finland fighting continues. German infantry has landed at Abo, and the arrival of important additional German forces on the Aland Islands is reported.

In Palestine the British continue to advance. They have now pushed their lines eighteen miles north of Jerusalem.

RUSSIA'S CAPITULATION

Story of the New German Invasion, With Events Attending the Signing of the Peace Treaty— Germans in Finland and the Ukraine

IN an official proclamation, issued on Feb. 10, 1918, the Petrograd Government announced its decision to withdraw from the war without signing "an annexationist treaty." Simultaneously, complete demobilization of the Russian troops on all fronts was decreed. The Bolsheviki laid down their arms in a manner new in international relations. Four days later Leon Trotzky, who headed the Russian peace delegation, reported to the Central Executive Committee of the Councils on the results of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. He stated that Russia's withdrawal from the war was genuine, and that it implied the annulment of all agreements with her allies. The committee approved Trotzky's policy, and expressed its confidence that the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary would not allow a new offensive against the workers of Russia. The text of the official withdrawal was published in the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

The "no war, but no peace" declaration of the Petrograd Government was received in Germany with much suspicion. Both in Government circles and in the press the opinion prevailed that Trotzky's step ended the armistice, but did not end the war. Dr. Richard von Kühlmann had stated at the end of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations that if no peace treaty was signed, Russia would still be at war with Germany. The fact that one of the parties had demobilized its armies did not, he believed, change the situation. On Feb. 14, the Berliner Neueste Nachrichten, a German daily inspired from high army circles, wrote in effect:

> For us the state of war remains, and the fact of our possession of occupied eastern territory remains, too. * * * The army command stands by the point of view that so long as the Russian Government does not produce proofs that it wishes peace earnestly and honestly, so long as it does not bring guarantees for that, and so long as evil agitation is carried on among German troops by Russian officers under orders of the Russian Army command, the situation can only produce further hostilities.

Other papers declared the Russian demobilization order to be a sham manoeuvre. They reported that this order was quickly rescinded and that the Bolsheviki were busy organizing a large Red Army. The news was circulated that the Bolsheviki were arresting Germans in Russia by wholesale and holding them as hostages.

NEW INVASION OF RUSSIA

On Feb. 15 it was reported that Germany had resolved to resume military operations against Russia. The decision had been reached at a conference of the chief German military and political leaders, including the Emperor. An official German statement declared Russia's action of Feb. 10 equivalent to a denouncement of the truce signed on Dec. 15. Accordingly the Army Headquarters announced that the armistice on the Great Russian front expired at noon Monday, Feb. 18. Germany had now a free hand in the East.

Austria-Hungary showed no eagerness to renew the war against Northern Russia. The general tone of the Viennese press was one of opposition to the reopening of hostilities against the Bolsheviki. It was pointed out among other things that the Dual Monarchy no longer bordered on Russia, and was, therefore, not called to interfere in Russian affairs. A Vienna dispatch dated Feb. 18 announced that "an agreement had been reached between Germany and Austria-Hungary whereby, in the event of military action being necessary, the German

troops would be confined to the frontier of Great Russia, and the Austrians to Ukraine only."

Two hours after the truce came to an end the Germans crossed the Dvina Bridge, which the retreating Russian Army had failed to blow up, and entered Dvinsk, meeting with little resistance. All along a front stretching from the Baltic coast to Volhynia in the south the invading troops advanced eastward. The immediate objective in the north was the seizure of Esthonia and Livonia. The Germans declared that it was their aim to rescue the population of these provinces from the Bolshevist rule of murder and looting. Simultaneously, the town of Lutsk, in the Province of Volhynia, was occupied without fighting. According to an official German statement, the campaign in the south was undertaken in response to an "appeal of the Ukrainians," in which they implored "the peaceful and order-loving German people" to help them in their struggle with the Bolsheviki. In an army order Prince Leopold of Bavaria declared that the aim of the advance was not annexation but restoration of order and suppression of anarchy threatening to infect Europe.

THE BOLSHEVIKI CAPITULATE

The reopening of hostilities had an immediate effect on the Petrograd authorities. When the first day of the invasion was over the Council of People's Commissaries (the Bolshevist Cabinet of Ministers) held an all-night sitting, which took up the question of capitulation. Lenine pronounced himself in favor of accepting the German terms unconditionally and signing a peace treaty. Trotzky stood for war, but at the last moment he changed his mind, and the peace proposal was carried by a majority of one vote. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, the Bolshevist Parliament, was not consulted, and at 5:30 in the morning Feb. 19, a proclamation was issued by Lenine and Trotzky protesting against the German advance, but announcing that "in the present circumstances the Council of People's Commissaries regards itself as forced formally to declare its willingness to sign a peace upon the conditions which had been dictated by the delegations of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk."

Later in the day Ensign Krylenko, the Bolshevist Commander in Chief, addressed the following message to the Russian troops:

> The Council of People's Commissaries has offered to the Germans to sign peace immediately. I order that in all cases where Germans are encountered massed, pourparlers with the German soldiers should be organized and the proposal to refrain from fighting made to them. If Germans refuse, then you must offer to them every possible resistance.
>
> (Signed) KRYLENKO.

Speaking on the same day (Feb. 19) before the Executive Committee of the Soviets, Lenine defended the step of the Commissaries by pointing out that the country was completely unable to offer resistance and that peace was indispensable for the completion of the social revolution in Russia. He also argued that the imperialist Governments then at war would sooner or later unite for the purpose of crushing the Socialist commonwealth of Russia, and that it was, therefore, imperative to make peace while Russia's enemies were divided. The capital received the new decision of the Government with indifference; the press was divided as to the wisdom of it.

GERMANY'S REPLY

The German reply came late in the afternoon in the form of a telegram signed by General Hoffmann. Its text, together with that of the Russian answer, follows:

> To the Council of People's Commissaries—A wireless message, signed by Nikolai Lenine and L. Trotzky from Tsarskoe Selo was today (Tuesday, Feb. 19) received at König Wusterhausen at 9:12 A. M. It has been handed over to the royal Government, although a wireless message cannot be regarded as an official document because the original signatures are absent. I am authorized to request from the People's Commissaries authentication in writing of the wireless message, which must be sent to the German command at Dvinsk.
>
> GENERAL HOFFMANN.

The Russian answer:

> We are sending today from Petrograd a messenger to Dvinsk with the wireless message containing the original signa-

tures of Lenine and Trotzky. We beg you to give us an acknowledgment of this message and inform us if it has been received promptly. We also beg you to reply in Russian.

COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES.

A messenger carrying the authentic capitulation telegram was forthwith dispatched to Dvinsk, but the Germans did not hasten to declare their attitude toward the Russian proposal. The situation remained uncertain till the end of the week. Meanwhile the invasion continued almost unopposed. The German detachments moved swiftly eastward, in four armies, and on Feb. 21 were seventy miles northeast of Riga. They announced the capture of 9,000 prisoners, including an army and a number of divisional commanders, with enormous quantities of booty.

Esthonia was occupied, and in the south the Germans came into touch with the Ukrainian troops. On Feb. 23 the Turkish Army began an offensive in the Caucasus. The Russian regular troops fled in disorder, blocking the roads and leaving ruin and destruction in the wake of their retreat.

TARDY CALL TO ARMS

In these circumstances the Bolshevist authorities called on the people to resist the invaders and organize a guerrilla warfare, if necessary. "The duty of Russian workmen and peasants," said a proclamation issued by the People's Commissaries on Feb. 22, "is defense to the death of the republic against the masses of bourgeoisie and imperialists of Germany." The proclamation urged the following points:

First—All the forces in the country in their entirety must place themselves at the service of the defense of the revolution.

Second—All the councils of workmen's and soldiers' revolutionary organizations must enter into the compulsory defense of each position to the last drop of their blood.

Third—Organizations on railways and the Soviets connected therewith are obliged with all their strength to check attempts of the enemy to profit by the equipment of lines of communication. In their retreat they must destroy the railways and blow up the stations. All rolling stock and locomotives must be sent eastward and into the interior of the country without delay.

Fourth—Corn and provisions in general are placed on the same footing as valuable property when in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy and must then be destroyed. The local Soviets must see that these decisions are carried out and the responsibility falls upon their representatives.

Fifth—Workmen and peasants of Petrograd, Kiev, and all towns, villages, and hamlets on the line of the new front must raise battalions to dig trenches under direction of the military Socialists.

Sixth—All members of the bourgeois class, the women as well as the men, must enter these battalions under surveillance of the Red Guards and in case of resistance must be shot.

Seventh—All institutions which offer resistance to the action of the revolution on the defensive and pass to the side of the German bourgeoisie, or which have a tendency to profit by the invasion of the imperialistic masses in order to overthrow the authority of the Soviets, must be closed. Directors of and collaborators with these institutions who are capable of work must mobilize themselves to dig trenches and engage in other defensive works.

Eighth—Foreign agents and speculators are counted as revolutionary agitators, and German spies must be shot at sight. The Socialist Fatherland is in danger. Long live the national social revolution!

Another official proclamation declared:

We agreed to sign peace terms at the cost of enormous concessions in order to save the country from final exhaustion and the ruin of the revolution. Once more the German working class, in this threatening hour, has shown itself insufficiently determined to stay the strong criminal hand of its own militarism. We had no other choice but to accept the conditions of German imperialism until a revolution changes or cancels them.

The German Government is not hastening to reply to us, evidently aiming to seize as many important positions in our territory as possible. The enemy has occupied Dvinsk, Werder, and Lutsk, and is continuing to strangle by hunger the most important centres of the revolution.

We even now are convinced firmly that the German working classes will rise against the attempts of the ruling classes to stifle the revolution, but we cannot predict with certainty when this will occur. The German imperialists may hesitate at nothing for the purpose of destroying the authority of the councils and taking the land from the peasants.

The Commissaries call on all loyal

councils and army organizations to use all efforts to re-create the army. Perverted elements of hooligans, marauders, and cowards should be expelled from the ranks, and, in the event of resistance, wiped off the face of the earth.

The bourgeoisie, who under Kerensky and the Czar evaded the burden of war and profited from its misfortunes, must be made to fulfill their duties by the most decisive and merciless measures.

RUSSIA'S CANOSSA

This appeal testified to the ascendency of the war party in the Petrograd Government, but that ascendency was only temporary. The Bolsheviki who advocated resistance had a powerful enemy in the person of Lenine, head of the Government, who held the view that peace should have been signed at Brest-Litovsk. "The Russians," he said, "must preserve "the revolution at all costs. They must "therefore submit to the German de- "mands, until they are joined by other "nations, who will surely revolt under "the pressure of the world war."

Finally, on Feb. 23, the Germans, through Foreign Secretary Kühlmann, announced that they were prepared to make a new offer of peace imposing new and more drastic terms than the previous offer, and added the condition that this offer must be accepted in forty-eight hours and must be signed within three days and ratified within two weeks.

LENINE FOR SURRENDER

All through the night the German offer was discussed at party meetings, the peace tendency growing gradually stronger. Premier Lenine in urging the acceptance of the new peace terms said:

The German reply offers peace terms still more severe than those of Brest-Litovsk. Nevertheless, I am absolutely convinced that to refuse to sign these terms is only possible to those who are intoxicated by revolutionary phrases. Up till now I have tried to impress on the members of the party the necessity of clearing their minds of revolutionary cant. Now I must do this openly, for unfortunately my worst forebodings have been justified.

Party workers in January declared war on revolutionary phrases, and said that a policy of refusal to sign a peace would perhaps satisfy the craving for effectiveness—and brilliance—but would leave out of account the objective correlation of class forces and material factors in the present initial moment of the Socialist revolution. They further said that if we refused to sign the peace then proposed more crushing defeats would compel Russia to conclude a still more disadvantageous separate peace.

The event proved even worse than I anticipated, for our retreating army seems demoralized and absolutely refuses to fight. Only unrestrained phrasemaking can impel Russia at this moment and in these conditions to continue the war, and I personally would not remain a minute longer either in the Government or in the Central Committee of our party if the policy of phrasemaking were to prevail.

This new bitter truth has revealed itself with such terrible distinctness that it is impossible not to see it. All the bourgeoisie in Russia is jubilant at the approach of the Germans. Only a blind man or men infatuated by phrases can fail to see that the policy of a revolutionary war without an army is water in the bourgeois mill. In the bourgeois papers there is already exaltation in view of the impending overthrow of the Soviet Government by the Germans.

We are compelled to submit to a distressing peace. It will not stop revolution in Germany and Europe. We shall now begin to prepare a revolutionary army, not by phrases and exclamations, as did those who after Jan. 10 did nothing even to attempt to stop our fleeing troops, but by organized work, by the creation of a serious national, mighty army. * * *

Their knees are on our chest, and our position is hopeless. * * * This peace must be accepted as a respite enabling us to prepare a decisive resistance to the bourgeoisie and imperialists. The proletariat of the whole world will come to our aid. Then we shall renew the fight.

GERMAN TERMS ACCEPTED

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets met in the early morning of the 24th, (Sunday,) and, swayed by Lenine, accepted the German terms by a majority of 112 against 84, 22 not voting. Trotzky was not present at the sitting. Thereupon the Petrograd authorities informed the German Government that a Russian representative was leaving for Dvinsk Sunday at noon, for the purpose of transmitting Russia's official reply to Germany's peace offer. A telegram, addressed "to all," announced that, "according to the decision of the Central Executive of the Soviets,

FIRST AID IN THE AMERICAN FRONT-LINE TRENCHES

American ambulance men rendering first aid to soldiers wounded in the trenches on one of the sectors now held by the American expeditionary force

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AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE READY FOR A GAS ATTACK

A group of Americans in the front-line trenches on the Lorraine sector about to make a trench raid, equipped with masks as protection against an enemy gas attack

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taken at 4:30 Sunday morning, [Feb. 24, 1918,] the Councils and People's Commissaries have decided to accept Germany's peace terms and will send a delegation to Brest-Litovsk." The Bolsheviki elected a new peace deputation, which included only one member of the former commission, and the envoys, accompanied by military and naval representatives, left for Brest-Litovsk to sign the pact. The delegates were M. Zinovieff, President of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates; M. Aleyxieff, Acting Commissioner of Agriculture, and M. Sokolkokoff.

Speaking before the Reichstag on Feb. 25, Count von Hertling, Imperial German Chancellor, declared that peace with Russia was well in sight. Prior to that, Count Czernin, Austrian Foreign Minister, informed the Russian Government that Austria-Hungary was ready, jointly with her allies, to bring the peace negotiations to the desired end. Nevertheless, the German Government gave no formal reply to the Russian acceptance of the peace terms and refused to grant the armistice which the Russians hoped would be automatically restored by Russia's surrender.

"Resistance becomes the principal task of the revolution," concluded the Russian official statement which announced the German refusal to grant an armistice. As the counter-revolutionary character of the German aggression became more manifest, and as one important base after another fell into their hands, the will to resist asserted itself more strongly and the peace mood rapidly waned.

NEW DEFENSE MOVEMENT

The Petrograd Soviet, which consisted mostly of Workmen's Delegates, took matters into its hands, and the city workers, especially the proletariat of Petrograd, became the backbone of the movement for the defense of the country and the revolution. Never since the March revolution had Petrograd and Moscow shown more signs of military activity. Detachments of Red Guards were being dispatched to the front and volunteers for the new revolutionary army hurriedly enrolled and drilled. It was reported that fully nine-tenths of the workmen had enlisted in the "Red Army," and that the Viborg and Old Petrograd districts alone gave 90,000 volunteers. Other elements, moved by patriotism, joined the Bolsheviki, and young army officers of the bourgeoisie were seen at the head of Red battalions.

Presently the invasion ceased to be a mere military promenade. The first serious resistance the Germans encountered was at Pskov, sixty-five miles southeast of Petrograd, on Feb. 26. The following day the Teutons were forced by the Russians to retire near Orsha. But on the same day Pskov was occupied by the Germans, and Petrograd was declared to be in a state of siege. The allied representatives left Petrograd at this time, and the Bolshevist Government began the removal of the State archives to Moscow.

The work of the Red Army was greatly hampered by the regular troops, which refused to fight, and fled in panic, looting and pillaging the towns they traversed. The Soviet detachments had the double task of disarming the demoralized soldiers and of fighting the aggressors. They fought doggedly, knowing that the Germans would give them no quarter. According to a Bolshevist statement, the Germans announced that all the Red Guards would be hanged or shot. Another proclamation issued by the People's Commissaries declared that the invaders were arresting the Soviets, and concluded with these words: "May the "blood shed in this unequal struggle fall "on the heads of the German Socialists, "who are allowing the German work-"men to be ranked among the Cains and "Judases."

In addition to these activities, the Bolsheviki were also carrying on war against the Cossacks and Ukrainians in the south. They defeated Kaledin's forces and occupied Rostov-on-Don and Novocherkassk. They also engaged the rearguard of Kornilov's troops, and assisted the Ukrainian Bolsheviki.

On March 2 the Petrograd Government received from the Russian peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk a dispatch asking for a train to Toroshaets, "es-

corted by a sufficiently large force." How this message was interpreted by the Bolshevist authorities is seen from the following communication sent by Lenine to all the councils:

> This message most probably signifies that the peace negotiations have been broken off by the Germans. We must be ready for an immediate German advance on Petrograd and on all fronts. It is necessary that all the people rise and strengthen the measures for defense.

Lenine was mistaken. A later message presented the situation in a different light. It appeared that the envoys had resolved to sign the peace treaty without discussing its contents, in view of the fact that further deliberations might only make matters worse and that the Germans refused to cease military operations until the pact was duly signed. Therefore the delegation asked for a train, expecting to leave immediately upon signing the treaty.

By March 3, when the Germans announced that their advance had ceased on account of the signing of the peace treaty, they reported the capture of 6,800 Russian officers, 57,000 men, 2,400 guns, 5,000 machine guns, motor vehicles, 800 locomotives, and enormous quantities of munitions and supplies. Reval, Dorpat, and Narva were occupied; also Pskov, Polotzk, and Borissoff; Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, was in their possession, and practically all of Russia lying west of a line beginning at Narva on the Gulf of Finland, seventy miles west of Petrograd and running almost due south to Kiev. It placed under German domination the provinces of Russian Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Livonia; the outlying islands in the Gulf of Finland were later occupied. [The text of the treaty will be found following this article.]

The new treaty dispossessed Russia of territories amounting to nearly one-quarter of the area of European Russia and inhabited by one-third of Russia's total population. In addition to Finland, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, a portion of Trans-Caucasia, lying at the southeast of the Black Sea, was ceded. This territory, the fruit of four wars waged against Turkey, is 20,000 square miles in area and contains a million population. If the new treaty concessions remain in force after the war, the great Russian Empire will be reduced practically to the size of the mediaeval Principality of Muscovy.

GERMANY'S PEACE TERMS

The humiliating terms of peace imposed on Russia by the Central Powers were formally accepted by the Bolshevist Government at a meeting of the Pan-Soviet Congress held at Moscow on March 14-16, 1918. The action was taken under the influence of the Premier, Nikolai Lenine, and over the protest of the Foreign Minister, Leon Trotzky, who had been the chief figure in the original negotiations at Brest-Litovsk.

The peace treaty accepted by the Bolshevist delegates under German pressure at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, of which an official summary is printed in succeeding pages, provided that ratification was required within a fortnight. Trotzky opposed the treaty and was not a delegate at the final peace conference. He was displaced as Foreign Minister on account of his opposition to the treaty, being succeeded by M. Tchitcherin. Trotzky did not attend the Pan-Soviet Congress at Moscow. He was made Chairman of the newly created Government of Petrograd known as the Petrograd Labor Commune, which in turn was controlled by the Petrograd Workmen's and Soldiers' Council "for safeguarding revolutionary order and protecting the city from the enemy." It was stated at the Soviet Congress by one of the delegates opposing the treaty that this pact contained a secret clause making Petrograd a "free city."

CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

The congress was held in the Banquet Hall of the Nobility Club at Moscow, where former Emperors often were entertained. The Bolshevist Government, removing its offices from Petrograd to Moscow, had reached the latter city March 11. Lenine brought with him all the Government officials and State archives, and proclaimed Moscow the capital city, a distinction which it had last enjoyed 215 years before, when

Peter the Great had removed his Government from Moscow to the new city at the mouth of the Neva.

The Pan-Soviet Congress numbered 1,164 delegates, the majority being soldiers, sailors, and workmen drawn largely from Bolshevist constituencies, principally in European Russia's industrial centres, with very few delegates representing the peasants, the so-called bourgeoisie, (merchants, manufacturers, and business men,) or the professional classes; of the 1,164 delegates 732 were outspoken followers of Lenine; there were thirty-eight Social Revolutionaries, representing the moderate Socialists. M. Sverdloff, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congress, presided.

Premier Lenine made the principal speech in favor of ratifying the treaty, which had previously been indorsed by a caucus of the Bolsheviki by almost unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE

A telegram from President Wilson was read at the opening session. It was as follows:

"May I not take advantage of the meeting of the Congress of the Soviets to express the sincere sympathy which the people of the United States feel for the Russian people at this moment when the German power has been thrust in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and substitute the wishes of Germany for the purpose of the people of Russia?

"Although the Government of the United States is, unhappily, not now in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia through the congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs and full restoration to her great rôle in the life of Europe and the modern world.

"The whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the masters of their own life.

(Signed) "WOODROW WILSON."

Washington, March 11, 1918.

The message was telegraphed to the American Consul General at Moscow for delivery to the congress.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, sent the following cablegram:

To the All-Russian Soviet, Moscow:

We address you in the name of world liberty. We assure you that the people of the United States are pained by every blow at Russian freedom, as they would be by a blow at their own. The American people desire to be of service to the Russian people in their struggle to safeguard freedom and realize its opportunities. We desire to be informed as to how we may help.

We speak for a great organized movement of working people who are devoted to the cause of freedom and the ideals of democracy. We assure you also that the whole American Nation ardently desires to be helpful to Russia and awaits with eagerness an indication from Russia as to how help may most effectively be extended.

To all those who strive for freedom we say: Courage! Justice must triumph if all free people stand united against autocracy! We await your suggestions.

American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.
SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

Cablegrams of similar import were sent by a large convention of Russian workmen held in New York, and by the American Security League.

President Wilson's message was read at the opening session of the congress. On the next day the congress adopted the following resolution in reply:

The congress expresses its gratitude to the American people, above all to the laboring and exploited classes of the United States, for the sympathy expressed to the Russian people by President Wilson through the Congress of Soviets in the days of severe trials.

The Russian Socialistic Federative Republic of Soviets takes advantage of President Wilson's communication to express to all peoples perishing and suffering from the horrors of imperialistic war its warm sympathy and firm belief that the happy time is not far distant when the laboring masses of all countries will throw off the yoke of capitalism and will establish a socialistic state of society, which alone is capable of securing just and lasting peace as well as the culture and well-being of all laboring people.

In presenting the cablegram the Chairman said:

> Comrades, allow me, in the name of the congress, to express my firm belief that the wide masses of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat of Western Europe, as well as of America and Australia, are with us with all their hearts. Allow me to express my firm belief that these masses are watching with the closest attention the struggle which we are carrying on here in Russia, and I will permit myself to submit to your attention the resolution which was adopted by the presiding body of the Central Executive Committee in answer to President Wilson's address to the congress.

The telegram of the President of the American Federation of Labor was read to the congress and received with applause, but no action regarding it was taken. The Chairman announced that the message sent to the American people as the reply to President Wilson was sufficient.

RATIFYING THE TREATY

The congress, after a three days' session, adjourned March 16, having approved the removal of the capital to Moscow and elected a new Central Executive Committee of 200 members. No official report of the proceedings had been given out up to the time this record was closed, (March 20.) The impression conveyed by the semi-official reports was that the Bolsheviki ostensibly persisted in their belief that their revolutionary movement would so infect Germany and Austria as to cause the people of those countries to prevent the execution of the onerous terms of the treaty and enable the Bolsheviki to complete their revolutionary program.

The vote in the congress on ratifying the treaty stood 704 to 261. Two Bolshevist Commissaries—Debenko and Kolantai—and four Social Revolutionaries —Steinberg, Kalagaieff, Karelin, and Broshian—resigned from the Bolshevist Cabinet when the result was announced. It was asserted that the full provisions of the treaty were not made public, (the published terms appear on Page 54,) and it was charged that Germany had exacted an indemnity of 9,000,000,000 rubles, and that secret economic provisions gave Germany complete mastery of the former Russian Empire.

The Bolsheviki changed the name of their party on March 16 to the "Communist Party."

VON HERTLING DEFENDS TREATY

Chancellor von Hertling, on the first reading in the Reichstag of the peace treaty with Russia, March 19, declared that he did not wish to discuss the opinions of Germany's enemies. He continued:

> Hypocrisy has become second nature to the enemy, whose untruthfulness is made worse by its brutality. Every attempt at calm explanation and every real deliberation must fail, when the enemy, at the very moment he is laying a heavy hand on a neutral country, dares to speak of a policy guided by complete unselfishness. The treaty with Russia contains no conditions disgraceful to Russia, if the provinces breaking away from Russia say it is in accordance with their own wish and the wish is accepted by Russia.

The Chancellor declared that Courland and Lithuania were united to Germany politically, economically, and militarily, and added:

> Livonia and Esthonia are the eastern frontier fixed by the treaty, but we hope that they also will have close and friendly relations with Germany; not, however, to the exclusion of their friendly relations with Russia. Poland is not mentioned in the treaty, and we shall endeavor to see if it is possible to live in stable and good-neighborly relations with the new State.
>
> If the Reichstag adopts the treaty, peace on the whole eastern front will be restored, as I announced Feb. 24; but among the Entente Powers there is not the least inclination to finish this terrible war. The responsibility for bloodshed will be upon the heads of those who wish continuation of the bloodshed.

NEGOTIATIONS REVIEWED

The Chancellor referred to Russia's proposal that all the belligerents enter into the peace negotiations, and added:

> We and our allies accepted the proposals and sent delegates to Brest-Litovsk. The powers until then allied with Russia remained aloof. The course of the negotiations is known to you. You remember the endless speeches, which were intended not so much for the delegates there assembled as for the public at large, and which caused the desired goal of an understanding to recede into the distance. You remember the repeated interruptions, the rupture and the resumption of the negotiations. The

point had been reached where "yes" or "no" had to be said, and on March 3 peace was concluded at Brest-Litovsk. On March 16 it was ratified by a competent assembly at Moscow.

If in the telegram from Washington it was thought fit to express to the Congress assembled at Moscow the sympathy of the United States at a moment when, as it says, the German power obtruded itself, in order to bring success to the battle for freedom, then I put that calmly aside with the rest. * * *

We have not for a moment contemplated, and do not contemplate, opposing the justified wishes and endeavor of Russia to be liberated. As I said on Nov. 29, we desire for that sorely tried land a speedy return to a peaceful and orderly state of affairs, and we deeply deplore the terrible conditions which have made their appearance in many places.

Among the Entente there is not the slightest inclination to abandon the war, but rather the intention is manifested to continue this terrible combat till we are destroyed. We shall not lose courage on that account, for we are prepared for everything. We are prepared to make further sacrifices and stand firm as a rock in our confidence in our splendid army leadership and our heroic soldiers.

NO DISHONOR IN TREATY

Discussing the Russian treaty, the Chancellor said:

It contains no conditions whatever which dishonor Russia, no mention of oppressive war indemnities, no forcible appropriations of Russian territory. A number of the border States have severed their connection with the Russian State in accordance with their own will, which was recognized by Russia. In regard to these States we adopt the standpoint formerly expressed by me, that under the mighty protection of the German Empire they can give themselves political form corresponding with their situation and the tendency of their kultur, while at the same time, of course, we are safeguarding our own interests.

In recognizing the independence of Courland the Chancellor said he thankfully and joyfully had taken cognizance of Courland's "desire to lean on the German Empire, which, indeed, corresponds to the old cultural relations." He added that he expected a deputation from Lithuania within the next few days, after which Lithuania would likewise be recognized as an independent State. In Livonia and Esthonia things were different. Under the peace treaty these countries would be policed by Germany, on their own invitation, until security was guaranteed and order restored.

The moment for a new political orientation will then have come for these countries, [the Chancellor went on.] We hope and desire that they, too, will place themselves in close and friendly relationship to the German Empire, but in such a way that this does not exclude peaceable, friendly relations with Russia.

FINLAND AND UKRAINE

While the congress was ratifying the treaty, the German invasion of Finland and the Austro-German invasion of the Ukraine continued uninterruptedly. On March 20 the invaders were in possession of Odessa, Kiev, and all the principal cities in the Ukraine, and were within 200 miles of Moscow. The Turks recovered Trebizond and Erzerum in Asia Minor, and were in full possession of Trans-Caucasia, thus giving the Central Powers complete control of the Black Sea.

The invasion of Ukraine by the Germans after the signing of the peace treaty Feb. 9 was excused on the pretext that the step was taken at the request of the faction of Ukrainians opposed to the Bolsheviki.

INVITING GERMAN INVASION

It was announced on Feb. 17 that the delegation representing the anti-Bolshevist Ukrainians had handed to the German Government the following declaration:

To the German People: On Feb. 9 this year we signed, in the deep and ardent desire to live in peace and friendship with our neighbors, a peace treaty with the States of the Quadruple Alliance in order to put an end to this useless and fratricidal war, and we united all our strength to one end, namely, to establish and insure the life of our own independent State.

The joyful news of Feb. 9, however, for which the working masses of our people so greatly longed, has brought us no peace in our land. The enemy of our freedom has invaded our country for the purpose once more, as 254 years ago, to subjugate the Ukrainian people with fire and sword. The Russian Maximalists, who, a month ago, dispersed the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly in Petrograd, consisting almost solely of Socialists, have now undertaken, as they call it, a holy war against the Socialists of the Ukraine.

From the north hired bands of Red Guards are falling upon our country. They unite themselves with Russian soldiers who have deserted from the front and with liberated jailbirds. Under the experienced command of former police gendarmes, they force their way into our towns; have our public men and leaders of public opinion shot; they levy contributions from the inhabitants, and, after destroying and burning our towns, they pass on, seeking new booty.

This barbaric invasion of our northern neighbors once again, under hypocritical pretexts, sets up as its aim, as earlier in our history, the destruction of the independence of our State. Its real and ultimate objects lie, however, in the ignoble intentions and machinations of those who have an interest in seeing anarchy reign in the Ukraine, as also of those who are striving after the return of the old despotism.

Before the whole world we declare that the Petrograd Commissioners of the People lie when they talk about a rising of the people in the Ukraine, and that they lie when they describe the Central Rada, the Parliament of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which consists of Ukrainian Socialists and has carried out far-reaching social-democratic reforms, as a Rada of bourgeois.

The Petrograd Commissioners, who with words only have stubbornly defended the weal of the Ukraine, Poland, Courland, and other peoples, have made use of a fine pose at Brest-Litovsk to recall from the front the remnants of the Russian Army for the purpose of secretly throwing them against the Ukraine to rob us, to send our stocks of corn to the north, and to subjugate the country.

Now, when, after four years, the rigid wall has fallen which separated us from our western neighbors, we raise our voice to proclaim the misfortune of our people. We must see the fruits of our own young revolution in danger, and we fear for our newly won freedom. Sanguinary collisions with Russian bands take place daily. In Volhynia and at other points we are collecting new forces to oppose the swarms who are ever anew pressing in from the north.

In this hard struggle for our existence we look round for help. We are firmly convinced that the peaceful and order-loving German people will not remain indifferent when it learns of our distress. The German Army, that stands on the flank of our northern enemy, possesses the power to help us and, by its intervention, to protect the northern frontiers against further invasion by the enemy. This is what we have to say in this dark hour, and we know that our voice will be heard.

FINLAND'S PEACE TREATY

Fierce fighting between the Red Guards and the Finland Independents was in progress up to March 20. The Germans first occupied Aland Island and then pushed forward into the mainland.

On March 7 it was announced that a peace treaty had been signed between Finland and Germany. Article 1 declared that no state of war existed between Germany and Finland; that the contracting parties were resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship, and that Germany would exert herself to secure recognition by all the powers of Finland's autonomy and independence. On the other hand, Finland would cede no portion of her territory to a foreign power nor grant such power any easement on territory over which she is sovereign without previously coming to an understanding with Germany on the subject. The other articles relate to the resumption of diplomatic and consular relations immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty, renunciation by each party of compensation for war costs and indemnities, restoration of State treaties and private rights, exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, and compensation for civil damages.

Those treaties between Germany and Russia which had ceased to be operative were to be replaced by new treaties corresponding to the altered conditions. In particular, negotiations were to begin immediately for a commercial treaty, and meanwhile trade relations were to be regulated between both countries by a trade and shipping agreement.

Respecting private rights, all military laws were to cease to be operative on ratification of the treaty. The relations of creditor and debtor were to be restored, and the payment of obligations, particularly public debt, would be resumed. A commission was to meet in Berlin for the purpose of fixing civil damages. It would be composed of representatives of both parties and neutral members, each to have a one-third representation. The President of Switzerland was to be requested to nominate neutral members, including the Chairman.

	Sq. Miles	Population
FINLAND	125,000	3,250,000
BALTIC PRS		
ESTHONIA	35,000	3,000,000
LIVONIA		
COURLAND		
POLAND	45,000	12,250,000
LITHUANIA	80,000	8,500,000
UKRAINE	150,000	28,000,000
RUSSIAN ARMENIA	20,000	1,000,000
TOTAL	455,000	56,000,000

AREA IN BLACK SHOWS TERRITORIES WHICH RUSSIA HAS AGREED TO SURRENDER TO THE CENTRAL POWERS FOR DISPOSAL. IN EXTENT THESE PROVINCES ARE EQUAL TO THE WHOLE OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Finnish prisoners of war in Germany and German prisoners in Finland were to be exchanged with all possible dispatch, and deported or interned civilian nationals of either side sent home.

Then followed stipulations concerning amnesty, return or compensation for merchant ships, &c.; for the settlement of questions relative to the Aland Islands, and providing that fortifications on the islands should be removed as speedily as possible, and the permanent nonfortification of the islands regulated by special agreement.

Instruments of ratification were to be exchanged in Berlin as soon as possible. Four months after the ratification representatives of the contracting parties would meet in Berlin for the purpose of negotiating a supplementary treaty.

On March 14 it was announced that a number of Americans, including Henry

C. Emery, former Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, who sailed for Russia in 1916 as representative of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, had been arrested on Aland Island by the Germans. An attaché of the American Legation at Stockholm left for Finland on March 15 to lodge formal protest with the commander of the Finnish forces against the arrest. Sixteen Britishers in the same party were also arrested.

CROWN OFFERED TO KAISER

It was reported in German newspapers, March 15, that at a meeting of the State Council in Mitau it had been decided to offer the crown of Courland to the House of Hohenzollern. The Lettish representatives, according to the German newspapers, made the following declaration:

In voting for the proposition the Lettish representatives express the desire of the Lettish people that Lettish parts of Balticum be not torn asunder but remain perpetually united. We also wish to emphasize that the Lettish people reject the idea of electing one of their own as Duke, but desire to have the German Kaiser and King of Prussia for monarch because they have the fullest confidence in his just and firm government.

The German Emperor replied to the offer in the following terms:

Receipt of the loyal greetings sent in the name of the Courland State Council has given me great pleasure. My heart is deeply moved and is filled with thanks to God that it has been granted me to save German blood and German culture from perishing. God bless your land, upon which German fidelity, German courage, and German perseverance have made their impress.

The "State Council" was created by the Germans in September, 1917, and consists of Barons, large land owners, and other members, all of the Germanic race.

Text of Treaty Signed by Russia

Germany's Exactions in Detail

THE following are the articles of the treaty of peace between Russia and the Central Powers, signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, by the respective plenipotentiaries:

Article 1. The Central Powers and Russia declare the state of war between them to be terminated, and are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

Article 2. The contracting nations will refrain from all agitation or provocation against other signatory Governments and undertake to spare the populations of the regions occupied by the Powers of the Quadruple Entente.

Article 3. The regions lying west of the line agreed upon by the contracting parties, and formerly belonging to Russia, shall no longer be under Russian sovereignty. It is agreed that the line appears from the appended map, No. 1, which, as agreed upon, forms an essential part of the peace treaty. The fixing of the line in the west will be settled in the German-Russian mixed commission. The regions in question will have no obligation whatever toward Russia arising from their former relations thereto. Russia undertakes to refrain from all interference in the internal affairs of these territories and to let Germany and Austria determine the future fate of these territories in agreement with their populations.

Article 4. Germany and Austria agree, when a general peace is concluded and Russian demobilization is fully completed, to evacuate the regions east of the line designated in Article 3, No. 1, in so far as Article 6 does not stipulate otherwise. Russia will do everything in her power to complete as soon as possible the evacuation of the Anatolian provinces and their orderly return to Turkey. The districts of Erivan, Kars, and Batum will likewise without delay be evacuated by the Russian troops. Russia will not interfere in the reorganization of the constitutional or international conditions of these districts, but leave it to the populations of the districts to carry out the reorganization, in agreement with the neighboring States, particularly Turkey.

Article 5. Russia will without delay carry out the complete demobilization of her army, including the forces newly formed by the present Government. Russia will further transfer her warships to Russian harbors and leave them there until a general peace or immediately disarm. Warships of States continuing in a state of war with the Quad-

ruple Alliance will be treated as Russian warships in so far as they are within Russian control.

The barred zone in the arctic continues in force until the conclusion of peace. An immediate beginning will be made of the removal of mines in the Baltic and in so far as Russian power extends in the Black Sea. Commercial shipping is free in these waters and will be resumed immediately. A mixed commission will be appointed to fix further regulations, especially for the announcement of routes for merchant ships. Shipping routes are to be kept permanently free from floating mines.

Article 6. Russia undertakes immediately to conclude peace with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the peace treaty between this State and the powers of the Quadruple Alliance. Ukrainian territory will be immediately evacuated by the Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard. Russia will cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Esthonia and Livonia will likewise be evacuated without delay by the Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard.

The eastern frontier of Esthonia follows in general the line of the Narova River. The eastern frontier of Livonia runs in general through Peipus Lake and Pskov Lake to the southeasterly corner of the latter, then over Lubahner (Luban) Lake in the direction of Lievenhof, on the Dvina.

Esthonia and Livonia will be occupied by a German police force until security is guaranteed by their own national institutions and order in the State is restored. Russia will forthwith release all arrested or deported inhabitants of Esthonia and Livonia and guarantee the safe return of deported Esthonians and Livonians.

Finland and the Aland Islands will also forthwith be evacuated by the Russian troops and the Red Guard, and Finnish ports by the Russian fleet and Russian naval forces.

So long as the ice excludes the bringing of Russian warships to Prussian ports only small detachments will remain behind on the warships. Russia is to cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions in Finland.

The fortifications erected on the Aland Islands are to be removed with all possible dispatch. A special agreement is to be made between Germany, Russia, Finland, and Sweden regarding the permanent nonfortification of these islands, as well as regarding their treatment in military, shipping, and technical respects. It is agreed that at Germany's desire the other States bordering on the Baltic are also to be given a voice in the matter.

Article 7. Starting from the fact that Persia and Afghanistan are free and independent States, the contracting parties undertake to respect their political and economic independence and territorial integrity.

Article 8. Prisoners of war of both sides will be sent home.

Article 9. The contracting parties mutually renounce indemnification of their war costs—that is to say, State expenditure for carrying on the war, as well as indemnification for war damages—that is to say, those damages which have arisen for them and their subjects in the war regions through military measures, inclusive of all requisitions undertaken in the enemy country.

Article 10. Diplomatic and Consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after notification of the peace treaty. Special agreements are reserved relative to the admittance of the respective Consuls.

Article 11. The prescriptions contained in Appendices 2 to 5 shall govern the economic relations between the powers of the Quadruple Alliance and Russia—namely, Appendix 2 for German-Russian, Appendix 3 for Austro-Hungarian-Russian, Appendix 4 for Bulgarian-Russian, and Appendix 5 for Turkish-Russian relations.

Article 12. The restoration of public and private relations, the exchange of prisoners of war, interned civilians, the amnesty question, as well as the treatment of merchant ships which are in enemy hands will be regulated by separate treaties with Russia, which shall form an essential part of the present peace treaty, and as far as is feasible shall enter into force at the same time.

Article 13. For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Russian text is authoritative for the relations between Germany and Russia; for the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia, the German, Hungarian, and Russian text; for the relations between Bulgaria and Russia, the Bulgarian-Russian text; for the relations between Turkey and Russia, the Turkish and Russian text.

Article 14. The present peace treaty will be ratified. Instruments of ratification must be exchanged as soon as possible in Berlin. The Russian Government undertakes at the desire of one of the Quadruple Alliance powers to exchange ratifications within two weeks. The peace treaty enters into force on its ratification, in so far as its articles, appendices, or supplementary treaties do not prescribe otherwise.

The signatures of the plenipotentiaries

are attached. The treaty was drawn up in quintuple form at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918.

The semi-official Wolff Bureau of Berlin stated that the trade and political questions to which Article 11 refers were to be regulated according to the demands of the German ultimatum and analogously to the Ukrainian treaty. The legal and political agreements correspond substantially to the proposals which were submitted at the first sitting by Germany on the basis of its ultimatum.

Allies Denounce Russian Treaties

Protest of Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy

The following statement was issued March 18 through the British Foreign Office:

The Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Entente, assembled in London, feel it to be their bounden duty to take note of the political crimes which, under the name of a German peace, have been committed against the Russian people.

Russia was unarmed. Forgetting that for four years Germany had been fighting against the independence of nations and the rights of mankind, the Russian Government in a mood of singular credulity expected to obtain by persuasion that "democratic peace" which it had failed to obtain by war.

The results were that the intermediate armistice had not expired before the German command, though pledged not to alter the disposition of its troops, transferred them en masse to the western front, and so weak did Russia find herself that she dared to raise no protest against this flagrant violation of Germany's plighted word.

What followed was of like character, when "the German peace" was translated into action. It was found to involve the invasion of Russian territory, the destruction or capture of all Russia's means of defense, and the organization of Russian lands for Germany's profit—a proceeding which did not differ from "annexation" because the word itself was carefully avoided.

Meanwhile, those very Russians who had made military operations impossible found diplomacy impotent. Their representatives were compelled to proclaim that, while they refused to read the treaty presented to them, they had no choice but to sign it; so they signed it, not knowing whether in its true significance it meant peace or war, nor measuring the degree to which Russian national life was reduced by it to a shadow.

For us of the Entente Governments the judgment which the free peoples of the world will pass on these transactions would never be in doubt. Why waste time over Germany's pledges, when we see that at no period in her history of conquest—not when she overran Silesia nor when she partitioned Poland—has she exhibited herself so cynically as a destroyer of national independence, the implacable enemy of the rights of man and the dignity of civilized nations.

Poland, whose heroic spirit has survived the most cruel of national tragedies, is threatened with a fourth partition, and to aggravate her wrongs devices by which the last trace of her independence is to be crushed are based on fraudulent promises of freedom.

What is true of Russia and Poland is no less true of Rumania, overwhelmed like them in a flood of merciless passion for domination.

Peace is loudly advertised, but under the disguise of verbal professions lurk the brutal realities of war and the untempered rule of a lawless force.

Peace treaties such as these we do not and can not acknowledge. Our own ends are very different. We are fighting, and mean to continue fighting, in order to finish once for all with this policy of plunder and to establish in its place the peaceful reign of organized justice.

As incidents of this long war unroll themselves before our eyes, more and more clearly do we perceive that the battles for freedom are everywhere interdependent; that no separate enumeration of them is needed, and that in every case the single but all-sufficient appeal is to justice and right.

Are justice and right going to win? In so far as the issue depends on battles yet to come the nations whose fate is in the balance may surely put their trust in the armies, which, even under conditions more difficult than the present, have shown themselves more than equal to the great cause intrusted to their valor.

Meetings of the Supreme War Council and important political conferences under the Presidency of Premier David Lloyd George were held in Downing Street Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. They were attended by the Premiers of France and Italy and other Ministers, with their military and expert advisers.

Rumania Forced to Make Peace

Terms of Preliminary Treaty Signed at Bucharest After Ultimatum From Central Powers

A PRELIMINARY peace treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed March 5, 1918, at Bucharest. The signatures appended were those of Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann for Germany; Foreign Secretary Czernin for Austria-Hungary; M. Montschiloff, Vice President of the Sobranje, for Bulgaria; Talat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, for Turkey, and M. Cartentojana for Rumania.

The treaty was forced by an ultimatum, which was first sent to the Rumanian Government at Jassy by Field Marshal von Mackensen on Feb. 6, demanding that peace negotiations be begun in four days. The Rumanian Cabinet immediately resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed, headed by General Averescu. The situation of Rumania was desperate, and after fruitless negotiations the terms imposed by the Central Powers were accepted. The only alternative left to the country, if the conditions were refused, was to submit to seizure by the Central Powers and complete extinction as an independent State.

A Crown Council was held by the Rumanian Government on March 5, after receipt of a second ultimatum, which gave the kingdom twenty-four hours to accept the German terms or be wiped out. The collapse of Russia had completely isolated the smaller State, and it was felt that no other course was left except to bow to the inevitable. Former Premier Bratiano declared that no nation could accept terms so humiliating, but he declined King Ferdinand's request to assume his former position as head of the Cabinet and accept the responsibility for refusing Germany's terms.

The terms of the preliminary treaty, as reported from Bucharest, were as follows:

I.—Rumania cedes to the Central Allied Powers Dobrudja as far as the Danube.

II.—The powers of the Quadruple Alliance will provide and maintain a trade route for Rumania by way of Constanza to the Black Sea.

III.—The rectifications demanded by Austria-Hungary on the frontier between Austria-Hungary and Rumania are accepted in principle by Rumania.

IV.—Economic measures corresponding to the situation are conceded in principle.

V.—The Rumanian Government undertakes to demobilize immediately at least eight divisions of the Rumanian Army. Control of the demobilization will be undertaken jointly by the upper command of Field Marshal von Mackensen's army group and the Rumanian chief army command. As soon as peace is restored between Russia and Rumania the remaining parts of the Rumanian Army also will be demobilized in so far as they are not required for security service on the Russo-Rumanian frontier.

VI.—The Rumanian troops are to evacuate immediately the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy occupied by them.

VII.—The Rumanian Government undertakes to support with all its strength the transport of troops of the Central Powers through Moldavia and Bessarabia to Odessa.

VIII.—Rumania undertakes immediately to dismiss the officers of the powers who are at war with the Quadruple Alliance still in the Rumanian service. The safe conduct of these officers is assured by

MAP OF RUMANIA: SHADED AND CROSS-HATCHED PORTIONS ARE THOSE TAKEN BY CENTRAL POWERS. THE CROSS-HATCHED PART OF DOBRUDJA WAS CEDED TO RUMANIA BY BULGARIA IN 1913. "A" AND "B" INDICATE POINTS WHERE FURTHER "RECTIFICATIONS" OF BOUNDARY ARE PROPOSED

the Quadruple Alliance. This treaty enters into operation immediately.

It was agreed that the armistice between Rumania and the Central Powers should run for fourteen days from midnight of March 5, with a period of three days for denunciation. Complete agreement was reached between the signatories that the final peace should be concluded within this period on the basis of the preliminary treaty.

Under the peace terms Rumania not only will have to give up Dobrudja, lose control of the Danube, and endure other great economic sacrifices, but she will be compelled to yield to Germany large wheat, petroleum, and salt concessions. It is understood that Germany will have control of the Rumanian railways for a period of fifteen years and will have possession of the four principal fortified passes through the Carpathians.

All German goods are to enter Rumania free of duty, while all Rumanian goods will go into Germany under the old tariff, with the exception of certain reductions.

Bulgaria will have nominal control of the Dobrudja, which gives the Central Powers command of the mouth of the Danube. At the other end of the Black Sea lies Batum, the western terminus of the Trans-Caucasian Railway, which runs through Tiflis to Baku, and the oil fields on the Caspian Sea. From Baku is another important Asian railway, the Trans-Caspian, which runs from Krasnovodsk, through Bami, Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand to Tashkend and Ferghana. From Merv is a railway running down to Herat, Afghanistan, which was long known as the "Key to India." In the new terms imposed upon Russia, that country is required by the Central Pow-

ers to give up the region through which the Trans-Caucasian Railway runs.

Thus, with the Batum-Baku region passing from Russia to Turkey and the Dobrudja passing from Rumania to Bulgaria, the Central Powers would control a new route to India, Persia, and the provinces in Central Asia, regardless of whether they controlled the Bagdad Railway route or not.

After the signing of the preliminary peace treaty the Central Powers made further demands. On March 13 one of these was made by Austria for a further "rectification" of the boundary between Rumania and Austria-Hungary, which will alienate a further strip from Rumania and add it to Austrian territory.

It was reported on March 13 that the allied diplomatic missions, the American Red Cross representatives, and the American Military Attaché in Rumania had left for Odessa on March 9; they reached Moscow on March 17.

The Modern Grenadier and His Grenades

Most Used of All Trench Weapons

Georges Bourrey, a French writer, telling in Les Annales the story of the various implements of modern war, gives this lucid account of the latest models and methods in the use of grenades. Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WAR in its present form causes the infantryman to need his rifle sometimes, his working tools daily, and his grenades every minute. Though he is a fighter, he is also a workman. With trench warfare now adopted on all fronts, we no longer see serried columns of infantry rushing to the charge, with bayonets fixed, flags streaming, and bugles sounding. The subterranean evolution of the war of position has gradually brought the lines of opposing infantry closer together, until they are separated only by a few hundreds—or a few tens—of yards. Thus a closer and closer contact of the belligerents has been established within the protection of their respective trenches.

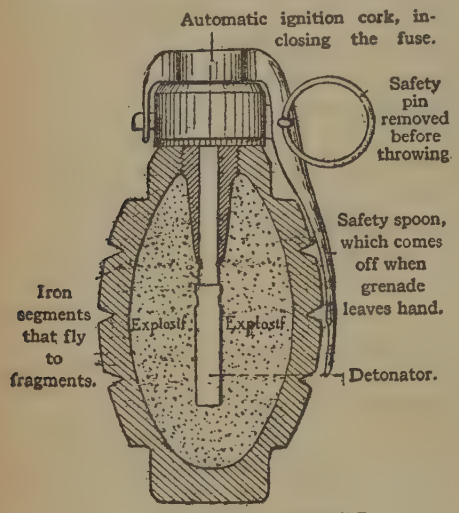
It is readily understood that in seeking to hit the enemy thus protected, and burrowing deeper every day, the direct fire of the rifle has become ineffective. It has become necessary to use arms with a plunging fire, which can drop projectiles into the enemy trenches. This result is obtained by the throwing—in a curved trajectory—of special projectiles, such as hand grenades or rifle grenades; it has thus become possible to annihilate the defenders of trenches.

The grenade is beyong question the projectile best suited to short-distance fighting. Hurled by the powerful muscles of a soldier or by the explosion of a cartridge, it is sure to strike pretty close as it "bounds" from one trench to the other. After the laborious gropings of the early days of the war, a grenade of unique type was adopted, embodying numerous improvements due to the hard lessons of war. It is a far cry from this modern grenade to the one with a fuse employed by the grenadiers in the latter part of the seventeenth century. That primitive weapon, indeed, had quickly been abandoned in the eighteenth century, leaving only its name to be borne by the crack regiments of French infantry—the famous Grenadiers of the Grand Army. Nevertheless, its tradition still survived in the modern army of France, which kept the grenade as the insignia and emblem of its infantry.

The present hand grenade, made of cast iron for the defensive, of composition metal for the offensive, is ovoid in form and is exploded by an automatic device. It no longer explodes at the point of contact, by percussion, as did the primitive models; on the contrary, it goes off while still in the air, a few seconds after leaving the hand of the thrower. The ingenious arrangement of the automatic detonating apparatus prevents it from exploding as long as it remains in the grenadier's hand. This important improvement has made it possible to prevent premature explosions and to avoid

the accidents that were always to be feared in the handling of the old grenades before the invention of the automatic detonating device.

Today every infantryman, whether private or officer, must be able to throw grenades with power and precision. Grenades, indeed, play an essential part


Automatic ignition cork, inclosing the fuse.
Safety pin removed before throwing
Safety spoon, which comes off when grenade leaves hand.
Iron segments that fly to fragments.
Explosif
Explosif
Detonator.

FRENCH HAND GRENADE

in offense, paralyzing the enemy, overwhelming him with a hail of projectiles and deadly explosives, and "cleaning out" deep underground shelters when thrown in at the top. The explosive contains suffocating, tear-producing, or incendiary gases, which are at times as effective as the flying fragments. In defense, when hurled with rapidity, coolness, and precision, the grenade keeps the assailant out of the trenches he is attacking, holds him at a respectful distance, and defends the approaches of machine-gun blockhouses and officers' posts.

Our soldiers are now past masters in the art of hurling this deadly device to distances of thirty-five or forty yards, and even a little further. Forty yards, however, is practically the limit for hand grenades. Beyond that distance they must be thrown by more powerful means. The simplest method is by means of the ordinary rifle. At first the soldiers were supplied with grenades mounted on sticks that could be inserted in the barrel of the rifle or carbine, and the missiles were fired by means of a special cartridge that contained no bullet. This system has now been abandoned, both by the French and by the British, because of the inconveniences it entails—the need of special cartridges, the deterioration of the inside of the gun barrel, &c.

The latest model of the rifle grenade, of the type of the "V. B.," is cylindrical in form and has the advantage of causing little inconvenience, being fired with an ordinary cartridge. This is done by means of a simple device which is easily attached to the muzzle of the gun. It is a stout cylindrical affair, into which the grenade is inserted. The whole, when ready for action, resembles the ancient bell-mouted blunderbuss which the brigands of Calabria made famous. Thanks to this ingenious invention, a rifle, pointed into the air at an angle of 45 degrees, can throw a grenade weighing a pound to a distance of more than 200 yards. When the cartridge is fired, the ignition of the fusing composition in the grenade is produced automatically by the passage of the bullet, and the grenade falls at a steep angle into the enemy trench, where it bursts into innumerable fragments.

This kind of plunging fire, when well directed, demoralizes the enemy and inflicts losses often comparable with those produced by shellfire. Permanently mounted on tripods, these curious weapons are continuously pointed at the enemy trenches and sharpshooters' posts, and the slightest movement there is followed by the firing of grenades at the point on which the guns are trained.

In defensive work the use of rifle grenades helps to establish powerful barrages at short distances, stopping an attack where the artillery would be helpless for barrage fire on account of the closeness of the combatants.

For lengthening the range of grenade fire still more the armies use little howitzers, ordinarily operated by means of compressed air or gas, which hurl—without smoke or noise—projectiles weighing more than a pound, and consequently containing a stronger explosive charge. These, however, may more properly be classed with the trench artillery.

The Brest-Litovsk Debates

Verbatim Report of the Crucial Session That Preceded Germany's New Invasion of Russia

The decisive session of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference between the Central Powers and the Russian Bolshevist Government was the one held on Feb. 9, 1918. It was at this session that each side summed up its arguments, and that the German delegates stated their final demands. On the same day the delegates from the Ukraine were signing a separate peace elsewhere in Brest-Litovsk. The following day Trotzky and his Bolshevist commission announced that they refused the German terms, supplementing the refusal with the declaration that they regarded the war between Russia and the Central Powers as ended without a formal peace treaty. The armistice continued seven days longer, and then the German Government announced that, as no peace treaty had been agreed to, the armistice was ended. At midnight on Feb. 18 the German armies resumed hostilities and began a rapid advance into Russia. The proceedings of the 9th, in which the whole issue had been traversed in detail, were reported verbatim, and the text of this report, as transmitted through the wireless stations of the Russian Government, is herewith placed on record.

Official Report of Proceedings of February 9, 1918

KUEHLMANN (German Foreign Secretary)—I open this session of the commission, which has been agreed upon. The representatives of the allied delegations are of the opinion that we have reached the point at which it is necessary to give an account of the negotiations. As we all know, these negotiations have been of a political character. The views of both sides were explained, before the Christmas postponement, in provisional formulas. The substance of these formulas has since been carefully examined at our debates. During these debates it became possible to state both points of view in greater detail. I shall beg you today, when we have to summarize briefly all that has been done, to forego any repetition of the discussions.

I regret to say that up to the present we have not succeeded in bringing together to any great extent the two points of view, in spite of all the debates. My task today is to summarize matters, and I shall not indicate which party or which side is to be blamed for the negotiations not having been successfully concluded.

I am personally of opinion that any further discussions on either side are in the same position, and cannot give us more favorable results than those which have already been secured. It is beyond doubt that we cannot proceed with interminable discussions which have no promise of success.

Faithful to my principles during all the negotiations, I still hope that a free discussion of principles may bring us nearer to our goal, but I shall dispel all doubts, and I say that the circumstances at the moment are of such a character that we must reach a decision promptly. And, if I am again putting before you the political question in its full complexity, I desire to say that I hope the discussions will take place with the sincere wish to find a way to an agreement. In putting these questions again before you I only wish to tell you that I desire to see

them all connected up, the one with the other. The commissions have already discussed all the details, and an agreement upon the whole question should not present many difficulties. So far as the economic questions are concerned, the preparatory work of the commissions has not at present sufficiently progressed; nevertheless, I hope that in regard to these questions, during the short time which remains at our disposal, we shall reach some satisfactory agreement—satisfactory to both sides.

Count Czernin on Annexations

CZERNIN (Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister)—For a week we have been discussing whether we shall consider the territorial changes which have to be made in connection with the war as regards the self-determination of nations or not. Further discussions of the same character will certainly bring us no nearer to a settlement. But I would ask you whether such deliberations would not be calculated to bring us nearer to peace. The question now is not as to how these territorial changes are to be designated—changes which must take place—and we need not associate these questions with the conclusions of peace itself. I think that the past discussions have shown the different points of view qualifying the territorial changes which must take place, but they have not indicated that an agreement in these matters is impossible. Secretary of State von Kühlmann on Dec. 28 clearly stated what changes must take place. They concern Courland and Lithuania, parts of Livonia and Esthonia, and also Poland. Let us put aside the question as to how these proposed changes must be regarded. Let us try and clear up the point as to whether these disputed questions would form an obstacle to the conclusion of peace.

Trotzky on Self-Determination

TROTZKY (Russian Foreign Minister)—We also considered it necessary, after the last interval, (I am speaking of the postponement occasioned by us, and not of the postponement occasioned by the Austro-German delegations,) to sum up all our preceding work. The peace negotiations began with our declaration of Dec. 23 and the declaration of Dec. 25, by which the Quadruple Alliance replied to our declaration. These two statements formulated the object of the negotiations as being based upon the principle of self-determination of peoples. During a short interval, which could be measured by hours, it appeared that this principle, accepted by both sides, would serve as a means for the solution of these national and territorial questions as arising out of the war. But after an exchange of views on Dec. 27 it became clear that the appeal to this principle was of a character calculated only to complicate all other questions. The points of view of one side, namely, our side, as applied by the other side, were a direct negation of the very principle itself. Afterward all the discussions took an entirely academic character, without any prospect of a practical settlement, because the opposite side was striving, with the aid of complicated logical manoeuvres, to draw from the principle of self-determination what, in their opinion, was in accordance with the true situation as disclosed by the military maps.

The question concerning the occupied regions, which was the principal theme of all the discussions, was reduced, after a number of sessions, to the question of the evacuation of these regions by the troops in occupation. To this principal question, in consequence of the nature of the discussion, it was only possible to reach a certain amount of clarity, and this only after great difficulties had been surmounted. The first formula of the other side, so far as we understood it—and we honestly tried to understand it—was as follows: Until the end of the war, so far as Germany was concerned and so far as Austria-Hungary was concerned, there could be no question of the evacuation of occupied territory on any front, owing to military considerations.

Our delegation later understood that the opposite side had now the intention of evacuating these occupied regions on the conclusion of a general peace, when the abovementioned strategical considerations would have been put to one side.

Refusal to Withdraw Troops

This conclusion, however, also appeared to be wrong. The German and Austro-Hungarian Delegations have refused categorically to make a declaration which could force them to withdraw their troops from the occupied regions, with the exception of the small belt of territory which they proposed to return to Russia. The situation only then became clear. This clarity became, if possible, greater when General Hoffmann, in the name of both Delegations, proposed to us the frontier line which would in future separate Russia from its western neighbors, namely, from Germany and Austria-Hungary, because the separated regions were to be occupied by their troops for an indefinite period, unrestricted by any treaty.

We have already realized during the past discussions that if we were to trace the new frontier of Russia in accordance with the principle of self-determination, then we should have the best guarantee, under present conditions, against military aggression, because all the peoples on both sides of this frontier would be interested in maintaining it. The German conditions, and the policy which dictates them, entirely exclude any such kind of guarantees for peaceful relations between Russia on the one side and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other.

The new frontier proposed by the other side is dictated by military and strategical con-

siderations, and from this point of view must be estimated not only the separation from Russia of Poland and Lithuania, but even the separation of the Lettish countries. If such had been the desire of the peoples of these regions, then no danger would arise for the safety of the Russian Republic. Friendly relations with these States, which had freely formed for themselves an independent existence, would follow as a natural consequence of their origin and of their conditions.

In such circumstances questions concerning the strategical character of the new frontiers would have for us no important significance. But these new frontiers which the opposite side proposes appear to us in a very different light. Germany and Austria-Hungary, while maintaining their troops in the occupied regions, are linking these regions to their States by railways and by other means, and for us the new frontier must thus be considered not as a frontier with Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, and so on, but as a frontier with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Both these States are seeking military expansion, as is clearly shown by their attitude toward the occupied regions.

A new question arises for us, therefore, as to what these independent States mean for the Russian Republic in the future. The dependence of these peoples upon these two States will place very near to Russia the new frontier within their territories proposed by Germany and Austria-Hungary. What are really the military conceptions of the other side when they ask for such a frontier? For the purpose of examining this new question from the point of view of the leading military institutions of the republic, I shall ask for the views of our military advisers.

The Ukraine Boundary

We have here to meet a fresh difficulty. We have heard nothing of that part of the new frontier which is to run to the south from Brest-Litovsk. The opposite side was of the opinion that this part of the frontier had to be established in discussion with the Delegation of the Kiev Rada. We have decided that, irrespective of the unestablished political state of Ukrainia, there can be no question of a one-sided tracing of the frontier, based upon an agreement with the Rada alone; we declared that the consent of the Delegation of the Council of the People's Commissaries was also necessary. Subsequently, the political situation of Ukrainia was defined by its entrance into the Federal Russian Republic. The delegation of the Central Powers, in spite of their declaration that they would examine the international position of the Ukraine after the conclusion of peace, has hurriedly recognized the independence of Ukrainia, and, to wit, at the very moment when Ukrainia entered the Russian Federation.

After this date events took place which should have had a decisive influence upon these separate negotiations of the other side with the Kiev Rada. The latter fell under the blow of the Ukrainian Council. The fate of the Rada, inviolable in itself, was accelerated by the fact that the Rada, in its struggle for authority, made attempts, with the help of the Central Powers, to draw the Ukrainian people away from the Russian Federal Republic.

We officially informed the opposite side that the Ukrainian Rada was deposed, but, nevertheless, the negotiations with a non-existent Government have been continued. We proposed to the Austro-Hungarian Delegation, in a private conversation, it is true, but formally nevertheless, that they should send their representative to Ukrainia with the object of seeing for himself that the Ukrainian Rada no longer existed, and that the negotiations with its delegation could not have any practical value. We understood that so far as the delegations of the Central Powers needed confirmation of facts they would postpone the signature of the peace treaty until the return of their representative from Ukrainia. We have been informed that the signature to the peace treaty could not be postponed any longer. While negotiating with the Government of the Federal Russian Republic, the Governments of the Central empires not only, in spite of their former declaration, hurried to recognize the independence of the the Ukrainian Republic on Feb. 1, at the very moment when it declared itself to be a part of the Russian Federation, but is signing a treaty with a Government which, as we have categorically declared to the opposite side, does not exist any longer. Such conduct is creating doubts as to whether there is any sincerity of purpose on the side of the Central Powers for the establishment of peaceful relations with the Russian Federation. We are striving for peace now as in the beginning of the negotiations.

The whole conduct of the opposite side, as far as this question is concerned, is creating the impression that the Central Powers were striving to [words omitted—probably "make the situation impossible"] for the representatives of the Russian Republic. Only such a peace treaty will be binding for the Russian Federal Republic and its countries as will be signed by our delegation.

Concerning the question of frontiers, it can be discussed only as a whole, and only in such a way can we reach practical results. We ask the opposite side to complete on our map the frontier line which was submitted to us by General Hoffmann, [one of the German delegates.]

Sub-Commission on Boundaries

KUEHLMANN—If I am not replying to the detailed explanation of the preceding speaker, it is, as I have already stated today, with the purpose of avoiding every controversy. Accordingly, I shall not reply to the historical review of our negotiations.

They have become public; they can be studied and compared.

The preceding speaker examined for a long time the question of frontiers. I should not like to start the discussion of this question until I am sure that the proposal which I shall make to the opposite side will be accepted. The preceding speaker has already indicated that the discussion of this frontier is necessitating the participation of military advisers. I shall propose that the question of frontiers should be first submitted to a military sub-commission composed of one diplomatic representative and two military specialists—one for the navy and one for the army—for each side. I shall not participate personally in this sub-commission. I shall send to it one of my diplomatic collaborators. This sub-commission could be formed at the present session, and must prepare for our next session, tomorrow, a report concerning the results of its discussions. From the importance and difficulties of all these questions which the sub-commission has to clear up, it is obvious that the decisions of the sub-commission will have a decisive influence upon our further negotiations.

Our policy as regards the newly created States will always be directed toward the maintenance of friendly relations and non-intervention in their internal life as soon as this war is satisfactorily ended.

Peace With the Ukraine

That is all that I have to say concerning the frontiers. I hope that by the discussions in the sub-commission we shall have a report that will be beyond dispute for our session of tomorrow. Concerning the explanation of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the relations between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, I have only to declare that information which has reached us—and the tendency of which is beyond doubt to us—is in direct opposition to the real facts, and we find it unnecessary to take it into consideration. The point of view of the Central Powers has been repeatedly stated here, and we are of the opinion that all further explanation is unnecessary.

The Central Powers have concluded today a peace with the representatives of the Central Rada, which they have recognized. The consequences for the Central Powers are obvious. At the present time, when the circumstances are such as we see them, we cannot expect a practical result from our negotiations. The opinions concerning the rights of the Ukrainian State and of its representatives, the reciprocal relations of it and of the Petrograd Government, they all are questions which do not concern us while we are concluding peace with Ukraine.

This is no hostile act against Russia. We have concluded with Ukraine no alliance, but only a peace treaty. Ukraine has not become to us an ally, but only a neutral State. If we could arrive at a peace with Russia, Russia would also become a neutral State. In such a case our relations to Russia would be the same as they are now to Ukraine. There will be a difference if we are unable to come to an agreement with the Government of the People's Commissaries, because then, while we shall have to consider Ukraine as a neutral country, those regions which submit themselves to the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries we shall have to consider as regions against which we are in a state of war. We are willing to avoid that by a conclusion of peace with Russia.

If we had ignored the Rada, as M. Trotzky wished, that would have meant that we should have to intervene in the internal life of Russia. And we will not do it. If we had not recognized Ukraine, we had, in fact, recognized the Council of the People's Commissaries as the only authority for the whole of the territories which composed the old Russian Empire. But we know that many countries are not willing to recognize the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries. We are not arbiters in questions which concern only Russia herself. Our attitude is nonintervention.

We do not demand that the President of the Russian delegation should renounce his claim for the authority of the council for the whole of former Russia. We shall avoid the difficulties if we sign an eventual treaty concerning these regions which are under the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries. How many regions such treaty would concern we cannot tell at the present. We know that such treaty would be concluded without knowing for which regions exactly it would be valid; but the situation which would be created would be more disagreeable for us than for the Government of the Russian Republic. Nevertheless, we agreed to do it for the sake of peace.

Concerning the question of the President of the Russian delegation upon the fate of the occupied regions, I refer him for a reply to my declaration, which was made in public before the last session of the Austrian delegation, and which, perhaps, is known by the gentlemen; to it I have nothing to add, because my point of view has not changed. * * * [Portion of message here missing.]

I cannot give a categorical reply as asked for by the President of the Russian delegation, but I gladly agree that a communication on this subject should be made to the subcommission.

CZERNIN—I agree completely with the preceding speaker, namely, that this question needs to be discussed by the Allies and that I do not see any reasonable objection why a reply could not be given to this question afterward.

TROTZKY—It has been said that there are not and can not be any reasonable objections

to a statement concerning the frontiers projected for this part of Russia, which, thanks to the energy and decision of the Ukrainian workmen, is now under the authority of the Ukrainian Councils. It seems to me that there can be no objection to the creation of a military technical sub-commission which will have to examine the question of frontiers if the project is submitted to that commission.

KUEHLMANN—I should be very much obliged to the President of the Russian delegation if he would give his views upon the details of the creation of the sub-commission as proposed by me. Then we could decide who shall take part in this sub-commission at this session.

TROTZKY—Before I give you a detailed reply I must have a consultation with my delegation. It will require but little time.

Russia Has No Choice

KUEHLMANN—I expect to have the reply today because, as I have already said, we need this preparatory work complete for our session of tomorrow. The representatives of the sub-commission could then have a day at their disposal for their labors. Our proposal has been known a long time. All the questions concerned have been discussed in detail, and I firmly believe that all arguments have been already used, and that now we have to bring them to a conclusion with a view to making a decision concerning our peace negotiations. I have already stated our proposal, which could in a certain degree replace the second clause of the projected peace treaty. This formula is as follows:

"Russia must agree to the following territorial changes which will enter into force after the ratification of the peace treaty: The regions between the frontiers of Germany and Austria-Hungary and the indicated line will not be in the future a dependency of Russia. As a result of their former adhesion to the Russian Empire no obligation will bind them to Russia. The further destiny of these regions will be settled in agreement with the peoples concerned, namely, on the basis of those agreements which have been concluded between them and Germany and Austria-Hungary."

In handing over this formula to the President of the Russian delegation, I state that an essential part of our proposal is in Clause 1, which we have already sufficiently discussed, and during these discussions no insurmountable obstacles have appeared * * * for the conclusion of peace.

I will give my point of view in a few words. It is as follows: The evacuation of certain regions was promised by us under the condition that at the same time the evacuation of regions taken from our allies should be carried out. At that time we considered, as the nearest date when the evacuation by us was to begin, the date of the complete demobilization of the Russian Army. I state that concerning this date we are ready to compromise, and I must repeat what I have already stated.

I declare that we cannot accept a peace treaty in which it is not diplomatically promised to evacuate the provinces taken from our allies.

Armenia and the Aland Islands

In accordance with the explanation given by the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, I think there is no ground for doubt that the troops which are in occupation of Turkish provinces * * * are under the authority of the Petrograd Government. I shall touch here also the second clause, which has been discussed by us many times, namely, the question concerning the future of the Aland Islands. I must point out that the peace treaty must give us at least the same rights as we had before the beginning of the war. I shall also recall to you the most passionate wish of the Swedish people to reunite with these islands, where they have, besides geographical and ethnographical considerations, the most vital interests.

TROTZKY—Concerning the evacuation of the Turkish provinces, we find in our principles sufficiently weighty considerations for our declarations that the evacuation of the Armenian territories could not be considered simply as an exchange for the evacuation of the one or the other portions of the occupied Russian territories. As we are withdrawing our troops from Persia, we shall also withdraw them—we have already begun it—from Armenia. It is beyond doubt that we shall state that clearly in our peace treaty with Turkey if our negotiations should advance so far. Concerning the Aland Islands, I must say that I did not understand of what minimum of rights the Secretary of State was speaking. If he had in view the obligation of Russia not to fortify these islands, then, independently of the very essence of the question, the arguments of the Secretary of State appeared to me as being not entirely correct, so far as the rights of Germany are created, and so far as Germany has not renounced these rights. Perhaps the information in possession of the Secretary of State will help us to clear up this question from other points of view. As is known, we have in our possession documents which prove that, in 1907, von Schön for Germany and Gubastoff for Czarist Russia signed a treaty which cannot be published, in which von Schön declared that Germany would not consider it as a breach of the Treaty of Paris if Russia fortified the Aland Islands. Before the question can be discussed, my opinion is that it should be prepared, from a technical point of view, by the Military Commission.

KUEHLMANN—In remaining faithful to the statement at the beginning of this session, I will not discuss the importance of the document which the preceding speaker refers to. I shall again, once more, express my

opinion in a few words, that the peace treaty must return us all those rights which we possessed before the war. As far as these islands are concerned, it is a demand of principle. If in the opinion of the President of the Russian Commission we did not possess any rights before the war, then such a demand must appear to him as one which can be easily agreed upon. I used the word "minimum" with the object of expressing exactly that our demand is, for us, a demand of principle. If somebody asked me of what I was thinking in using the word "maximum," then I should reply, as I have suggested several times previously, that it means the neutralization of these islands by the consent of the peoples on the borders of the Baltic Sea.

For the further discussion we need some preparatory work done by the sub-commission. I regret that the sub-commission has been unable to finish its work for our meeting of today. All other matters have been finished. I have to state that I am expecting during this evening, from the Russian side, the creation of a sub-commission for the discussion of the frontiers. In any case, I propose to have our next session at 6 o'clock P. M. We shall discuss the report of the sub-commission. I shall not waste time, and I here give notice that I, from my side, shall send to this sub-commission, if it is created, von Rosenburg and General ——. As also a naval specialist will take part, I shall send —— von ——.

I declare the session closed.

Narrative of the Final Rupture

No official detailed report was given of the final session. It appears, however, from the German report of the subsequent proceedings, that the sub-commission referred to above did not meet "at 6 P. M.," as proposed, but did meet the next day, without reaching an agreement.

On Feb. 10, when the conference finally broke up, the sub-committee mentioned above held two sittings, at which the respective military experts were the principal speakers. The Russian delegates attempted to demonstrate the strategical disadvantages to which Russia would be exposed by the proposed new frontier line, while the Germans denied this contention, adding that it was not a matter of the Russo-German frontier, but of the frontier between Russia and the new border States. Agreement, however, could not be reached on this point. At the plenary sitting of the conference on the same day, Trotzky, replying to Kühlmann, denied any knowledge of an alleged order by the Russian Supreme Command urging Russian soldiers to incite German troops against their Generals and officers. Dr. Gratz, having reported that an agreement could not be reached in the sub-committee over which he had presided, Kühlmann asked Trotzky whether he had any communication to make which might contribute to a satisfactory solution. This question brought about the final rupture.

M. Trotzky, replying, said his delegation considered that the decisive hour had arrived. After a bitter attack on imperialism, M. Trotzky declared that Russia would no longer participate in the war, as she was unwilling to shed the blood of her soldiers in the interests of one party against another. Russia, therefore, had decided to withdraw her army and people from the war. She had notified all peoples and their Governments of her decision, and had ordered the complete demobilization of all the Russian armies now confronting the armies of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. His Government, however, added M. Trotzky, refused to sanction the conditions of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Russia had abandoned the war, but she was obliged to forego the signing of a peace treaty. Then followed the declaration of the ending of the state of war and the demobilization order, which have already been published.

THREAT OF HOSTILITIES

To this statement of M. Trotzky's, Baron Kühlmann rejoined that if he analyzed the present position correctly he found that the Quadruple Alliance was still at war with the Russian Government. Warlike operations, he added, were suspended for the time being by the armistice treaty, but on the lapse of this treaty these would automatically revive. If his memory did not deceive him, the real purpose of the armistice was the conclusion of peace. If, therefore,

peace was not concluded, and the essential object of the armistice should thus vanish, Baron Kühlmann concluded that warlike operations would revive again after the termination of the prescribed period.

The fact that one of the two contracting parties had demobilized its armies would in nowise alter this, either in fact or in law. This existence of the customary international relations between States, and of legal and commercial relations, was the mark of a state of peace. He therefore requested M. Trotzky to state whether the Russian Government intended, in addition to making its declaration regarding the termination of the state of war, to say where the frontiers of Russia ran, as this would be a necessary requisite before the resumption of diplomatic, consular, legal, and commercial relations, and also to say whether the Government of People's Commissioners was willing to resume legal and commercial relations to precisely the same extent as would naturally result from the termination of the state of war. These questions, he said, it was essential to determine in order to judge whether the Quadruple Alliance was still at war or not.

Baron Kühlmann then proposed a sitting for the next day, at which the attitude of the Central Powers to the latest statement of the Russian delegation might be made known.

END OF CONFERENCE

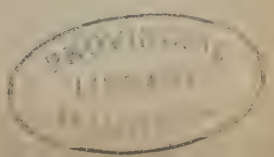
M. Trotzy replied that his delegation had now exhausted all its power, and considered it necessary to return to Petrograd. All communications, he added, which the allied delegations might make would be deliberated upon by the Federal Russian Government, and a reply would be given in due course. On being asked through what channel this exchange of views was to take place, M. Trotzky said that the Russian delegation had had direct telegraphic communication with Petrograd from Brest-Litovsk. Furthermore, before the inauguration of the armistice negotiations an understanding had been reached by wireless, and, moreover, there would be presently representatives of the four allied powers in Petrograd, who might communicate with their respective Governments. Communication might therefore, suggested M. Trotzky, be restored in this way. The sitting then closed.

THE BOLSHEVIST VERSION

The following is the Bolshevist Government's official version of the rupture:

Yesterday at the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Councils, the President of the peace delegation, Trotzky, reported on the course and results of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. Not only the representatives of the parties composing the Government's majority but also the representatives of the opposition groups recognized that the decision taken by the Council of the People's Commissaries was the only correct one and the only dignified outcome of the newly created international situation. The speakers of the majority and opposition put forward the question whether there was a possibility of a German offensive against Russia. Nearly all were of the opinion that such an offensive is very improbable, but they all uttered warnings against an unlimited optimism in this direction, because the dare-all-annexation groups of Germany might make attempts to force the Government of Germany to a new offensive. Certainly in this case the duty of all citizens will be, in the opinion of all speakers, the decisive and heroic defense of the revolution.

All speakers also expressed their belief that the large masses of the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary will not permit a new shedding of blood on the former eastern front, because Russia, on its side, has declared the state of war as ended, and because the offensive by the German annexationists would have the character of an open raid for plunder. The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs concluded this report with the statement that Russia is withdrawing from the war not only in appearance but in reality. It is throwing away all agreements with its former allies, and, as regards the war in progress, it is reserving for itself the whole freedom in respect to both sides of its revolutionary policy. At the conclusion of the session a resolution was passed which approves the whole of the policy of the Brest-Litovsk delegation of the Council of the People's Commissaries.



The Internal Policy of the Bolsheviki

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

ON the night of Nov. 7, 1917, the now historic night of the Bolshevist coup in Petrograd, two decrees were drafted by the new masters. One dealt with the armistice to be concluded on all fronts, and formed the prologue of the Russo-German peace. The other abolished private ownership of land. This measure was the first of a series of blows directed by the new revolutionary authorities against the middle pillars upon which rested the house of the old economic order in Russia. With this step the vast upheaval entered upon the phase of proletarian communism, which the disciples of Bolshevism hail as the long-awaited social revolution, and which, in their opinion, opens the final apocalyptic struggle between labor and capital.

NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

Lenine's agrarian policy, which, together with the promise to give the country peace, was his trump card, is the epitome of the efforts of the Soviets to establish a Socialist Commonwealth. The original decree was later elaborated and duly ratified by the Third All-Russian Congress of the Councils of Workmen's, Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies, which met in February, 1918. All the forests, mines, waters, and landed estates, with their live stock, buildings, and machinery, were declared the common property of the people. The peasants were invited, even urged, to seize them immediately and turn them over to the Land Committees, which had been organized under the "bourgeois" régime. One of the decrees dealing with the confiscation of lands states that the land owners' mansions will be used for schools, asylums, hospitals, and theatres.

This was the triumph of the program of nationalizing the land, which Lenine's group has been advocating since 1905. Two other schemes of settling the land problem are current among Russian radicals. One, popular among Social Democrats, would "municipalize" the land, that is, expropriate the privately owned estates beyond a certain minimum area and have them administered by autonomous organizations, embracing large territorial units. The other plan, known as "socialization of land," forms the main plank of the platform of the Social Revolutionists. It provides for the division of the confiscated land among small land communities organized on the pattern of the traditional Russian mir.

Lenine's agrarian program, under the circumstances in which it was put into execution, proved by far the most disastrous. The land decree merely sanctioned the promiscuous seizure of land, which had been going on since the revolution. It introduced no organizing principle into the chaos of agrarian relations. Its immediate effect was to swell the tide of riots which laid waste whole counties. True, the People's Commissaries repeatedly warned the population against wanton destruction of what was now the nation's common property. The appeals remained unheeded. The Bolsheviki had conjured up a power which they were not able to control.

With the coming of the Spring the apportioning of land assumes an importance for Russians equal to that of the peace problem. The peasants have extravagant notions about the amount of land available for distribution among them. There are some bitter disappointments in store for them. Figures show that if the landed estates were confiscated in the twenty-three Governments of the black-soil zone and distributed among the tillers, the increase would average no more than six acres per family. The struggle for land will, therefore, inevitably lead to severe clashes. The situation is aggravated by a portion of the city population, which, driven by unemployment, is seeking to return to

the soil in the hope of getting an allotment of land.

Kalegayev, the Commissary of Agriculture, elaborated definite plans for the division of the land, but the Third Congress of Councils did not adopt them. Lenine wants the masses to take matters into their own hands and make the necessary readjustments by means of direct revolutionary action. Speaking recently before a gathering of propagandists prepared for work among the peasants, he said: "We have taken the land to give it "to the poor peasants. Do not let the "rich peasants or exploiters get the agri- "cultural implements. Pit ten poor peas- "ants against every rich one."

SPECIALIZING PRODUCTION

In the field of industry the Petrograd Government proceeded more cautiously. In principle, it favored the socialization of all the factories and State control over all production and distribution. Up to the present, however, but few factories have been confiscated and handed over to the workmen. The prevalent type of industrial plant in Russia is still the so-called "constitutional factory," evolved under Kerensky, that is, a factory in which the authority of the owner is limited by a committee of the employes' delegates. The State confines itself to regulating the production, with a view to bringing order into the confusion of capitalistic economy, and, especially, for the purpose of increasing the manufacturing of commodities most urgently needed. On several occasions the State has taken over the distribution of a particularly important commodity. Thus, on Dec. 12, 1917, the Council of People's Commissaries declared, in the name of the republic, that all agricultural implements manufactured in and imported into Russia would henceforth be at the exclusive disposal of the State, which would distribute them according to special regulations published through the local Soviets.

In a statement issued early last February, Mr. Shlyapnikov, Commissary of Labor in the Bolshevist Cabinet, asserted that the effect on labor had been most beneficial. He cited the example of the Ural factories, which were handed over to the workmen, with the result that in a short time the productivity of labor there increased 300 per cent. "There is," he says, "a psychological reason for this. The workmen realize that they are working for themselves and their country and not being exploited for private gain. That is a great stimulus."

CONTROL OF THE PRESS

The principle of nationalized means of production also has been applied to the press, in a fashion highly characteristic of both the theory and practice of the Bolshevist rule. Lenine's régime has added a sad chapter to the age-long martyrdom of the Russian press. Speaking on Nov. 17, 1917, before the Central Executive Committee of the Councils, on the repressions against the press, Trotzky explained the stand of the authorities in this matter. According to this official spokesman of Bolshevism, the abstract legal notion of the freedom of the press is meaningless in the social republic of Soviets. All the supplies of print paper and type must become the common property of the nation and be put at the disposal of the Soviets. A free press is a press serving the interests of the people, that is, the workmen and peasants. "Novoe Vremya," (a large conservative Petrograd daily,) he said, "which had no following at the elections, cannot lay claim to a single letter of type or a single sheet of paper."

In this connection may be mentioned a decree published Jan. 14, 1918. According to it the author's copyright becomes public property fifteen years after his death. The State may then assume the monopoly of the publication of his works, for the purpose of spreading them among the masses. The decree added that the authorities had undertaken the publication of a series of national classics.

FINANCES AND FOOD

On the same day the Petrograd Government definitely repudiated all the national loans issued under the imperial and "bourgeois" régimes. The short-term loans and the series of the National Treasury were the only ones

to be declared valid. The foreign loans were annulled early in December.

The most important financial measure of the Bolsheviki was the nationalization of the banking system. They began by requisitioning large sums for Governmental needs. Then they limited the amount of money which the depositors were allowed to draw from the banks every week. By this measure the commercial life of the country was severely injured. Finally, on Dec. 30, the Central Executive Committee of the Councils voted two decrees, which nationalized the banks. One made banking a State monopoly and amalgamated all the private banks and similar institutions with the State bank, which was ordered to take possession of their funds and assume the provisional direction of their operations. It added that small savings would be safeguarded, but made no mention of the fate of the large deposits.

The other decree empowered the authorities to transfer to the State Bank all funds contained in the strong boxes of the private banks, and to confiscate all gold coin and bullion.

This and several minor financial measures, such as curtailment of the officials' salaries, which the Bolsheviki succeeded in enforcing, failed to relieve the financial distress of the country. This distress had been steadily growing since the revolution. In February, 1918, the amount of paper money was 18,000,000,000 rubles, against the gold reserve of 1,604,000,000 rubles, while the national debt reached the sum of 80,000,000,000. The official organ of the Bolshevist Government recently suggested the heroic measure of a legal revaluation of the ruble, to be made when the war is over. In a recent speech bearing upon the financial situation, Lenine is reported to have said: "The rich, who "have hidden their wealth, think the "masses will pull them through. Some-"how, we must uncover the hidden "wealth, otherwise the Bolshevist Gov-"ernment is bankrupt. The republic "needs 28,000,000,000 rubles annually. "Its prospective income is only 8,000,-"000,000. The hidden wealth must be "uncovered and placed at the disposal "of the Government."

The Bolsheviki have been inefficient in the vital matter of food supply. Shortly after Lenine seized the reins of power, the Petrograd Committee on Food Supply issued a statement to the effect that the coup d'état had completely stopped all shipments of food from the interior of the country, and utterly disorganized transportation. The new Government appointed a special Commissary of Food Supply. It issued a number of decrees, and made desperate appeals to the peasants for bread. Declaring that Kerensky had raised the price of bread in August because he had at heart the interests of land owners, speculators, and other persons who had accumulated large stores of grain, it announced its decision to fix the price at a low level. It apparently succeeded in reducing food speculation, the campaign against which was conducted by the Military Revolutionary Committee assisted by subsidiary local commissions, but the north of Russia was hardly ever nearer starvation than in the month when the Bolsheviki signed their forced peace with the Central Powers.

THE RED ARMY

The Declaration of the Rights of the Workman, which was rejected by the abortive Constituent Assembly and ratified by the Third Congress of Soviets, is based on the principle of an armed proletariat and a disarmed bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviki started out with the hope of reviving the disintegrated troops—or, at least, that portion of them which had not been disbanded—by means of reducing to absurdity the principles of equality and election. They ruled that all officers, from the lowest to the highest, both in the army and in the navy, should be elected by their subordinates. The elective principle had worked miracles in the French Army at the time of the French Revolution; but the French regulations provided for the election of officers by their equals. The "democratization" of the Russian Army, enforced by the proletarian Government, only added to the demoralization of the military command, for many responsible posts fell into the

hands of wholly incompetent men. The authority of the commander was limited by the Military Revolutionary Committees, which were created early in the revolution by the celebrated Order No. 1. No order could be given without the knowledge and approval of these committees. Besides, military colleges and schools were declared unnecessary. If we wish to have military experts, argued the Bolsheviki, we must teach the science of war not to selected groups of men, but to all the soldiers, thereby avoiding the formation of a military aristocracy.

Before long, however, it became apparent that the task of rehabilitating the army was little short of hopeless. Reporting to the Congress of Soviets on Jan. 24, General Bonch-Bruyevich declared that the army organizations were utterly demoralized, the officers inexperienced, and the maintenance of discipline impossible. It was then that the idea was conceived of completely discarding the old military machine, the inheritance of the past, and creating a new fighting force, the revolutionary army of the republic of Soviets. The nucleus of this "Red Army" was the Red Guard, which Kerensky formed in the days of Korniloff's revolt by distributing 14,000 rifles among the workmen of Petrograd, and which was the chief instrument of Kerensky's fall.

On Jan. 27 a special commission for the organization of the new military body was formed at the Commissariat for War. The Red Army was to consist of the most revolutionary and intelligent elements of the working classes, and was to be, in a sense, a select body of men. The State took upon itself to provide lodging and maintenance for both officers and men, to pay them a salary of 50 rubles a month, and support their dependents.

OTHER RADICAL CHANGES

The régime of proletarian communism did not confine its experiments in democratization to the army. As early decree of the People's Commissaries abolished all existing legal classes, ranks, and civil titles, and handed over the corporate property of nobles, merchants, and burgesses to the State. All Russians were to be referred to as "citizens of the Russian Republic." A month later came the destruction of the judicial system, which was created under Alexander II. The Senate, (Supreme Court,) courts of appeal, district and other courts were replaced by revolutionary tribunals, consisting of one permanent Judge and two jurymen appointed by the local Soviet. Any man or woman was allowed to act as counsel or procurator, the posts of Attorney General and Examining Magistrate being abolished.

An interesting specimen of Bolshevist legislation is "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia." In this document Kerensky's policy is characterized as "a policy of cowardly dis-"trust for the peoples of Russia, a policy "of caviling and provocation, disguised "with words about the 'freedom' and "'equality' of peoples." The Government of the Soviets declares that in its activity it will be guided by the following principles:

1. The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples to free self-determination, including even their separation and the formation of independent States.
3. Abolition of national and religious privileges and disabilities.
4. Free development of the national and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia.

It seems, however, that the Bolsheviki do not unanimously accept the principle of extending the right of self-determination to complete separation. Some time ago Lenine himself spoke against such a policy. "The defense of the right of "self-determination," he wrote, "does "not encourage the formation of small "States. On the contrary, it leads to "the freer, more fearless, and, therefore, "more extensive and general formation "of large States and unions of States, "which are more advantageous for the "masses and more in harmony with "economic development. * * * The "conception of the legal separation of "nations is a reactionary conception."

The latest important act of the Petrograd Government is a decree separating the Russian Church from the State and

the school, sequestrating all church property, abolishing the oath, and doing away with all the privileges previously accorded to the Orthodox Church. This iconoclastic measure definitely severs the immemorial union between Russian statehood and the Orthodox Church. Enforced with brutality, it brought upon the heads of the Bolsheviki the anathema of Patriarch Tikhon.

Desperate Conditions Under Bolshevist Rule

The preceding article covers some phases of legislation enacted by the Bolshevist Government; there were, however, other developments in Petrograd and throughout the country during the exciting weeks of early 1918, prior to Russia's capitulation in March, and these should be recorded. Arthur Ransome, the Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, *in a cablegram sent Feb. 16, 1918, summarizes some examples of legislative oddities of the Bolsheviki as follows:*

NOWADAYS a newspaper can only come out on condition that it prints all orders and enactments issued by the Petrograd Soviet on its first page. There are other restrictions, but this is the most serious, as after a busy day at the Soviet a paper may find itself compelled to surrender the whole front page to advertising its enemies' doings—the only form of advertisement now permitted to appear in the columns of the non-Soviet press.

Then there are restaurant regulations coming into force. All restaurants which have the necessary accommodation will have to provide a certain number of cheap meals fixed at a low price in accordance with the new card system. Then there is "Spitzberg's Marriage and Divorce Bureau." Apparently this Government institution only found twenty-one couples willing to submit to its ministrations during the six weeks of its existence. Spitzberg, the barrister who runs the bureau, is preparing an extensive advertising campaign.

These days have also seen a heavy assault on the Russian Church. Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev, has been murdered by hooligans, who entered his rooms at the Lavra, robbed him, stripped him, and finally drove out the old man of 70 and killed him. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, who also is Patriarch of the Russian Church, has been prevented from coming to Petrograd, while the sacristy of the Moscow Kremlin has been looted. The gold and silver removed alone are worth many millions of rubles, to say nothing of such things as very early text Slavonic manuscript gospels and articles of inestimable historical value.

The amount of robbery and murder now proceeding has led the Petrograd Soviet to appoint a special commmission to devise means of suppressing the disorder. All criminal elements are to be invited either to adopt an honest method of earning a living or leave the town within twenty-four hours. At the expiration of this time limit all criminals caught red-handed are to be shot forthwith.

Incidentially, it may be pointed out that the line between ordinary criminality and anarchism, inspired by the loftiest motives, has now completely vanished. The front page of Sunday's Burevestnik, an anarchist daily, consists of an appeal addressed to hall porters. "You have been watchdogs long enough guarding the wealth of others," it says. "The poor do not need protection. It is a crime to protect the rich. Open the gates; let the real masters, the poor, enter and take what is theirs. Owners of palaces and private houses, if you do not desire equality, go live in the cellars, under the stairs, in damp corners. We, where there are light and sun, create anarchy."

PETROGRAD DESERTED

Dr. Harold Williams, another Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, *under date of March 10 described the exodus from Petrograd as follows:*

The streets are very quiet now. They

have never been so quiet since the beginning of the war, and in the evenings the stillness of the dimly lighted thoroughfares is fraught with foreboding. The turbulent emotions of the year of revolution are exhausted; the fever is slackening, the pulse of life is very low, and the depression and foreboding are inarticulate. They cannot be summed up as dread of any definite calamity, as fear of the Germans, as fears of unrestrained anarchy. They are gloomier, because they are inarticulate, because they come of a sense of emptiness, of the ebbing away of life.

DEPARTING FOR MOSCOW

There has been a great exodus. The Government is migrating to Moscow, and has let fall hints that Moscow is to be praclaimed the capital. The Council of People's Commissaries will have its seat in the Kremlin. Lenine will sit in the seat of the predecessors of Peter the Great and the Neva will be deserted. The Ministries have nearly completed their evacuation. Tons of goods have been dispatched south and east, and to-night or tomorrow night those members of the Government who still remain will leave for Moscow.

The power is leaving Petrograd, and the population, seized by vague alarm, has been flocking out of the city. Day after day a queue of many thousands waited on the Nevsky Prospect for permits to leave the city. Day after day overcrowded trains moved off south and east, soldiers in the forefront, and dismissed workmen and all that miscellaneous mass of humanity that is afraid of starvation, afraid of unemployment, afraid of the invader, of unknown calamities. Many thousands who could not go by trains went off on foot through the snow, and many who had ready money to spare hired sledges and went driving off on a pilgrimage into the depths of Russia.

Yet there was no noise, no outward sign of panic. There was a strange hush about it all, a sad and patient resignation, as though in the presence of an unintelligible, inexorable fate; and those who remain go wandering about the streets, vaguely, hopelessly, asking for an explanation of the life that has grown meaningless.

There are provisions. Somehow the city still lives from hand to mouth, with a curious ingenuity. This week the refrigerators were emptied and their contents allotted among the population as a parting gift, so that for a few hours they had plenty of flour and dried vegetables and fed on frozen goose. And supply trains still come in irregularly and in driblets, but still they come.

The street cars have no stores of fuel, but from time to time they buy remnants from factories that are closing down, and so struggle along with interruptions. Half the cabmen have gone home to their villages, often selling their horses for meat before they go, for horse meat is now a recognized article of diet, even in many families that were once well to do, and the horses that remain are dying. Day after day one sees them fall in the street and gathering round them a doleful crowd of idle onlookers. They die, and their bodies lie in the snow unburied for many days. Most of the big theatres are deserted, and it is the easiest thing in the world now to get tickets for the once-crowded opera.

In the night one hears shots, unintelligible fusillades. A few nights ago there was a rattle of rifles in my neighborhood, and in the morning passersby found the bodies of six young men, students, as I afterward discovered, shot, heaven knows why.

All goods, sledges, and motor cars and lorries have been requisitioned for the evacuation, and their movements for the last week have constituted almost the sole traffic of this once great industrial centre, and in the settled gloom there is no place left for excitement, for panic, for sudden flashes of fear or anger. People talk and speculate, but they know that their words are vain, and they speak wearily, indifferently of loss and pain and death.

LOOTING THE WARSHIPS

Louis Edgar Browne, Petrograd correspondent of The New York Globe and Chicago Daily News, cabled under date of March 13:

When the Soviet decided to evacuate

Petrograd the crews of three warships in the Neva held meetings and decided that so far as they were concerned the war was over and that each sailor was free to return to his village. The silver plate, crockery, and every particle of the movable equipment were divided and distributed so that each member of the crew received approximately an equal share.

A sailor presiding at one of the meetings presented a resolution authorizing the distribution with the argument that the warships formerly belonged to the Czar, but the revolution made them the people's property. As it was impossible to divide equally the three cruisers among 180,000,000 people, the crews of these three ships had a perfect right to divide the materials provided they relinquished claim to any other properties of the former Czar.

Everything in the Russian Army and Navy is now in a process of liquidation in a similar manner. Regiments are dividing clothing and the supplies. The automobile units are selling their motors and supplies and dividing the proceeds, while the commissary is making an equal distribution of food. The psychological formula of the soldier units today is to gather all the loot and spoils possible, divide equally, and return to the native village as quickly as possible for the purpose of being present when the land is redistributed.

Horseflesh is the only meat available in Petrograd, and queues of forlorn and hungry people extend for blocks on each side of the butcher shops. A more varied crowd cannot be imagined. Ragged and well dressed children, fur-clad women and shabby servants and street sweepers and army officers wait hour after hour with unbelievable patience for a few pounds of horseflesh. Each queue eventually becomes an indignation meeting against the existing order of things. The women especially are bitter, blaming the Bolsheviki for all their troubles. If one stands in a queue for a few moments he is sure to overhear the expression of the hope that the Germans will soon occupy Petrograd, and there is never a dissenting protest.

Horse meat costs 3 rubles ($1.50) a pound. Formerly Petrograd was noted for the huge flocks of pigeons which lived in belfries of the cathedrals, but most of these have already found their way to the pot. Dogs and cats are disappearing. Here are a few prices of commodities: Pototoes, 2 rubles ($1) a pound; butter, 13½ rubles ($7.25) a pound; sugar, 15 rubles ($7.50) a pound; porridge, 6 rubles, ($3;) flour, 5 rubles, ($2.50;) rice, 8 rubles, ($4,) and bread from 2 to 7 rubles ($1 to $3.50) a pound.

ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION

Herman Bernstein cabled The New York Herald on March 13 as follows:

On the eve of the anniversary of the Russian revolution Petrograd presents a sad sight. The fairy tale of long-dreamed dreams awakened by the overthrow of Czarism is now a nightmare of terror, starvation, plunder, and demoralization. The bourgeoisie are hard hit. Fur-coated ladies are selling newspapers at the street corners. Bankers and Generals are cleaning the streets and working as railroad station carriers and theatrical supernumeraries. The proletariat is commencing to suffer from lack of employment.

Petrograd's fate is apparently sealed as the great Russian capital. The Ministers are hurrying away and there is a general evacuation by rail, by sleigh, and on foot, as from Moscow during the Napoleonic invasion.

Petrograd is daily the scene of many murders, robberies, holdups, and raids. When the Government departments leave, excesses on a large scale are feared, even though several regiments have published warnings that pogrom makers will be shot immediately. A grave catastrophe is expected in the next few weeks.

Persons are summarily killed in various parts of the city to terrorize the population, and people are shot on the slightest pretext without trials. The Department of Justice now demands a thorough investigation of the murder of so-called counter-revolutionists by unknown persons.

Text of Decree Repudiating Russia's Debts

The official proclamation repudiating Russia's debts was dated Feb. 8, 1918, (New Style,) and was finally approved by the Central Committee. The text is as follows:

1. All loans contracted by former Russian Governments which are specified in a special list are canceled as from Dec. 1, 1917. The December coupons of these loans will not be paid.

2. All the guarantees for these loans are canceled.

3. All loans made from abroad are canceled without exception and unconditionally.

4. The short-term series of State Treasury bonds retain their validity. The interest on them will not be payable, but they will circulate on a par with paper money.

5. Indigent persons who hold stock not exceeding 10,000 rubles in internal loans will receive in exchange, according to the nominal value of their holdings, certificates in their own name for a new loan of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic of Soviets for an amount not exceeding that of their previous holding. The conditions of this loan are specially defined.

6. Deposits in the State savings banks and the interest upon them are not to be touched. All holdings in the canceled loans belonging to these banks will be replaced by debt entered to their credit in the Great Book of the Russian Socialist Republic.

7. Co-operative and other institutions of general or democratic utility, and possessing holdings in the canceled loans, will be indemnified in accordance with the special regulations laid down by the Supreme Council of Political Economy, in agreement with their representatives, if it is proved that the holdings were acquired before the publication of the present decree.

8. The State Bank is charged with the complete liquidation of loans and the immediate registration of all holders of bonds in the State loans and other funds, whether annulled or not.

9. The Soviet of the Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, in accord with the local economic councils, will form committees for the purpose of deciding whether a citizen is to be classed as "indigent." These committees will be competent to cancel entirely all savings acquired without working for them, even in the case of sums below 5,000 rubles.

THE CALENDAR REVISED

A decree was issued Feb. 7 by the Bolshevist Government, providing for the adoption of the Gregorian, or "New Style," calendar, as from Thursday, Feb. 14, 1918, "the first day after Jan. 31, 1918, (Russian style,) being reckoned as Feb. 14." This abolishes the "Old Style" calendar, which caused Russian dates to lag thirteen days behind the corresponding dates in the rest of the world.

Proclamation of the "Social Revolution"

Lenine's First Manifestoes

IZVESTIA, the full title of which is News of the Central Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies," is the official organ of the Bolshevist Government at Petrograd. No. 210 of this small four-page newspaper, issued on Nov. 11, 1917, and dated Oct. 29, (Old Style,) contains the first proclamation of the "Social Revolution," the uprising which overthrew the Kerensky Government, along with other documents of a similar nature. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents its own translation of these historic milestones on the road to Russia's present catastrophe:

TO WORKMEN COMRADES!

By the will of the All-Rusian Congress of Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies has been created a Temporary Peasants' and Workmen's Government. By its direction the Commission of Labor turns to you, Workmen Comrades, with a cordial invitation to help the work of strengthening the revolution and its conquests.

The propertied classes are trying to create anarchy and ruin in production, provoking violence among the workmen, excesses and attacks upon master workmen, technicians, and engineers. They hope in this way to bring about a complete and final dislocation of all enterprises and then to shut the doors of the factories and industries. The Revolutionary Commis-

№ 210.
Воскресенье,
29 октября 1917 г.

ИЗВѢСТІЯ

ЦѢНА:
въ Петроградѣ 15 коп.
на ст. жел. д. 18 коп.

Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета
И ПЕТРОГРАДСКАГО СОВѢТА
РАБОЧИХЪ и СОЛДАТСКИХЪ ДЕПУТАТОВЪ.

Адресъ конторы: Литовка, Сайкинъ пер., д. № 6. Телефонъ № 218-41.
Адресъ редакціи: Смольный Институтъ, 2-й этажъ комната № 14. Телефонъ № 38-89.

ТОВАРИЩИ РАБОЧІЕ!

Волей Всероссійскаго Съѣзда Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ создано Временное Крестьянское и Рабочее Правительство. По его порученію, Комиссія Труда обращается къ Вамъ, Товарищи Рабочіе, съ горячимъ призывомъ помочь дѣлу укрѣпленія революціи и ея завоеваніямъ.

PART OF FIRST PAGE OF IZVESTIA, THE BOLSHEVIST OFFICIAL ORGAN IN PETROGRAD, CONTAINING A HISTORIC PROCLAMATION OF THE MAXIMALIST GOVERNMENT

sion of Labor turns to you, Workmen Comrades, asking you to abstain from violences and excesses.

By the fraternal and creative work of the popular working masses and the proletariat organizations, the Commisison of Labor will be able to remove all obstacles standing in its way.

To all producers and to all who continue sabotage, and thereby place obstacles in the way of the problems and aims of the great proletarian-peasant revolution, the new Revolutionary Government will apply the severest measures. Lynch law and every violence can only injure the work of the revolution. The Commission of Labor summons you to self-control and revolutionary discipline.

(Signed)

The People's Commissioner of Labor,
ALEXANDER SHLYAPNIKOFF.

In the same number the elimination of Alexander Kerensky is thus announced:

TO THE WHOLE PEOPLE!

Former Minister Kerensky, overthrown by the people, refuses to accept the decision of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and is making criminal attempts to resist the lawful Government, elected by the All-Russian Congress of the Soviet of People's Commissaries. The army has refused to support Kerensky. Moscow has united itself to the new Government. A whole series of other cities (Minsk, Mohilev, Kharkov) has passed under the power of the Soviets. Not one infantry element opposes the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, which, in harmony with the firm will of the army and people, has entered upon peace negotiations, and has transferred the land to the peasants.

Like General Korniloff, a few squadrons of misguided Cossacks were collected by this criminal enemy of the people, who is trying to deceive the population of Petrograd with lying manifestoes.

We announce for the information of all: If the Cossacks do not arrest Kerensky, who is deceiving them, and if they move against Petrograd, the army of the revolution, with all the force of its arms, will defend the precious conquests of the revolution: Peace and land.

Citizens of Petrograd, Kerensky has fled from the city, leaving you in the hands of Kishkin, who advocates the surrender of Petrograd to the Germans; in the hands of Ruttenberg, organizer of the Black Hundred, who has disorganized

the production of the city in the hands of Palchinski, who heartily detests all democracy. Kerensky has run away, giving you up to surrender to the Germans, to famine, to a bath of blood. The people rising in its might has arrested the Ministers of Kerensky, and you have seen that the order and production of Petrograd have simply gained by this. Kerensky, on the demand of the nobles, landowners, capitalists, speculators, is going against you, in order to return the land to the landowners, in order once more to prolong the ruinous, detested war.

Citizens of Petrograd, we know that the vast majority of you are for the power of the revolutionary people, against the Korniloffists, led by Kerensky. Do not let yourself be deceived by lying proclamations of impotent bourgeois talkers, who will be crushed without pity.

Workmen, soldiers, peasants, we demand of you revolutionary readiness and revolutionary discipline.

The many-millioned peasantry, the many-millioned army, are on our side.

The victory of the people's revolution is inevitable.

THE WAR-REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES.

Petrograd, Oct 28, (Old Style,) 1917.

The peace program of the Bolshevist Government is set forth in another proclamation in the same number:

Immediate democratic peace, this is one of the great world problems of the Russian revolution.

But only a Workmen's and Peasants' Government is capable of realizing this problem, since only such a Government expresses the will of the whole Russian people and will inflexibly carry out that will. Thus, for the first time in the course of the seven months of the revolution, the fate of the masses of the people is in their own hands.

Until the uprising of Oct. 24-25, (Nov. 6-7, New Style,) the Provisional Government did nothing to solve this mighty problem, because it was a Government of Russian serfs and allied capitalists.

Step by step it receded from the program of peace of the Russian revolutionary democracy. It betrayed it in the interest of allied capitalists. To the detriment of peace, it carried on secret negotiations with these capitalists behind the back of the Russian revolutionary democracy. By organizing the July offensive, it drove Russia into the path of destruction and knocked from the hands of the German proletariat a weapon pointed at the breast of the Government of Wilhelm II.

Therefore, being the Government of the serfs of the bourgeoisie, it feared the proletariat masses, and to the fulfillment of their will preferred even the triumph of the German bourgeoisie. And the Socialist supporters, all the Tseretellis, Liebers, Avskentieffs, upheld it, sharing with it the betrayal of the interest of the Russian revolution, the interest of peace, the interest of the Russian and European working masses. Only the present Workmen's and Peasants' Government can guarantee peace to the tortured Russian and other peoples, steeped in their brothers' blood.

It has established the question of peace on simple, unshakable ground. It raises on high the red flag of international socialism, and demands peace without annexations or contributions, in principle condemning all annexations, no matter when they were made.

But, being faithful to the principles of international socialism, it understands the full justice of the words of Karl Liebknecht: That the worst enemy of every proletariat is in its own country, and that only a revolution of the proletariat of Europe has the power finally to liberate all lands held in slavery until the present war.

And it states the real question of peace. It demands an immediate truce on all fronts, announces its willingness to consider calmly and objectively all peace proposals, and sets a period of three months for the consideration of these proposals.

Already demanding a truce on all fronts, the Workmen's and Peasants' Government spurns the base insinuation that it is striving after a separate peace. It is not at all seeking to break with its allies, but it has taken a defensive position, thanks to which in all allied countries the true workmen's democracy will have the decisive voice.

And the fact that, in Russia, power and the negotiation of peace are in the hands, not of a traitor, but of the real representatives of the workmen, soldiers, and peasants, will strengthen the movement in favor of peace in allied countries also, as well as in Germany and Austria. This open advance with the demand for peace, with its condemnation of secret diplomacy, will find an echo not only in the world's proletariat but also among the great masses of the countries forced and dragged into the war—Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Belgium, the colonies.

By this means the Governments of the warring imperialistic countries are placed in a position in which the beginning of immediate peace negotiations will be irresistibly forced upon them.

Thanks to the uprising of Oct. 25, the question of peace is on simple, unshakable ground. It is in the hands of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, in the hands of the Russian masses of the people themselves. And he who does not support

it is against peace, is an enemy of the proletariat, an enemy of the Russian people, an enemy of all mankind tortured by this war. Whoever is in favor of immediate truce on all fronts, whoever is in favor of peace, whoever is in favor of the triumph of democracy and the brotherhood of the toiling masses of all lands and peoples, will support the Workmen's and Peasants' Government. Down with secret diplomacy and counter-revolution! Long live peace!

German Methods of Decoying Russians

Text of an Official Order

THE following document reveals in detail the methods by which the Germans introduced their propaganda among the Russian troops and started the "fraternization" and disaffection which ended in Russia's downfall and the loss of Russian liberty. The same methods were used later upon the Italians. The document is an official order sent by the German General Staff to each of the divisions near the eastern front. It bears no date, but the sixth article shows that it was issued some time after May, 1917. The translation given below was made for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the text printed in the Moscow daily Russkoye Slovo of Dec. 1, 1917; but the document had previously appeared in the Petrograd papers. Throughout the Summer the cleverly manipulated virus of enemy propaganda was introduced into the simple minds of the Russian soldiers by the methods here prescribed with German thoroughness.

218TH ARMY DIVISION.
1st Section, No. 266.
SECRET.
Not to be taken to front positions.
ORDER TO THE DIVISION.

1. In conformance with the order transmitted over the telephone of the group Gerock No. 2098, it is necessary to develop the propaganda among the enemy armies with particular intensity.

2. The aim of the propaganda is to disorganize the foe's army and to obtain necessary information about it.

3. The propaganda must be conducted

(a) By throwing into the enemy trenches a large number of newspapers and manifestoes for the intellectual elements of the army;

(b) By persuading the masses orally and selecting credulous officers and Sergeants in the enemy troops.

4. The front communication posts (*Frontvernehmungsstellen*) are subject to the authority of the commanders of the corresponding companies.

The duty of the latter is as follows:

(a) In his section he must seek out favorably situated points from which newspapers, manifestoes, &c., might be transmitted to the enemy.

(b) At these points he must endeavor to enter into direct communication with the enemy through our interpreters and, if the enemy is disposed to do so, appoint a definite hour for meetings.

5. Every agreement in this direction must be immediately communicated over the telephone to the head of the divisional bureau of information.

The head of the bureau of information alone has the right to parley with the enemy, according to definite instructions given to him.

The communication posts, directed by company commanders, must merely prepare the ground for such parleys.

6. Our soldiers are strictly forbidden to enter into communication with the enemy, except as ordered above, for this would facilitate enemy espionage. In any event, the enemy will try to take advantage of the kindly disposition of our soldiers. The strict order (No. 39 of May 28, 1917) regarding this matter remains in full power.

Written and printed matter brought by the enemy must be accepted and immediately forwarded to the head of the bureau of information. It is strictly forbidden to open them and, in general, to touch them.

7. Company commanders will begin their activities most successfully by locating, first of all, the points where the enemy accepted the papers placed for him, and where he proved hostile to our propaganda, where he moves freely and without fear in his trenches, and, finally, where his behavior is decidedly hostile and forbidding. Positions where artillery observation posts are discovered should be avoided, for French officers and instructors may be there.

8. The success of opening communications with the enemy by the above-described method depends on the adroitness with which the first steps are made.

Shouts will only frighten the enemy, who is timid by nature, and throw the whole post into alarm. Good results are obtained by words delivered in a quiet tone of voice and full of feelings of comradeship, by a frequent repetition of these attempts at the

A BRITISH TANK IN AN AWKWARD POSITION

This photograph conveys a vivid idea of the kind of ground in France over which tanks operate and of the difficult positions in which they sometimes find themselves

(British official photo from Underwood & Underwood)

A BRITISH ARMORED CAR STUCK DEEP IN FLANDERS MUD

The morasses amid which the British offensive in Flanders has been conducted cause many of the greatest difficulties in transportation. This car, suitably camouflaged, has sunk so deep that horses are required to haul it out

(British official photo from Underwood & Underwood)

same point, by promising not to shoot, offering tobacco, &c.

Tobacco may be obtained from the company commander.

9. Each day at 20 o'clock (8 P. M.) the company commanders are obliged to report directly to the head of the bureau of information about the day's events relating to the propaganda. The reports must contain the following information:

(a) When and where newspapers were thrown into trenches or transmitted;

(b) Whether the newspapers were accepted by the enemy;

(c) Whether attempts were made to enter into communication with the enemy; who came from the enemy's side, (soldiers, Sergeants, officers;) with what regiment (judging by objective signs, not by inquiries) negotiations were begun;

(d) Other observations regarding the behavior of the enemy.

At the same time the interpreters attached to the communication posts must send to the head of the bureau of information the contents, word for word, of the conversations which took place during the previous twenty-four hours.

The place and hour of meetings fixed for the next day must be immediately communicated to the head of the bureau of information over the telephone.

10. The enemy sections in which the propaganda is conducted must be shielded from our artillery fire. We must shoot only if an attack is launched by the enemy. The company commanders will point out the places to be left unharmed to the corresponding batteries. The artillery commander will be warned by the division.

11. The enemy is crafty and faithless. It must, therefore, be borne in mind that he will no doubt try to set traps for our propaganda detachment for the purpose of capturing or killing them. We must act with the utmost care.

Soldiers carrying newspapers and letters must be informed about the conventional (destined to deceive the enemy) disposition of our troops, (I, a, No. 261.)

For the protection of these soldiers special protective detachments must always be organized in our trenches, utmost care being taken that they should not be noticed by the enemy. These detachments must only fire at the order of the Captains who command the communication posts.

12. On the 12th of the month the 62d Army Brigade must submit the names of the company commanders recommended for the position of head of communication post.

J. V. D. B. D. K.

The Chief of the Division, (on leave of absence,) per KREINBERG, (Signature,)
General Major and Chief of the 62d Brigade.

Read by RUNK, (Signature,)
Chief of the Company.

Fraternizing Under the Armistice

A German Description

The following description of conditions along the Russo-German front during the armistice that preceded the resumption of the invasion of Russia by the Germans on Feb. 18, 1918, was written by Wilhelm Hegeler, correspondent of the Deutsche Tageszeitung:

WE advance further over a snow-covered meadow. Here and there along the roadside stand bits of camouflage made of trees set in the ground. The storm has torn them loose and blown the snow from their dead branches. Here they stand in heaps, there they have wearily sunk to earth. At slight intervals pieces of fir branches woven together are hung above the road. These, too, are torn and tattered. And both of them, the masks along the road and those above it, seem like the damaged scenery of a play that has been eliminated from the repertory.

"We did not dare show ourselves here a couple of weeks ago," said the Captain. "The Russians had too able observers and all the camouflage was of no avail, and the artillery fired upon every single man. Right there where the road branches off I had a bad experience. I was going along unsuspectingly when all at once bullets from machine guns began to fall like a shower. Luckily I had good horses, so the sport lasted only a few minutes. And today we go along here as unmolested as in the Grünewald in Berlin."

We get out and I walk through the trenches. At the first glance there is no change. The ground is well swept and the slight traces of snow are tramped down by countless soldier boots.

Smoke curls from all the bombproof shelters. A soldier stands in the kitchen soaking some dried codfish. Only one thing strikes my eye: the trenches are empty. And the first sentry that I encounter is not standing at the observation post, but is sitting comfortably on the breastworks, his rifle on his arm, his frost reddened face wreathed in approving smiles.

I want to share his amusement, so I get up on the breastworks and see that over on the Russian side of the barbed wire entanglements a regular battle is going on. It is waged with snowballs, but it is so strenuous that one might easily believe that our new friends had not yet had enough of war. Now two soldiers are wrestling, a tall fellow and a nimble little chap who charges his opponent like a billy goat, until the big fellow suddenly seizes him by the trousers leg and repeatedly ducks the wriggling figure in the snow. The sentry laughs and acts as if he would like to join the game.

I continue to wander along and wonder where the soldiers are hidden. Now I hear a marching song from the fields of snow. Two companies are coming in. Short pipes hang from under the frosty mustaches of the older men; the young fellows are singing. They have been drilling. It is all over with the sloppy life of active war.

I hunt up the shelter of the regiment's officer in charge of the truce negotiations. He is a young Lieutenant, a teacher in civil life, who has added a little Russian learned out of a grammar to the Polish which he already knew. He told me, however, that he hardly ever had to use it, as there were enough Russians over there who could speak German.

Two officers and several soldiers accompany us on our way to the rendezvous indicated by a white flag. The Lieutenant tells about his previous negotiations with the Russians. For several days they had been meeting almost daily at this or that place and discussing the possibility of peace. There had never been any disagreeable incidents among the German or the Russian infantrymen. Just once a blustering Russian Major had made his appearance and forbidden these meetings in front of the wire entanglements. But other officers and soldiers had surrounded the Major and had begged the Lieutenant not to be disturbed.

We had scarcely reached the place indicated, which was near the ruins of the royal castle, the walls and watch towers of which consist of only a few scanty fragments since the last battles, when two Russian officers appeared. According to the latest regulation, their uniforms were in nowise different from those of the soldiers. The truce officer introduced us; we shook hands and it was no mere polite phrase when we assured each other that we were glad to make each other's acquaintance.

One of the two officers came from Riga, the other from the Caucasus. Strange to say, the latter spoke much better German than his comrade from Riga. I was anxious to see what sort of conversation it would be and if it would begin rapidly or haltingly. It took place in the most natural way in the world and concerned the very thing that had separated both sides in life and death, but that, now that it was over, as a common experience excluded any feeling of strangeness.

They talked about the last great attack by the Russians on July 23. Thanks to their superiority in force, they had succeeded in breaking through a narrow strip of our line and in penetrating as far as our first line of artillery before they were ejected by a counterattack. "You charged d—d fast that time," said one of the German Lieutenants. "Before the artillery was able to shift its barrage fire forward, you stood in front of our trenches. For the rest, your drum fire didn't do us any damage. We sat in the bombproofs and made music."

"Your artillery fire didn't do us much damage, either," replied the Russian. "The shots were well aimed enough, but the shells didn't do much in the swamp. Your machine guns, on the other hand, kept us pretty busy. * * *"

The conversation halted for a while until the Lieutenant with the scar said:

"It's a funny thing, eh? Three months ago we were exchanging hand grenades and now we are exchanging cigarettes. But, after all, we are merely like duelists after a round at arms. Why should we be ill-tempered?"

Poland Asserts Herself

A Vigorous Protest Against a Further Partition Is Effective

THE Polish Regency Council, which was set up by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments, asserted its independence in a striking manner when it was announced that a portion of the Polish domain—the Kholm district—had been ceded to the Ukrainian People's Republic in the peace treaty signed by the Ukrainian delegation and the Teutonic Powers on Feb. 9, 1918. When the cession became known there was great excitement throughout Poland. In many cities black flags were displayed, and there were angry manifestations of protest. The excitement became so intense that in several districts martial law was proclaimed. The indignation was shared by Polish, Czech, Slavic, and Socialist Deputies of the Austrian Reichsrat, who threatened to unite against voting any further budgets unless the treaty was changed.

The opposition became so threatening that the Austrian and German Foreign Ministers modified the objectionable clauses of the treaty. A supplementary declaration, which was given an obscure interpretation in the Reichstag and Reichsrat simultaneously by the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers, respectively, provides that the region is not to be ceded forthwith to the Ukraine, but that its future is to be determined later by a mixed commission of Poles and Ukrainians, empowered to draw the frontier to the east of the line named in the treaty. The passage in the supplementary treaty relating to this point reads:

> For the purpose of avoiding all misunderstandings in the interpretation of Clause 2 of Article 2 of the peace treaty concluded at Brest-Litovsk on Feb. 9, 1918, between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one part and the Ukraine People's Republic on the other, it is hereby declared that the mixed commission provided for in Paragraph 2 of this article of the treaty shall, in fixing the frontier, not be bound to draw the frontier line through the places of Bielgoraj, Szczebrzeszyn, Krasnostaw, Puchaczow, Radzyn, Mezyrecze, and Sarnaki, but shall have the right on the ground of Article 2, Clause 2, of this peace treaty to draw the frontier which may result from ethnographical conditions and from the desires of the local population east of the line named.

The supplementary treaty thus altering the destiny of the Polish region of Kholm was signed on Feb. 18 by representatives of the Ukrainian Rada and the Austro-Hungarian Government. The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seydler, in announcing the fact the next day before the Austrian Reichsrat, stated that the mixed commission to determine the new boundary would be "composed of representatives of the contracting parties and representatives of Poland," each sending an equal number of delegates to the commission. He added: "No other solution of the Kholm question—the subject of national dispute—was possible without upsetting the prospects of peace."

The compromise saved the Austrian Government from defeat of the budget, but the excitement which swept over Poland did not subside. The act of the Austrian Government in permitting the protest of the Polish Club and the Polish Regency Council to be published and circulated was bitterly criticised and hotly condemned by influential German newspapers and prominent members of the German Junker party.

These two manifestoes are of historic interest, making a new phase of Poland's progress toward real independence.

The manifesto of the Regency was signed by the three members of the council, Prince Lubomirski, Archbishop Kakowski, and Count Ostrowski. Prince Lubomirski is a Conservative, hitherto

opposed to all revolutionary movements. When the Russians withdrew from Warsaw in 1915 he remained as President of the city. The Archbishop, who is the head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Poland, was regarded heretofore as being entirely under German and Austrian influence. Count Ostrowski was a prominent Conservative Polish statesman before the war, and in 1907 was Chairman of the Polish Club in the Russian Council of the Empire.

The text of the manifesto follows:

When the armies of the Central Powers entered the Polish Kingdom we heard from under their victorious flags the solemn assurances that they brought Poland liberation from a long and heavy yoke. Later came the patents that guaranteed to our country her independence. Lastly, a few months ago, the existence of a sovereign authority of the Polish State was recognized and it was promised help, friendship, and collaboration.

But when the Czar's reign in Russia came to an end and Russia's new rulers began peace negotiations with the Central Powers Poland was not admitted to these negotiations. We demanded our participation in these negotiations earnestly and incessantly. We were promised this participation. Then the answer was delayed, and we were deluded until the plenipotentiaries of Germany and Austria-Hungary decided alone about our frontiers contrary to our rights. We were not admitted, in order that peace might be made at our cost, and in order that the desired safety in the East might be obtained at the price of our nation's living body a piece of Polish land was carved out and given to the Ukrainians.

The wrong of the Czar's Government has been repeated. The nonexistent Government of Kholm has been re-established and enlarged, aggravating the wrong that was done at that time to the Polish Nation. This land transferred to the Ukraine is for the most part Polish and Roman Catholic. Its population proved with its own blood during the infamous religious persecution of 1884 its right to belong to Poland. The population has not been asked to which State it wants to belong. With one stroke of the pen its lot has been decided, and so the self-determination of the nations so often and so solemnly proclaimed by the German and Austrian diplomatists has been in Poland's case violated.

Thereby the real significance has been taken from the independence patents, and from the promises of friendship. Poland's independence, her political and economic existence as a State, has become an empty word, for not only are the interests and rights of Poland overlooked, but her national territory is not respected.

We have taken the oath before God to guard Poland's happiness, liberty, and strength, and today, remembering our oath, we raise our voices before God and the world, before the face of men and the judgment of history, before the German Nation and the nations of Austria-Hungary, in protest against this partition, refusing it our acknowledgment, branding it as an act of brute force.

Declaring once more the violation of the spirit and the real meaning of the independence patent, we will crave the right of exercising the highest authority from the will of the nation, believing that the nation desires to own a symbol of its independence and wants to stand by this symbol.

On this will of the nation we wish to base our mission and our efforts. We will preserve what has been obtained. We will guard our courts of justice, that render their sentence in the name of the Polish Crown; our schools, that are beginning a new life in a Polish spirit. And if we do not obtain the whole of the nation's aspirations we will hand down to our descendants what we have taken from the blood of our forefathers and we will not acknowledge the diminution of our own country.

KAKOWSKI,
OSTROWSKI,
LUBOMIRSKI.

Warsaw, Feb. 14.

POLISH CLUB'S PROTEST

The German newspapers took especial offense at the act of Austria in permitting the following protest of the Polish Club to be published:

The reports of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk published in the press show that the German delegates have formed ideas in regard to the territories occupied by them, that is to say, in regard to the Kingdom of Poland, which Polish public opinion cannot accept. The German delegates hold, among other things, the theory that "the political bodies authorized to represent the various nationalities in the occupied territories can express the will of the nation," and that, for this reason, they are "from henceforth competent to conclude conventions."

This theory proceeds evidently from a serious and dangerous misunderstanding, which, as regards the parts of Poland in military occupation, ought to be definitely and at once cleared up.

The "temporary and occasional character," to use the expression of the German delegates, of these bodies authorized to represent the population of the Kingdom of Poland has never been doubted by Polish

public opinion. The manner itself in which they were created shows clearly that they cannot pretend to represent the real will of the nation. This fact has not been modified either by the bestowal upon them of pompous titles, which do not, moreover, correspond in any way to the powers actually granted, or by the social position or individual value of the persons intrusted with this provisionary mandate.

The assertion of the German delegates that the Polish Nation, in its aspiration to form an independent Polish State, has already declared categorically and as a whole for the separation of the Kingdom of Poland from Russia is perfectly correct. Upon this point there is no dispute. Moreover, Polish public opinion, basing itself upon the principle of the right of all nations to self-determination, a principle now generally admitted by the whole world, is convinced that only the unification of Polish territories will satisfy the nation and enable it to develop in every sense.

These principles are so clearly universal that they can be represented by any political body, even if only provisional and temporary. But, on the other hand, the legal and political consequences of this national program must of necessity be subject to the consent of a proper national representation, elected on a democratic basis, such as would insure the expression of the national will.

Any exclusion of this condition, any engagement made in the name of the nation, any conclusion of facts of any kind by provisional bodies, would certainly call forth throughout Poland a unanimous protest, a protest against a violation of national rights and interests, which would prove to the world the flagrant contradiction between the principles solemnly proclaimed and the acts wrung from the nation by mere force.

REALIST PARTY. NATIONAL UNION.
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PARTY. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
PROGRESSIST PARTY. PARTY FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.
Warsaw.

Gorky's View of the Lenine Group

Maxim Gorky, though a Russian Socialist, has shown increasing opposition to the radicalism of the Bolsheviki. The following extract is from an article entitled "I Love Russia," which he published in his magazine, the New Life, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations:

We Russians make up a people that has never yet worked in freedom, that has never yet had a chance to develop all its powers and its talents. And when I think that the revolution gives us the possibility of free work, of a many-sided joy in creating, my heart is filled with great hope and joy, even in these cursed days that are besmirched with blood and alcohol.

There is where begins the line of my decided and irreconcilable separation from the insane actions of the People's Commissaries. I consider Maximalism in ideas very useful for the boundless Russian soul; its task is to develop in this soul great and bold needs, to call forth the so necessary fighting spirit and activity, to promote initiative in this indolent soul and to give it shape and life in general.

But the practical Maximalism of the Anarcho-Communists and visionaries from the Smolny is ruinous for Russia and, above all, for the Russian working class.

The People's Commissaries handle Russia like material for an experiment. The Russian people is for them what the horse is for learned bacteriologists who inoculate the horse with typhus so that the anti-typhus lymph may develop in its blood. Now the Commissaries are trying such a predestined-to-failure experiment upon the Russian people without thinking that the tormented, half-starved horse may die.

The reformers from the Smolny do not worry about Russia. They are cold-bloodedly sacrificing Russia in the name of their dream of the worldwide and European revolution. And just as long as I can, I shall impress this upon the Russian proletarian: "Thou art being led to destruction! Thou art being used as material for an inhuman experiment!"

The Causes of Russia's Downfall

Address by Joseph Reinach

French Historian and Publicist

[Delivered in the Sorbonne, Paris, Dec. 13, 1917, at a meeting for the benefit of the wounded. Translated from the Revue Bleue for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

After discussing the psychological causes of the error made by France and the Allies in believeing to the last that Russia would not desert them, M. Reinach undertook to assess dispassionately the good and the evil in Russia's case:

LET us look squarely at Russia's part in events during the four years that we have been at war. I am one of those who have given special study to the long and laborious campaigns of the Russian Army. Let us speak of that army today with the same sincerity, the same frankness, the same regard for truth as in the past; for there was such an army in 1914, and in 1915, and in 1916!

In 1914 France was attacked by Germany simultaneously in Lorraine and in Belgium. Recall the battle of the Marne and ask yourself what would have happened in that battle if the divisions which Hindenburg and Ludendorff called to aid them against the Russians in East Prussia—if those divisions, in place of being on the Vistula, had been on the Ourcq and the Marne.

Unity of action on a united front! We are talking of it today, and may well talk of it, for it cannot be realized too soon. But it was realized that day when we were attacked on the Marne and Ourcq, from Paris to Verdun, and when we won the most brilliant of our victories over the enemy, who, on the eve of that battle, anxious for his dear East Prussia, had sent thither twenty of his best divisions. Did not Russia that day give us the help she owed to us, help which she did not haggle over for an hour, and which was perhaps one of the determining causes of our victory, a victory that is one of the landmarks of history and of civilization? So much for 1914. I pass on to 1915 and 1916. Those armies of the Grand Duke Nicholas, which in Poland fought that immense battle of the four rivers, whose magnificent history has not yet been written—did not those armies fight nobly and bravely for the common cause? Recall the invasion of Galicia, the fall of Lemberg, the fall of Przemysl, the menace to Warsaw, the armies that fought their way through the snow of the Carpathians in dead of Winter and began to descend into the plains of Hungary!

THE FIRST FATAL TREASON

Ah! yes, it is true that at that very moment the woes of Russia and the worries of the Entente began. Those admirable soldiers were suddenly left without arms and munitions. We know now, through the Soukhomlinoff trial, why that brave army, in an hour that would perhaps have been decisive, lacked the arms and munitions which it needed; why only one out of every three soldiers had a rifle, the other two being armed with sticks, waiting until a comrade fell to pick up his weapon, and meanwhile offering their bare breasts to the German bullets and shells!

Ah! we historians have no right to forget that martyr army in Galicia and Poland. We cannot forget the millions of the dead and wounded. Do you know the total of Russian losses at the end of 1916? Two million dead, five million wounded, permanently crippled. Yes, I am recalling the memory of those millions of dead today, because in their graves they would have a right to say, if they could know what is going on in Russia now—fraternization in the trenches, voluntary defeats, widespread robbery—they would say that they had died in vain. But they did not die in vain, because we have only to remember those two million graves in order to keep ourselves from being unjust in our re-

proaches today, and to keep alive our own hope for the future.

Now sombre tragedy reigns—anarchy, disorder everywhere, revolt in the trenches. Discipline, the strength of armies, has been abolished. What remains of the Russian armies? You know the long series of defections, treasons, hideous desertions. The narratives told by Russians, the articles in Russian papers, are more tragic, more cruel than any we could invent here.

But I have brought you a document, hitherto unpublished—the appeal of General Korniloff, in the text of which, as well as between the lines, you may read what a Russian soldier can suffer in the presence of such catastrophes. Korniloff is a simple soldier, a self-made man who came up from the ranks, and who, in that land of favoritism, mounted from grade to grade until he reached that of General; who, in the retreat from Galicia, surrounded by enemies, fought to his last cartridge, and who, when captured by the Austrians and carried off to a distant prison, escaped and returned, with the aid of the Rumanians in Transylvania, in order to resume his service immediately and cover himself with new glory in Brusiloff's magnificent offensive of 1916.

KORNILOFF'S APPEAL

When revolution broke out and degenerated into anarchy—we shall see why in due time—Korniloff made the attempt of which you have heard, an attempt that failed for causes, some of which are still shrouded in mystery. And here is the eloquent appeal he addressed to his troops, an utterance that deserves to be known to the western world; it is little known even in Russia, for the successive Governments have not permitted its publication:

> Cossacks, brothers, beloved companions, was it not over the graves of your forefathers that the Russian Empire expanded and enlarged its boundaries? Was it not through your strong courage, your high deeds, your sacrifices and heroism, that Great Russia was strong?
>
> You, free and independent sons of the quiet River Don, of the beautiful Kuban, of the impetuous Terek, puissant eagles migrating from the plains and mountains of the Ural, of Orenburg, of Astrakhan, of Semiretchensk, and from Siberia and the far Transbaikal, from the Amur and the Ussur—to you belongs the glory of having always guarded the honor of your flag, filling the Russian land with the fame of your own and your fathers' deeds.
>
> Today the hour has struck when you must come to the aid of your native land!
>
> I accuse the Provisional Government of indecision in action, of ignorance and incapacity, and of admitting the Germans into the administration, into the interior of our country, in proof of which I cite the explosion at Kasan, where nearly 1,000,000 shells and 12,000 howitzers were destroyed. Moreover, I accuse certain members of the Government of actual treason, and I bring the proofs. When I attended a session of the Provisional Government in the Winter Palace on Aug. 3 Ministers Kerensky and Savinkoff told me that "one could not talk about everything, because there were among the Ministers men of whom one could not be sure." It is clear that such a Government is leading our country to destruction, that under it there can be no safety for unhappy Russia.
>
> Therefore, when the Provisional Government, to please our enemies, yesterday [Sept. 9, 1917] demanded my resignation as Commander in Chief, I, as a Cossack, through duty of conscience and honor, was obliged to refuse the demand, preferring death on the battlefield to opprobrium and treason against my country.
>
> Cossacks! Knights of the Russian land, you promised to rise with me for the safety of the Fatherland when I should judge it necessary. The hour has struck, the Fatherland is on the eve of death! I will not submit to the orders of the Provisional Government, and for the safety of free Russia I will march against it and against those of its counselors who are selling our native land.

Ah, gentlemen, before such a man as Korniloff, in an appeal to his soldiers, could speak such words of his fellow-citizens and rulers—"They are selling our native land"—how he must have suffered! What cruel truths must have forced themselves upon him before he could utter so terrible an accusation in the presence of the world and of history!

THE POISON AT WORK

I have shown you what the Russian Army of 1914 was, and that of 1915 and 1916. What it had become in 1917 you will see from this appeal of Korniloff. How was the gold changed into base lead? I am going to try to tell you, or at least to sketch the history of that metamorphosis. There were two prin-

cipal causes of that sad phenomenon. Germany is not very expert in the psychology of nations. She deceived herself regarding Belgium, regarding France, regarding Great Britain and America; but she knew Russia. Or, rather, she did not know all the grandeur and beauty of the Slavic soul; but what she had studied and was resolved to exploit were the two great weaknesses of Russia, the two great causes of its ruin—the long habit of corruption and the ingrained spirit of anarchy.

Corruption in Russia dates from far back. It is not a new phase of Russian history. At the furthest point that we can go back in Russia's historical literature—perhaps it is the earliest Russian document that has been preserved—we find the exhortation of a Bishop, the famous "Instruction" of Bishop Laka Fidiata, who, addressing his flock in 1036, said: "Do not take bribes." In order that a Bishop in 1036 should say publicly in a manuscript that was preserved until the day when print could make it imperishable, "Do not take bribes," the practice must have been already an ancient usage all over that vast Russian land. Perhaps Herodotus, if he had known more about the ancestors of the Russians, could have shown us among the Scythians the origins of the corruptibility of the Russian Governments.

ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION

In truth, the Russians themselves have often tried hard to combat this official corruption. There is a Russian literary masterpiece that recalls our immortal Figaro (of the eve of 1789): it is "The Inspector General" of Gogol. In the course of four acts of pitiless public denunciation of corruption "The Inspector General" contains a famous scene in which an Inspector, in auditing the accounts of an employe, finds evident traces of bribery; the petty officer admits that he shaved the merchant rather close; the Inspector then says to him: "Look out for yourself, you are not taking according to your rank."

It is this corruption which, little by little, has destroyed the local and national administrations of Russia, and, still more serious, the morals of the people. Germany has been well aware of the fact, learning of it the more easily because the greater part of the Russian bureaucracy has long been half German. Under the empire, therefore, and then under the new régime, German corruption has never ceased to "work" Russia for Germany's profit.

We who for nearly four years have been fighting the German armies cannot without belittling our own achievements deny their military ability, their discipline, the intelligence of their commanders; but I believe—and history will support me—that German intrigue, German gold, the ancient Rheingold, is what has given Germany her decisive victories in Russia. It was with her gold, her bribery, that she also tried to corrupt other nations—nations which, fortunately, woke up in time.

TREASON RAMPANT

There was corruption under the empire, and there was treason: the treason of Massoïedoff, who, when discovered and denounced by Grand Duke Nicholas, was hanged high and swiftly with some of his accomplices; the treason of the Minister of War. One fine day there were no more guns in the arsenals. And why were there none? Rifles had been offered from all sides—London had offered five million of them. The emissaries of the War Department had not found a large enough bribe in sight, so they had refused the five million rifles. There was political corruption: Protopopoff, the goat from Siberia, Rasputin, Stürmer. One day in the Duma a Deputy, Puriskievich, mounted the tribune and said: "It is forbidden, I know, to speak German in Russia; I will speak only three German words from this tribune: Herr von Stürmer."

And what had gone on under the Czar began again under the Provisional Government. German gold was again at work. The empire had been secretly strangling the war; it inclined toward the grand treason of a separate peace. The empire fell. It was a serious defeat for Germany. Immediately Germany be-

gan pouring fresh funds into her campaign of corruption and infamous propaganda. She carried on this campaign among petty officials and in the Government itself. You have just heard the terrible charge made by Korniloff, based on information from Kerensky. The gangrene spread to the army. Soldiers and civilians, all patriots, fought against the loathsome taint, spending themselves in desperate efforts to check it. But there were more speeches, alas! than acts, and the German propaganda won the day. It was even more successful under the new régime than under the old. Why?

THE BANE OF ANARCHISM

Here we come upon the second cause which I indicated a moment ago: The anarchical spirit of Russia. I do not say that Russia is an artificial structure, but it is without foundations, and terribly fragile. It required all the brutality and all the genius of Peter the Great, with fire and sword, to amalgamate that Russia which we knew yesterday and which is being dismembered today. A country, half European, half Asiatic, on the borders of Western civilization; a country in which the Middle Ages, with their obscure traditions and their dense and sordid ignorance, are mingled with the limitless dreams of our new time, with its mad graspings at the future, its obstinate and morbid taste for illusion, for chimeras, for the most impossible Utopias. It is also the world's most extraordinary conglomeration of nationalities and religions: Old Russians and Little Russians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Turcomans, Finns, Siberians, Caucasians, Georgians, Jews, Letts, Tartars. Was there, even in the past, one Russia —in the sense that there is one France— a Russia that was "one and inseparable"? The French language of the eighteenth century was more correct and exact: We said then "the Germanys" and "the Russias."

There was a Russia, but it existed only through the Czar, the Emperor of all the Russias. The moment the Czar fell the empire crumbled, disappearing in a few hours, by means of a riot that was perhaps instigated, and by means of a barrack revolution without one arm being raised in defense—the swiftest and most extraordinary collapse probably in all history. The next day what was there in Russia?

LIBERTY WITHOUT LAW

True, there arose a great cry of liberty, a violent desire for reforms. The French Revolution was to be only child's play in comparison with what the Russian revolution was to be. The most advanced legislation of France, England, and America was mere reaction when compared with the Russian Constitution that was to be created. Yes; but the backbone was lacking; that vast body had no skeleton; because that weak Emperor, who desired the good and allowed the evil to be done—because he had disappeared there was no longer a skeleton, a backbone.

The empire crumbled, and on its ruins anarchy arose spontaneously, a week or ten days after the revolution that had brought liberty. And this anarchy contained nothing repugnant to the Russian spirit, because that spirit itself is anarchistic. It is a spirit that is simple with an infantile and touching simplicity, and that is at the same time unbridled. Order is equilibrium, but the very idea of equilibrium is foreign to the Russian mind. It adores softness, humility, kindness; it is full of human pity. But it has respect only for the most brutal force, for "Nagaika." The Latin spirit is constructive, the Russian spirit is destructive. It lives on dreams, whether these be beautiful, mad, or atrocious; reality leaves it indifferent or arouses its scorn. If you cite realities in an argument against their wildest Utopias, they cling to their day-dreams, saying: "So much the worse for reality!"

GERMANY'S EASY PREY

In consequence, Germany's game was only too simple and easy; she fed, fostered, fomented anarchy. From fall to fall, from revolution to revolution, from shame to shame, Russia has thus reached the sinister hour which we now witness, with its traitorous fraternization in the trenches, the cowardly flight of regiments when victory is in their grasp, the

destruction of all authority, the abolition of work, the reign of the mob, the enthronement of a band of theorists and traitors. Between one day and the next the whole face of the earth is to be changed by official order; no more property, no more courts, no more laws. This gang of Calibans caught the peasants with the bait of free land, the workingmen with the bait of pay without work, the soldiers with the bait of security far from bullets and shells. No more treaties! The most sacred were torn up here, too, as scraps of paper. Treason to the revolution! Treason to the Fatherland! The most abominable crime in history is called "peace." There you have the spectacle of the present hour. Yes, it is the dark side.

But perhaps there are still a few rays of light. In the midst of all this frightful anarchy * * * I see Korniloff escaping from his prison, rejoining Kaledine and Alexeieff. I see the Cossacks resolved to live free and pure. I see the Ukraine separating itself from Muscovy gone insane. Under the Bolshevist terror, suddenly the Cadet Party begins to bring together its millions. * * *

If today there should escape from our lips irrevocable words against unhappy Russia—the guilty are unhappy—do you know whose game we should be playing? Germany's! Germany sees in Russia a vast land for colonization at her very doors, a land with inexhaustible granaries; Russia, with its mines on the Donetz, its great rivers, its nations, still young, which may some day be great. All these riches Germany is watching. Therefore, let us not, here or elsewhere, speak words that can open a gulf between us and Russia, or that might turn Russia toward Germany.

There is something still more detestable than Russian anarchy, and that is the prospect of order re-established in Russia by Germany.

The Menace of the Modern Thug

Address by Rudyard Kipling

[Delivered at Folkestone, England, Feb. 15, 1918]

ONCE upon a time, a hundred years ago, there was a large and highly organized community in India who lived by assassination and robbery. They were educated to it from their infancy; they followed it as a profession, and it was also their religion. They were called Thugs. Their method was to disguise themselves as pilgrims, or travelers, or merchants, and to join with parties of pilgrims, travelers, and merchants moving about India. They got into the confidence of their victims, found out what they had on them, and in due time—after weeks or months of acquaintance—they killed them by giving them poisoned foods—sweetmeats for choice — or by strangling them from behind, as they sat over the fire of an evening, with a knotted towel or a specially prepared piece of rope. They then stripped the corpse of all valuables, threw it down a well or buried it, and went on to the next job.

At last things got so bad that the Government of India had to interfere. Like all Governments, it created a department —the Department of Thuggee—to deal with the situation. Unlike most departments, this department worked well, and after many years of tracking down and hanging up the actual murderers, and imprisoning their spies and confederates, who included all ranks of society, it put an end to the whole business of Thuggee.

The world has progressed since that day. By present standards of crime those Thugs were ineffective amateurs. They did not mutilate or defile the bodies of the dead; they did not torture, or rape, or enslave people; they did not kill children for fun, and they did not burn villages. They merely killed and robbed in an unobtrusive way as a matter of education, duty, and religion, under the patronage of their goddess, Kali the Destroyer. Very good. At the present moment all

the powers of the world that have not been bullied or bribed to keep out of it have been forced to join in one international department to make an end of German international Thuggee—for the reason that, if it is not ended, life on this planet becomes insupportable for human beings. Even now there are people in England who find it hard to realize that the Hun has been educated by the State from his birth to look upon assassination and robbery, embellished with every treachery and abomination that the mind of man can laboriously think out, as a perfectly legitimate means to the national ends of his country. He is not shocked by these things. He has been taught that it is his business to perform them, his duty to support them, and his religion to justify them. They are, and for a long time past they have been, as legitimate in his eyes as the ballot in ours. This, remember, was as true of the Germans in 1914 as it is now.

People who have been brought up to make organized evil in every form their supreme good because they believe that evil will pay them are not going to change their belief till it is proved that evil does not pay. So far, the Hun believes that evil has paid him in the past and will pay him better in the future. He has had a good start. Like the Thug, the Hun knew exactly what he meant to do before he opened his campaign against mankind. As we have proof now, his poisoned sweetmeats and knotted towels were prepared years beforehand, and his spies had given him the fullest information about all the people he intended to attack. So he is doing what is right in his own eyes. He thought out the hell he wished to create; he built it up seriously and scientifically with his best hands and brains; he breathed into it his own spirit, that it might grow with his needs; and at the hour that he judged best he let it loose on a world that till then had believed there were limits beyond which men born of women dared not sin.

Nine-tenths of the atrocities Germany has committed have not been made public. I think this a mistake. But one gets hint of them here and there—Folkestone has had more than a hint. For instance, we were told the other day that more than 14,000 English noncombatants, men, women, and children, had been drowned, burned, or blown to pieces since the war began. But we have no conception—and till the veil is lifted after the war we shall have no conception—of the range and system of these atrocities. Least of all shall we realize, as they realize in Belgium and occupied France just across the water, the cold organized miseries which Germany has laid upon the populations that have fallen into her hands, that she might break their bodies and defile their souls. That is part of the German creed. What understanding is possible with a breed that have worked for and brought about these things? And so long as the Germans are left with any excuse for thinking that such things pay, can any peace be made with them in which men can trust? None. For it is the peculiar essence of German Kultur, which is the German religion, that it is Germany's moral duty to break every tie, every restriction, that binds man to fellow-man if she thinks it will pay. Therefore, all mankind are against her. Therefore, all mankind must be against her till she learns that no race can make its way or break its way outside the borders of humanity.

The more we have suffered in this war the more clearly do we see this necessity. Our hearts, our reason, every instinct in us that lifts us above the mere brute shows us that the war must go on. Otherwise, earth becomes a hell without hope. The men, the ships, the munitions must go forward to the war, and behind them must come the money, without which nothing can move. Where our hearts are there must our treasure be also. There has been a great deal of money spent in England lately, several millions a day for the last twelve hundred days. That means that many people have had the chance of earning more money—in some cases very much more money—than they could have earned in peace time. But all the money in the world is no use to a man or his country if he spends it as fast as he gets it. All he has left is his bills and the reputation of

being a fool, which he can get much more cheaply in other ways. There's nothing fine or funny in throwing away cash on things you don't want merely because the cash is there. We've all done it in our time, and we've all had to pay for it. The man who says he never worries about money is the man who has to worry about it most in the long run, and goodness knows there's enough worry in the world already without our going out of our way to add to it. Just now we all have the opportunity of protecting ourselves against private and public anxieties by investing as much as ever we can in war loans.

Money is a curious article. Have you ever thought that invested money is the only thing in the world, outside the army, the navy, and the mercantile marine, that will work for you while you sleep? Everything else knocks off, or goes to bed, or takes a holiday at intervals, but our money sits up all through the year, working to fetch in the 5 per cent. interest that the Government gives on every pound it borrows from us. I am not a financier. But I do know that much, and I do know that a man who has an income, however small, from money he has saved is free of worry and anxiety for himself, his wife, and his children, up to the extent of that income.

It gives him self-respect, a more even temper, a reason for looking at the future with calm and confidence. A man who has wasted or muddled all his pay at the end of the week is the servant of the whole world for his next week's pay. The man who has his bit in hand is independent of the world as far as that bit goes, and that knowledge at the back of one's head must make life a different affair to every thinking man or woman. Savings represent much more than their mere money value. They are proof that the saver is worth something in himself. Any fool can waste. Any fool can muddle, but it takes something of a man to save, and the more he saves the more of a man does it make him. Waste and extravagance unsettle a man's mind for every crisis; thrift, which means some form of self-restraint and continence, steadies it. And we need steady minds just now.

Remember, too, that everything we waste in the way of manufactured goods, from a match upward, as well as everything we buy that isn't absolutely necessary to get on with, means diverting some man's or woman's time and energy from doing work connected with the war. And war work, which means supplies, food, munitions, ships, is the only thing that is of the least importance now. Everything outside that necessity is danger and waste. So you see we are all in a splendid position to invest. Not only is there more money going about and fewer things to buy with it, but it is also wrong to spend money on what there is available. The road has been cleared of all obstacles to saving. The interest on what we save helps to make us personally independent; the money we lend to the Government helps to set our land and our world free. Our security for our loan is not only the whole of the British Empire, but also the whole of civilization, which has pooled its resources in men, money, and material to carry on this war to victory. Nothing else under heaven matters today except that the war shall go on to that end.

From time to time the representatives of the Allies meet together and lay down what the war aims of the Allies are. From time to time our statesmen repeat them. They all agree we are fighting for freedom and liberty, for the right of small States to exist, and for nations to decide for themselves how they are to be governed. All this we understand and perfectly believe. That is the large view of the situation. What is the personal aspect of the case for you and me? We are fighting for our lives, the lives of every man, woman, and child here and everywhere else. We are fighting that we may not be herded into actual slavery such as the Germans have established by force of their arms in large parts of Europe. We are fighting against eighteen hours a day forced labor under the lash or at the point of the bayonet, with a dog's death and a dog's burial at the end of it. We are fighting that men, women, and children may not be tortured,

burned, and mutilated in the public streets, as has happened in this town and in hundreds of others. And we will go on fighting till the race who have done these things are in no position to continue or repeat their offense.

If for any reason whatever we fall short of victory—and there is no half-way house between victory and defeat—what happens to us? This. Every relation, every understanding, every decency upon which civilization has been so anxiously built up will go—will be washed out, because it will have been proved unable to endure. The whole idea of democracy—which at bottom is what the Hun fights against—will be dismissed from men's minds, because it will have been shown incapable of maintaining itself against the Hun. It will die; and it will die discredited, together with every belief and practice that is based on it. The Hun ideal, the Hun's root notions of life, will take its place throughout the world. Under that dispensation man will become once more the natural prey, body and goods, of his better-armed neighbor. Women will be the mere instrument for continuing the breed; the vessel of man's lust and man's cruelty; and labor will become a thing to be knocked on the head if it dares to give trouble and worked to death if it does not. And from this order of life there will be no appeal, no possibility of any escape. This is what the Hun means when he says he intends to impose German Kultur—which is the German religion—upon the world. This is precisely what the world has banded itself together to resist. It will take every ounce in us; it will try us out to the naked soul. Our trial will not be made less by the earnest advice and suggestions that we should accept some sort of compromise, which means defeat, put forward by Hun agents and confederates among us. They are busy in that direction already.

But be sure of this: Nothing—nothing we may have to endure now will weigh one featherweight compared with what we shall most certainly have to suffer if for any cause we fail of victory.

Germany's Plan to Divide Belgium

Organization of a So-Called "Council of Flanders" to Separate the Flemings From the Walloons

THE measures recently completed by the German Government for splitting Belgium into two distinct States, dividing the French-speaking Walloons from the Dutch-speaking Flemings, have aroused protests as vigorous as those provoked by the forcible deportations of workmen. About the beginning of 1917 the world began to learn of a carefully managed propaganda which the German conquerors were using to create a schism between the Walloons and Flemings. A few years before the war there had been some agitation to have the Flemish language used along with French in public notices, but both languages already had full legal rights under the Belgian Government, and there was no support for a separatist movement by any faction, however inconsiderable. The movement for separation is wholly a German product.

The late Baron von Bissing, while Governor General of Belgium in 1915-16, sent to the Berlin Government a secret memorandum, the text of which was printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for February, 1918. In it appeared the following significant passage:

> It is true that we must protect the Flemish movement, but never must we lend a hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings, with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons, will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism.

The German authorities proceeded cautiously but persistently in the direction thus indicated. Early in 1917 they

organized what they called the Council of Flanders. They got together some 250 so-called "trustworthy delegates" (Vertrauensleute) for a meeting at Brussels, which, on Feb. 4, 1917, constituted the council. The council seems to have consisted, in the first place, of seven persons, and the number was gradually increased to "about seventy." The original council was promptly received by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, then Imperial Chancellor, at Berlin, and he promised to promote the Flemish movement in every way possible "at the moment of negotiations for peace and afterward." In March, 1917, the German Government split the administration of Belgium in two, making Brussels the headquarters of a "Flanders" which includes the provinces of Antwerp, Limburg, East Flanders, and West Flanders, and the districts of Brussels and Louvain, and making Namur the headquarters of the provinces of Hainaut, Liége, Luxemburg, and Namur, and the district of Nivelles.

The names of the members of the council have never been published by the Germans, and it is understood that they are persons of no representative standing, being obscure lawyers, teachers, and clerks who have surrendered to German influence.

In the Autumn of 1917 the Germans circulated an official review of the so-called Flemish movement, placing at the top these words:

> He who without necessity speaks French in Flanders is guilty of the gravest dereliction of his duty as a German and as a soldier.

The circular went on to give the German Army suitable information concerning Flanders and the Flemings, the history of Flanders since the death of Charlemagne, the Flemish movement before the war, and the measures now taken by the Germans to exploit the movement. The document added: "The German accord with the Flemish movement is approved and ordered by H. M. the German Emperor, so that it is a duty for every German to support it with all his strength."

On Jan. 20, 1918, it was suddenly announced that the Council of Flanders had, on Dec. 22, "solemnly and unanimously resolved upon the complete independence of Flanders." Moreover, the council has decided "to lay down its mandate," and to present itself for "a new election, which is to give the Flemish people the opportunity to proclaim its will concerning the declaration of independence."

The proclamation of "the complete independence of Flanders" was preceded by the reception at Brussels, on Jan. 15, by a "delegation" of the Council of Flanders, of the German Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, Herr Wallraf, who said:

> In expressing my thanks for your trusting words, I am not addressing strangers, but the representatives of a race which is closely related to us Germans. The people that has seen a Memling and a Rubers, and whose thirst for freedom and heroic courage have been described to us by Conscience, is very close to our minds and our hearts. Therefore we are filled with exalted joy at the fact that it is the victory of German arms that is opening the road to freedom for the Flemish people. You, gentlemen, have been the first among your people to release the lion of Flanders from his chains. From the mouth of the German Chancellor you have learned of our sympathy with your self-elected autonomy. You are about to build up this independence, and to bring further sections of Flanders flocking to your banner of freedom. The work which was begun, at the will of our imperial master, by the unforgotten Baron von Bissing, is being carried on, with clearness of aim and vigor of execution, by the new Governor General, Baron von Falkenhausen.

Sham elections were conducted during February. The facts of this and subsequent events are difficult to obtain, as the German authorities have adopted the policy of multiplying the figures and magnifying a small gathering of 200 or 300 activists, as the separatists are called, into an assemblage of 2,000 to 3,000.

The movement was at first regarded by the Belgians as merely a stupid effort that would soon be abandoned, but the purpose to drive a wedge between the two elements of the people had received the indorsement of the highest German authorities, and the oppressed Belgian patriots found themselves facing a new and serious peril for the future of

their country. They were compelled, therefore, to take such countermeasures as were within their power.

THE PLOT EXPOSED

Eugene Standaert, Deputy for Bruges in the Belgian Parliament, who is in exile in London, exposed the plot in the following address:

The German press announces that on Jan. 15 the members of the so-called Council of Flanders held a meeting in Brussels, where a resolution was passed in favor of "Flemish independence."

Will you allow me, as a Deputy of Flanders who has held his mandate for twenty years without interruption, to give my opinion on this incident? It is of very little importance to us, who know the people thoroughly, but it might cause some harm abroad if it creates the wrong impression that even a certain number of these wish for a settlement which should break up Belgian unity.

What happens at the present moment in Flanders is merely the development of the policy pursued by the German Government on the eastern front. The idea is to create a small body of men, without any following, and induce them, through the distribution of honors and remunerative positions, to adopt and propagate doctrines dictated from Berlin. Such declarations will afterward be represented abroad and in Germany as expressing popular aspirations.

Concerning these recent incidents there are two points which I should like to make plain: First, that this so-called "Landdag van Vlanderen" is really the "Rat von Flanderen," that is to say, an obedient tool made in Germany for German use, and, secondly, that these "representatives of Flemish opinion" do not represent anybody but themselves, and do not include any Fleming of standing or authority.

Any careful reader of the German press and of German official declarations must be convinced that, if the council has not been definitely originated by the German authorities, it has been so much favored and encouraged by them that it has lost every vestige of independence. On March 3, 1917, a delegation of seven members of the council were received by the Chancellor and presented an humble petition asking for a separate administration for Flanders. On March 21 this separation was granted by von Bissing. On Jan. 15, 1918, according to the Frankfurter Zeitung, Secretary of State Wallraf came to Brussels and received a delegation of the activists, who begged him to declare them free from "the French yoke," and to "protect Flemish autonomy." The comedy will no doubt be repeated, and we may rest assured that the activists' request will be granted in due time.

A very interesting document has been published lately by the Belgian Government. It is a series of confidential instructions to the German soldiers billeted in Belgium in which the German authorities declare openly that the separatist movement is prompted and encouraged by the Kaiser, and that it is the duty of every German to support it. After these material and conclusive proofs, it seems evident that the Council of Flanders is just as anxious to put Flanders under effective German protectorate as to withdraw it from an imaginary French yoke.

But what exactly is this Council of Flanders? How is it that when every political liberty has been taken away from their compatriots these men are free to hold meetings, pass resolutions, and present petitions? Have they any following? Have they any right to speak for the Flemings?

Many members of the Belgian Parliament are pure Flemings. Not one of them has consented to join the Council of Flanders. If I consider the situation in my own constituency of Bruges, the Germans have been obliged to accept the help of a general practioner without standing. While this man has been chosen to represent West Flanders, Count Visart, a venerable man of 80 years of age for fifty years a Deputy of Bruges, for thirty-five Burgomaster of the town, has been dismissed, expelled by the soldiery from his Town Hall, and remains practically a prisoner in his own house. This is how the 850,000 Flemings of West Flanders are represented in the Council of Flanders.

If I turn toward the neighboring province, East Flanders, which counts 1,050,000 inhabitants, the situation is exactly the same. Not one true and responsible representative of the Flemish people has joined the council.

STRIKE OF BELGIAN JUDGES

No patriotic Belgian would have anything to do with the sham elections and packed meetings arranged by the Germans and their agents in furtherance of this project. At one of the trumped-up "demonstrations" in Brussels the people broke through the cordon of troops and hissed a small band of the demonstrators. Arrests were made, and when the prisoners were brought before a Belgian court they were dismissed. Thereupon the German Governor General suspended the court, deported some of its

members, and inflicted fines of 10,000 francs on others.

Early in February, 1918, a gathering of Belgian Ministers of State, Senators, and Deputies resident in the country drew up a resolution requesting the Court of Appeal in Brussels to institute prosecutions against certain specified persons belonging to the Council of Flanders. The resolution recited the circumstances attending the council's proclamation of the complete autonomy of Flanders, and the sham elections held under its auspices, and asserted that these specified persons, by arrogating to themselves legislative and royal powers, constituted a revolutionary committee guilty of infringing certain articles of the Criminal Code.

As a result of this action the Chambers of the Court of Appeal met and unanimously decided upon the prosecution of the council members named. The arrest of two members, Borms and Tack, followed, but the former managed to notify one of the German sentries outside the Law Courts. Governor General von Falkenhausen ordered the immediate release of the arrested members and forbade all further criminal proceedings against them. At the same time three out of the four Presidents of the Court of Appeal were put under arrest and taken to Germany, charged with having received orders from the Belgian Government at Havre.

A strike of the Brussels courts was the reply to this action, and this was followed by strikes of the courts in other Belgian cities, until it was predicted by a Dutch newspaper correspondent that the country would be entirely without courts of justice. The Dutch Minister in Brussels protested to the German authorities against the situation that had arisen.

ACTION OF CITY COUNCILS

Protests against the proclamation of the "independence" of Flanders were drawn up by hundreds of City Councils throughout Belgium, and long lists of these were published in the Amsterdam newspapers. A Council of Belgian Ministers voted the following declaration, reported by the Wireless Press under date of Feb. 16:

> Taking cognizance of the touching protest of Flemish and Walloon Senators and Deputies who have remained in occupied Belgium, as well as of the communal administrators and the judicial body, against the usurpatory pretensions of the so-called Flanders Council, which is protected by the invader, the Government of the King congratulates the constitutionally elected representatives of the Belgian people on having proudly made a stand against foreign interference with the undeniable rights of the national sovereignty.
>
> It applauds the courageous attitude of the Magistracy in not hesitating to demand the application of the laws against bad citizens who are guilty of collusion with the enemy with the criminal design of dismembering the country. It renders solemn homage to the civic heroism of the Belgian people, which is attested by three and a half years of terrible sufferings, during which they have been immutably faithful to King, Constitution, and fatherland. It affirms the unshakable will of the nation to maintain unity and to continue without faltering until the end of the struggle for the freeing of our territory and the integral restoration of independent Belgium.

OFFICIAL PROTEST

On March 4, 1918, the Belgian Legation at Washington made public the following protest, which had been cabled by the Belgian Government:

> The German Governor General in Belgium, General von Falkenhausen, in a letter which has been made public, has replied to the order of the Court of Cassation of the 11th of February, by which the court suspended its sittings without abdicating its powers as a protest against the illegal action of the German authorities in arresting Judges of the Belgian court.
>
> He shamelessly accuses the court of failure to do its duty and of lack of patriotism. He attempts to justify the arrest and deportation of the Judges of the Court of Appeal and the suspension of members of the court by saying that the court proceedings instituted against the activists (the German tools who are trying to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium) constitute an act of hostility against the occupying power. Falkenhausen thus admits naïvely and officially that the activists are simply the agents of German policy.
>
> Much satisfaction has been shown in Belgium on account of the fact that the action of the Belgian Judges in performing their legal duty has forced the German authorities to unmask their designs.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S VISIT TO THE CAMBRAI BATTLEFIELD

Soon after the Germans regained the ground they lost at Cambria the Kaiser visited the battlefield to inspect the tangible results of the operations

(Photo International Film Service)

BOLO PACHA SENTENCED TO DEATH AS A TRAITOR

The scene when Paul Bolo, or Bolo Pacha, was sentenced to death by the court-martial in Paris as a traitor to France. He is standing at the back with folded arms

(*Photo Pays de France*)

It is confirmed that the Germans have deported Judge Levy, the Presiding Judge, and Judges Ernest and Carez, Presidents of the Court of Appeal. They also arrested Judge Jamar in order to deport him, but he was released on account of illness.

The movement of protest by the Belgian people against the intrigues of the activists has taken on large proportions. The voluntary suspension of all judiciary activity, as a protest against the outrage committed against the Court of Appeal of Brussels, has caused a tremendous impression even upon the German authorities. New lists of Communal Councils and of important personalities who have made protests continue to reach Havre, being brought nightly by devoted patriots, who have passed through the electrified front wires in spite of redoubled vigilance on the part of the Germans.

The protest movement is especially active in Flanders. It has been learned that all the Belgian Bishops, being prevented from meeting, have protested separately. Cardinal Mercier has protested in a letter to be read at the beginning of his Lenten letter to his clergy. A collective letter to the German Chancellor has been signed by the principal representatives of commerce at Antwerp and a similar protest has been sent by the Provincial Council of Antwerp.

The Free University of Brussels has sent to the Communal Council of Brussels an energetic letter joining in the protest made by that body. The protest of the Free University is signed by every member of the Faculty.

The Deputies and Senators of East Flanders have sent a separate protest to Chancellor von Hertling.

All these documents are spontaneously copied in handwriting or printed by the clandestine press and circulated from hand to hand in thousands of copies, thereby exciting everywhere the greatest enthusiasm, which has for the moment caused the people to forget the miseries caused by the occupation.

The German authorities, overwhelmed by the patriotic outburst, have officially forbidden all deliberation or discussion in regard to questions of general politics, such as the autonomy of Flanders, and have also forbidden discussion in regard to petitions of protest to the German authorities. Every one who disregards this new German order is menaced with severe punishment in accordance with martial law. This action of the German authorities is a convincing admission that the German administration fears to let the voice of the country be heard in its unanimous protests against the Activists.

The Bishop of Ghent protested against the intrigue to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium, saying:

> The clergy of our diocese, having been ever noted for their fidelity to the Belgian fatherland, and firmly believing that the love of our country is a duty and a Christian virtue, I deem it my duty to declare in my own name and in the name of the clergy of the Diocese of Ghent, that we are absolutely not in accord with the actions of the committee which calls itself the Council of Flanders, and that we consider it a duty to remain faithful to the ties which bind us to the Belgian fatherland, to its King, and to its Government.

MEASURES OF REPRESSION

The protests of Belgian City Councils against the activists multiplied to such an extent that early in February the German authorities issued orders forbidding Municipal Governments, under severe penalties, to deliberate upon any phase of the question of Belgian partition. Following are translations of two of these circulars. The first, addressed to the communal administrations of the Province of Limburg, is dated Hasselt, Feb. 7, 1918, and reads as follows:

> It has been brought to my knowledge that in certain communes it has been proposed to submit to deliberation by the communal administrations certain questions of general politics; for example, the autonomy of Flanders or the petitions of the Burgomasters and Aldermen to the German authorities.
>
> It is for this reason that I call the attention of the communal administrations, and especially of persons acting in the names of communes, that they should limit themselves to dealing with affairs regarding communal administration, and that it is forbidden for them to occupy themselves with affairs regarding the general administration of the country.
>
> Infractions of these regulations will be punished in conformity with martial law.
>
> *The President of the Civil Administration for the Province of Limburg.*
>
> (Signed) BAZILLE.

The circular to the Communal Governments in Brabant is dated Brussels, Feb. 7, 1918, and reads as follows:

> According to what I have learned it is the intention in certain communes to submit to deliberation by the Common Council certain questions of general politics; for example, the autonomy of Flanders or the requests of the Burgomasters or Aldermen, addressed to the German authorities.
>
> I take this opportunity to call your attention to the fact that the communal

administrations and the representatives of the communes should limit their activity solely to the affairs of the communal administrations and that it is forbidden for them to mix themselves in affairs which interest the country in general.

Contraventions of the present regulation will be repressed with the greatest severity.

The President of the Civil Administration for the Province of Brabant.

(Signed) KRANSEBULER.

FINED 10,000 MARKS

Louis Franck, an Alderman of Antwerp—a Flemish Deputy and leader—at a meeting of the National Committee on Revictualment of Belgium, held early in February, paid a tribute to the patriotic firmness of the Belgians. He was arrested by the German authorities, threatened with deportation, and finally fined 10,000 marks.

A correspondent under date of Feb. 24 wrote to the Belgian Legation at Washington as follows:

The movement on the part of the Flemish population and the municipal authorities in the Flemish districts against the usurpation of power by the self-styled Council of Flanders is gaining ground in occupied Belgium. The Imperial Chancellor is overwhelmed with circular letters of protest and with petitions from Municipal Councils, not only of the cities, but even from the smallest villages of Flanders. For instance, word was received at Havre of new letters of this kind sent by Municipal Councils and notables of twenty-nine communes of the neighborhood of Antwerp, Turnhout, Herenthals, of the north of Brabant, and of the eastern part of Flanders. It is said that many more are on their way. All these protests ardently declare not only the traditional attachment of the signers to the language and the peculiar characteristics of the Flemish people, but likewise their indignation against the farcical movement—entirely unauthorized and unjustified—of the activists, and so give proof, by the moving force of their simplicity and straightforward expression, of their immutable patriotism and wholehearted love for their Belgian fatherland.

History of the Belgian People

How the Modern State Came Into Being

THE Southern Netherlands, populated by the Walloons and Flemings, (the Belgians of today,) were first severed from the Northern Netherlands, (now Holland,) on Jan. 5, 1579. The League of Arras was signed that day, whereby the Walloons, who occupied the southern districts of what were then the Dutch States, declared their adherence to Catholicism and their loyalty to the Spanish King. Brabant and Flanders remained loyal to the Prince of Orange, but in 1582 accepted the Duke of Anjou as the sovereign. This French Prince was inaugurated as Duke of Brabant at Antwerp in February, and as Count of Flanders at Bruges in July, 1582, but he soon withdrew from the country, and the authority of Spain was at once extended over these two provinces as well as the others. Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was Governor General of the provinces until his death in 1592, when Archduke Ernest of Austria was appointed Governor General; he died soon afterward and was succeeded by his brother, Cardinal Archduke Albert, who in 1598 married Isabel, eldest daughter of Philip II. of Spain.

Philip erected the entire Netherlands into a sovereign State under the joint rule of Albert and Isabel. The Dutch refused to surrender their independence, and after a struggle the King of Spain on April 9, 1609, agreed to a twelve-year truce with the United Provinces, at the same time acknowledging them as free States. The Archduke died without issue, and the provinces reverted to the Crown of Spain and were known as the Spanish Netherlands. In 1648 Spain renounced its claims to the United Provinces and made concessions to the Dutch which provided for the closing of the River Scheldt to all ships, thus practically destroying the commerce of the Belgic provinces.

These provinces during the decades that followed were constantly exposed

to attack as outlying Spanish dependencies, and as the fortunes of Spain declined suffered frequent loss of territory. In 1692 the Spanish King nominated Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, to be Governor General, and a brighter future seemed to be opening for the country. The dynastic jealousies between the European powers, however, soon again made the unhappy provinces a battle ground, and after years of warfare a general peace was concluded at Utrecht April 11, 1713, whereby the long connection of the provinces with Spain was severed and they came under the sovereignty of Austria, being known for a full century thereafter as the Austrian Netherlands.

BELGIAN NAME ADOPTED

In 1789 the people of Brussels rose against the Austrian garrison and compelled it to capitulate, and on the 27th the States of Brabant declared their independence. The other provinces followed, and on Jan. 11, 1790, they all united and formed themselves into an independent State under the name of the "Belgian United States." In November, 1790, the new Government collapsed before the advance of the Austrians, and Austrian rule was re-established. It was short lived, however, for France now assailed Austria, and the battle of Fleurus, June 26, 1794, put an end to Austrian domination in the Netherlands.

Belgium became an integral part of France, being governed on the same footing as the French people. After the fall of Napoleon, May 30, 1814, Belgium was for some months restored to Austria, but shortly afterward was united with Holland to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The sovereignty of the new State was given to the Prince of Orange, who ascended the throne March 23, 1815, with the title of William I. The Congress of Vienna, May 31, 1815, determined the boundaries of the new kingdom. The Constitution was promulgated on Aug. 24 following, and the King took the oath of office at Brussels Sept. 7.

The relations between Holland and Belgium from the outset were strained. The Dutch and the Belgian provinces were totally unlike in religion, habits, and ideas, and had drifted apart during the 130 years of their separation. The Belgians were nearly 100 per cent. Catholics, and the two decades of French sovereignty had left deep traces on a considerable portion of the population, the French language being commonly spoken and exclusively used in law courts and public proceedings.

The Dutch control was not exercised in a conciliatory spirit, and though the Belgian provinces had 3,400,000 inhabitants to a little more than 2,000,000 in Holland, the great majority of Government offices were held by the Northerners. In 1830, of seven Ministers, only one was Belgian; in the Home Department, of 117 officials only 11 were Belgians; in the Ministry only 3 were Belgians out of 102; in the army there were 288 Belgian officers to 1,967 Hollanders. All the public establishments, the banks, and the military schools were Dutch. The King endeavored to make the Flemish language (the Dutch) the official language for all public and judicial acts except in the Walloon (extreme southern) districts.

The strife between sections grew more bitter when in 1830 the spirit of unrest was fanned by the successful revolution in Paris. A mob took possession of Brussels and disorders immediately followed throughout the Belgian provinces. The Dutch Government was dilatory and indecisive, and after a failure by Dutch troops to obtain control of Brussels, a Provisional Government was quickly formed and separation demanded. The King of the Netherlands requested the five European powers to intervene, and a convention was held at London early in November.

MODERN BELGIUM CREATED

Meanwhile on Nov. 10, 1830, the new Belgian National Congress met at Brussels with 200 Deputies and reached the following decisions: First, the independence of the country carried unanimously; second, a constitutional hereditary monarchy, 174 votes against 13; third, the perpetual exclusion of the Orange-Nassau

family, 161 votes against 28. On Dec. 20 the London conference proclaimed the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. On Jan. 28, 1831, the Belgian Congress elected its King, the Duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Phillippe, but he declined. Baron Surlet de Chokier was elected to the temporary post of Regent, and a Constitution was drawn up on the British Parliamentary pattern. The Constitution expressly declared that the King had no powers except those formally assigned to him; Ministers were to be appointed by him, but were to be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. On June 4, 1831, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of Princess Charlotte of Great Britain, was elected King by a vote of 152 to 44, it being ascertained that his selection would be approved by the powers, and he formally accepted the throne and made his public entry into Brussels June 21, 1831.

Holland made a show of force to resist the enthronement of the new sovereign, but, on the approach of a French army, withdrew from Belgium.

Meanwhile, the conference at London drew up a treaty for the separation of Holland and Belgium, which was declared final and irrevocable. It was signed Nov. 15, 1831, and the powers recognized the independence of Belgium "as a neutral State." The Belgian and French sovereigns ratified it on Nov. 20 and 24, the British on Dec. 6, and Austria, Prussia, and Russia five months later; the latter three delayed because their sympathies were with the King of Holland. King William of Holland was obdurate and refused to sign or to surrender Antwerp. The French and British resolved at length to force his acceptance, and a French army of 60,000 men under Marshal Gerard crossed the Belgian frontier to besiege Antwerp on Nov. 5, 1831. The Dutch garrison capitulated Dec. 23, and the Belgians took possession Dec. 31. It was not until March 14, 1838, that Holland signified its readiness to accept the treaty, and it was signed April 19, 1839.

The following interesting table gives the languages spoken by the Belgians at the periods named:

	1880.	1890.	1900.	1910.
French only	2,230,316	2,485,072	2,574,805	2,833,334
Flemish only	2,485,384	2,744,271	2,822,005	3,220,662
German only....	39,550	32,206	28,314	31,415
French & Flemish.	423,752	700,997	801,587	871,288
French & German.	35,250	58,590	66,447	74,993
Flemish & German.	2,956	7,028	7,238	8,652
The three languages	13,331	13,185	42,889	52,547

The population of Belgium in 1912 was 7,571,387.

The Long-Distance Peace Parley

Address by the German Chancellor in Reply to President Wilson—Mr. Balfour's Rejoinder

The March issue of Current History Magazine printed the long-distance exchange of peace views between the warring powers as embodied in the addresses of the German Chancellor on Jan. 24, the Austrian Foreign Minister on the same date, President Wilson's reply on Feb. 11, and Premier Lloyd George's reply on Feb. 12. The German Imperial Chancellor made a new declaration of the war policy of his Government on Feb. 25; Arthur Balfour, British Foreign Minister, answered him on Feb. 27. These two addresses appear in their sequence in the following pages. As reference is made to President Wilson's four fundamentals, they are reprinted herewith:

[*From the President's Address of Feb. 11 Before Congress.*]

First—That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second—That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,

Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,

Fourth—That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

Chancellor von Hertling's Address

[Delivered Before the Reichstag Feb. 25, 1918.]

THE Reichstag has a right to receive an explanatory statement in regard to the foreign situation and the attitude of the Government concerning it. I will meet the obligation arising therefrom, even though I entertain certain doubts as to the utility and success of dialogues carried on by Ministers and statesmen of belligerent countries.

Mr. Runciman in the House of Commons recently expressed the opinion that we would get much nearer peace if, instead of this, responsible representatives of the belligerent powers would come together in an intimate meeting for discussion. I can only agree with him that that would be the way to remove numerous intentional and unintentional misunderstandings and compel our enemies to take our words as they are meant, and on their part also to show their colors.

I cannot at any rate discover that the words which I spoke here on two occasions were received in hostile countries objectively and without prejudice. Moreover, discussion in an intimate gathering alone could lead to understanding on many individual questions which can really be settled only by compromise.

It has been repeatedly said that we do not contemplate retaining Belgium, but that we must be safeguarded from the danger of a country with which we desire after the war to live in peace and friendship becoming the object or the jumping-off ground of enemy machinations. If, therefore, a proposal came

from the opposing side—for example, from the Government in Havre—we should not adopt an antagonistic attitude, even though the discussion at first might only be unbinding.

Meanwhile it does not appear as if Mr. Runciman's suggestion has a chance of assuming tangible shape, and I must adhere to the existing methods of dialogue across the Channel and ocean.

REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

Adopting this method, I readily admit that President Wilson's message of Feb. 11 represents, perhaps, a small step toward a mutual rapprochement. I therefore pass over the preliminary and excessively long declarations in order to address myself immediately to the four principles which, in President Wilson's opinion, must be applied in a mutual exchange of views.

The first clause says that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Who would contradict this? The phrase, coined by the great father of the Church, Augustine, 1,500 years ago —"justitia fundamentum regnorum"— is still valid today. Certain it is that only peace based in all its parts on the principles of justice has a prospect of endurance.

The second clause expresses the desire that peoples and provinces shall not be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power.

This clause, too, can be unconditionally assented to. Indeed, one wonders that the President of the United States considered it necessary to emphasize it anew. This clause contains a polemic against conditions long vanished, views against Cabinet politics and Cabinet wars, against mixing State territory and princely and private property, which belong to a past that is far behind us.

I do not want to be discourteous, but when one remembers the earlier utterances of President Wilson, one might think that he is laboring under the illusion that there exists in Germany an antagonism between an autocratic Government and a mass of people without rights.

And yet President Wilson knows (as, at any rate, the German edition of his book on the State proves) German political literature, and he knows, therefore, that with us Princes and Governments are the highest members of the nation as a whole, organized in the form of a State, the highest members, with whom the final decision lies. But, seeing that they also, as the supreme organs, belong to the whole, the decision is of such a nature that only the welfare of the whole is the guiding line for a decision to be taken. It may be useful to point this out expressly to President Wilson's countrymen.

Then finally at the close of the second clause the game of the balance of power is declared to be forever discredited. We, too, can only gladly applaud. As is well known, it was England which invented the principle of the maintenance of the balance of power in order especially to apply it when one of the States on the European Continent threatened to become too powerful for her. It was only another expression for England's domination.

The third clause, according to which every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States, is the only application of the foregoing in a definite direction, or a deduction from it, and is therefore included in the assent given to that clause.

Now, in the fourth clause he demands that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world. Here, also, I can give assent in principle, and I declare, therefore, with President

Wilson, that a general peace on such a basis is discussable.

"IN ADVANCE OF REALITIES"

Only one reservation is to be made. These principles must not be proposed by the President of the United States alone, but they must also be recognized definitely by all States and nations. President Wilson, who reproaches the German Chancellor with a certain amount of backwardness, seems to me in his flight of ideas to have hurried far in advance of existing realities.

Certainly a League of Nations, erected upon justice and mutual unselfish appreciation, a condition of humanity in which war, together with all that remains of the earliest barbarism, should have completely disappeared and in which there should be no bloody sacrifices, no self-mutilation of peoples, no destruction of laboriously acquired cultural values—that would be an aim devoutly to be desired.

But that aim has not yet been reached. There does not yet exist a court of arbitration set up by all nations for the safeguarding of peace in the name of justice. When President Wilson incidentally says that the German Chancellor is speaking to the court of the entire world, I must, as things stand today, in the name of the German Empire and her allies, decline this court as prejudiced, joyfully as I would greet it if an impartial court of arbitration existed and gladly as I would co-operate to realize such ideals.

Unfortunately, however, there is no trace of a similar state of mind on the part of the leading powers in the Entente. England's war aims, as recently expressed in Lloyd George's speeches, are still thoroughly imperialistic and want to impose on the world a peace according to England's good pleasure. When England talks about peoples' right of self-determination, she does not think of applying the principle to Ireland, Egypt, or India.

DENIES AIM OF CONQUEST

Our war aims from the beginning were the defense of the Fatherland, the maintenance of our territorial integrity, and the freedom of our economic development. Our warfare, even where it must be aggressive in action, is defensive in aim. I lay especial stress upon that just now in order that no misunderstandings shall arise about our operations in the east.

After the breaking off of peace negotiations by the Russian delegation on Feb. 10 we had a free hand as against Russia. The sole aim of the advance of our troops, which was begun seven days after the rupture, was to safeguard the fruits of our peace with Ukraine. Aims of conquest were in no way a determining factor. We were strengthened in this by the Ukrainians' appeal for support in bringing about order in their young State against the disturbances carried out by the Bolsheviki.

If further military operations in other regions have taken place, the same applies to them. They in no way aim at conquest. They are solely taking place at the urgent appeals and representations of the populations for protection against atrocities and devastation by Red Guards and other bands. They have, therefore, been undertaken in the name of humanity. They are measures of assistance and have no other character. It is a question of creating peace and order in the interest of peaceable populations.

We do not intend to establish ourselves, for example, in Esthonia or Livonia. In Courland and Lithuania our chief object is to create organs of self-determination and self-administration. Our military action, however, has produced a success far exceeding the original aim.

News was received yesterday that Petrograd had accepted our conditions and had sent its representatives to Brest-Litovsk for further negotiations. Accordingly, our delegates traveled thither last evening. It is possible that there will still be dispute about the details, but the main thing has been achieved. The will to peace has been expressly announced from the Russian side, while the conditions have been accepted and the conclusion of peace must ensue within a very short time.

To safeguard the fruits of our peace with Ukraine, our army command drew the sword. Peace with Russia will be the happy result.

RUMANIA AND POLAND

Peace negotiations with Rumania began at Bucharest yesterday. It appeared necessary that Secretary von Kühlmann should be present there during the first days when the foundations were laid. Now, however, he will presumably soon go to Brest-Litovsk. It is to be remembered regarding negotiations with Rumania that we are not taking part in them alone, and are under obligation to champion the interests of our allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to see to it that a compromise is arranged there regarding any divergent desires that will possibly give rise to difficulties, but these difficulties will be overcome.

With regard to Rumania, too, the guiding principle will be that we must, and desired to, convert into friends the States with which on the basis of the success of our army we now conclude peace.

I will say a word regarding Poland, in behalf of which the Entente and President Wilson have recently appeared specially to interest themselves, as a country liberated from oppressive independence of Czarist Russia by the united forces of Germany and Austria-Hungary, for the purpose of establishing an independent State, which, in unrestricted development of its national culture, shall at the same time become a pillar of peace in Europe.

The constitutional problem—in the narrower sense the question what constitution the new State shall receive—could not, as is easily understood, be immediately decided, and is still in the stage of exhaustive discussions between the three countries concerned. A fresh difficulty has been added to the many difficulties which have in this connection to be overcome, difficulties especially in the economic domain in consequence of the collapse of old Russia. This difficulty results from the delimitation of the frontier between the new State and adjacent Russian territory. For this reason the news of peace with the Ukraine at first evoked great uneasiness in Poland. I hope, however, that with good-will and proper regard to the ethnographical conditions a compromise on the claims will be reached. The announced intention to make a serious attempt in this direction has greatly calmed Polish circles.

In the regulation of the frontier question only what is indispensable on military grounds will be demanded on Germany's part.

"ENTENTE AGGRESSION"

The Entente is fighting for the acquisition of portions of Austro-Hungarian territory by Italy and for the severance of Palestine, Syria, and Arabia from the Turkish Empire.

England has particularly cast an eye on portions of Turkish territory. She has suddenly discovered an affection for the Arabians and she hopes by utilizing the Arabians to annex fresh territories to the British Empire, perhaps by the creation of a protectorate dependent upon British domination.

That the colonial wars of England are directed at increasing and rounding out the enormous British possessions, particularly in Africa, has been repeatedly stated by British statesmen.

In the face of this policy Entente statesmen dare to represent Germany as the disturber of peace, who, in the interest of world peace, must be confined within the narrowest bounds. By a system of lies and calumny they endeavor to instigate their own people and neutral countries against the Central Powers and to disturb neutral countries with the spectre of the violation of neutrality by Germany.

Regarding the intrigues recently carried on in Switzerland we never thought, nor will we think, of assailing Swiss neutrality. We are much indebted to Switzerland. We express gratitude to her, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Spain, which by her geographical position is exposed to especial difficulties, and no less to the extra-European countries which have not entered the war,

for their manly attitude in that, despite all temptations and oppressions, they preserve their neutrality.

The world yearns for peace and desires nothing more than that the sufferings of war under which it groans should come to an end. But the Governments of the enemy States contrive ever anew to stir the war fury among their peoples. A continuation of the war to the utmost was, so far as has transpired, the most recent watchword issued by the conference of Versailles, and in the English Premier's speeches it again finds loud echo. There are, however, other voices to be heard in England; it is to be hoped that these voices will multiply.

Our people will hold out further, but the blood of the fallen, the agonies of the mutilated and the distress and sufferings of the peoples will fall on the heads of those who insistently refuse to listen to the voice of reason and humanity.

NOTE.—Count Hertling's speech of Jan. 24, 1918, printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE last month from a cabled report, contained the sentence: "So long as our opponents have unreservedly taken the standpoint that the integrity of the Allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion," &c. The German text received later through the Wolff News Bureau of Berlin shows that this sentence should read: "So long as our opponents do not unreservedly take the standpoint that the integrity of the [Teutonic] allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion," &c. Regarding President Wilson's proposal on colonial questions, Count Hertling on that occasion should have been made to say: "I believe that for the present it may be left to the greatest colonial empire, England, to come to terms with her allies over this proposal."

Mr. Balfour's Reply to Count Hertling

[Delivered in Parliament Feb. 27, 1918]

THE British Foreign Secretary, Arthur J. Balfour, replying in the House of Commons to the German Chancellor regarding the doctrine of the balance of power, said that until German militarism had become a thing of the past, and there was in existence a hall or court armed with executive powers making the weak as safe as the strong, it would never be possible to ignore the principles underlying the struggle for the balance of power. Mr. Balfour told the House that he was unable to find in von Hertling's speech any basis for fruitful conversation or hope for peace. Replying to a question, Mr. Balfour said that the fate of the Russian provinces occupied by the Germans and of Rumania and Armenia must ultimately be decided at the peace conference. Mr. Balfour justified his attitude on the ground that von Hertling and Czernin spoke after a conference and agreement.

BELGIUM THE TOUCHSTONE

Mr. Balfour declared Count Hertling's reference to Belgium to be unsatisfactory to everybody—except Richard Holt, a Radical M. P.—and continued:

"Many questions must be settled at the peace conference, but the question of Belgium is the best touchstone of the honesty of purpose of Central European diplomacy, and especially of German diplomacy. There is only one course for the offending nation in this case, namely, unconditional restoration and reparation.

"When was Belgium the jumping off ground of enemy machinations and why should Germany suppose it is going to be? Belgium has been the victim, not the author, of these crimes, and why should she be punished because Germany is guilty? Germany always had in mind new territorial, commercial or military conditions which would prevent Belgium from taking an independent place among the nations, which Germany and ourselves were pledged to preserve.

"What we have to consider is how far von Hertling's lip service to President Wilson's four propositions really is exemplified by German practice."

The Foreign Secretary then analyzed the four Wilson propositions and von Hertling's attitude concerning them, as well as the Chancellor's frame of mind regarding Alsace-Lorraine. He said:

"I could understand a German taking a different view from the view of the French, British, Italian, or American Government, but not a German discussing the principles of essential justice and saying: 'There is no question of Alsace-Lorraine to go before a peace conference.'

"Regarding President Wilson's second proposition, we have had within the last few weeks a specimen of how von Hertling interprets in action the principle he so glibly approves in theory. To take one instance only, there is the cession of Polish territory to the Ukraine. We would like to know how the Germans came to make this gross violation of their principle.

TURKEY AND PALESTINE

"Coming to the third proposition, von Hertling says, with justice, that the doctrine of the balance of power is a more or less antiquated doctrine. He further accuses England of being the upholder of that doctrine for purposes of aggrandizement. That is a profoundly unhistorical method of looking at the question. Great Britain has fought time and again for the balance of power, because only by fighting could Europe be saved from the domination of one overbearing and aggressive nation.

"If von Hertling wants to make the balance of power antiquated, he can do it by inducing his countrymen to abandon that policy of ambitious domination which overshadows the world at this moment.

"As to President Wilson's third and fourth principles: Consider for a moment how von Hertling desires to apply the principle that the interest and benefit of the populations concerned should be considered in peace arrangements. He mentions three countries he wishes to see restored to Turkey, namely, Armenia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

"Does any one think that this would be to the interest and benefit of the populations concerned? Von Hertling accuses us of being animated with purely ambitious designs when we invaded Mesopotamia and captured Jerusalem. I suppose he would say that Russia was similarly moved when she occupied Armenia. But when Turkey went to war she picked a quarrel with us for purely ambitious purposes. She was promised by Germany the possession of Egypt. Would the interest and happiness of the population of Egypt be best conserved by Turkish conquest of Egypt?

"The Germans in the search for the greatest happiness of these populations would have restored Egypt to the worst rule the world has ever known. They would have destroyed Arab independence and abandoned Palestine to those who had rendered it sterile all these centuries.

"How could any one preach seriously a profession of faith about the interests of populations after this evidence of the manner in which von Hertling desires to see it carried out? If the Reichstag had any sense of humor it must surely have smiled when it heard the Chancellor dealing in that spirit with the dominating doctrine of every important German statesman, soldier, and thinker for two generations at least.

"So much for the four principles which Mr. Holt says von Hertling accepts, and which he thinks the British Government is backward in not accepting. I hope my short analysis may have convinced him that there are two sides to that question.

GERMANY'S RUSSIAN POLICY

"I cannot, however, leave von Hertling without making some observation upon the Russian policy which he defines. That also is a demonstration of German methods. He tells us the recent arrangements with Russia were made on the urgent appeal of the populations for protection against the Red Guard and other bands, and, therefore, undertaken in the name of humanity.

"We know that the East is the East and the West is the West and that the German policy of the West is entirely different from the German policy of the East. The German policy in the East recently has been directed toward preventing atrocities and devastation in the interest of humanity, while German policy in the West is occupied entirely in

performing atrocities and devastations. Why this difference of treatment of Belgium on one side and other populations on the other? I know of no explanation, except that Germany pursues her methods with remorseless insistency and alters or varies the excuse she gives for her policy.

"If she invades Belgium, it is military necessity; if Courland, it is in the interest of humanity. It is impossible to rate very high the professions of humanity, international righteousness and equity in regard to those populations which figure so largely in the speeches. I am quite unable to understand how anybody can get up in the Reichstag and claim that Germany is waging a defensive war."

Mr. Balfour then contrasted the different methods pursued by Germany and Great Britain in the expansion of their empires, and asserted that Germany's policy had been more deliberately ambitious than that of any nation since the days of Louis XIV. He concluded:

"I am convinced that to begin negotiations, unless you see your way to carry them through successfully, would be to commit the greatest crime against the future peace of the world, and, therefore, while I long for the day when negotiations may really begin, negotiations which must have preparations for the bringing of ideas closer together, I do believe I should be doing an injury to the cause of peace if I encourage the idea that there is any use in beginning these verbal negotiations until something like a general agreement is apparent in the distance and until the statesmen of all the countries see their way to that broad settlement, which, it is my hope, will bring peace to this sorely troubled world."

LORD CECIL'S SPEECH

Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade, said regarding Hertling's speech:

"It would be foolish to enter into negotiations unless there were a reasonable prospect of success. We do not desire to repeat the experiment of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations."

Lord Robert said that as Trustee for the empire the Government must take reasonable precautions to avoid enemy traps. It must have a guarantee that the enemy was sincerely and genuinely trying to meet Great Britain's essential demands.

"There must be no humbug about Belgium," Lord Robert continued. "Certainly Belgium is not the only issue, but it is a test, and before we can consent to enter into negotiations we must be perfectly satisfied that the Central Powers mean to restore Belgium absolutely and do their best to repair the greatest international wrong committed for centuries.

"I can find no trace of that in von Hertling's speech. The Germans have never conveyed to us in any shape or form the fact that they are ready to restore Belgium."

BELGIUM'S ANSWER

The following official statement was made by the Belgian Government through Baron de Broqueville, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to the German Chancellor's invitation:

> The Belgian Government's views are known and have not changed. It affirmed them quite recently. In its answer to the Holy See on Dec. 24 the Belgian Government said:
>
> "The integrity of the metropolitan and "colonial territory; political, economic "and military independence without con- "dition or restriction; reparation for dam- "ages and guarantees against repetition "of the aggression of 1914 are the indis- "pensable conditions for a just peace as "far as Belgium is concerned."
>
> The Belgian Government has already declared and repeated that it will not discuss peace except in consort with the powers which guaranteed its independence and which have fulfilled their obligations toward Belgium.

The English, American, and French newspapers were practically unanimous in declaring the Chancellor's speech inconclusive and unsatisfactory, bringing an agreement no nearer. Lord Lansdowne, former British Foreign Minister, who had previously published a letter declaring that a peace conference was advisable, again declared in a public letter that, while he found the address in reference to Belgium vague, he felt that the acceptance of the four propositions gave encouragement.

LABOR'S WAR AIMS

Declaration of the Interallied Labor-Socialist Conference in London

*A conference of the Labor and Socialist Parties was held at London on Feb. 21, 22, and 23, 1918. It was attended by delegates from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, and by consultative delegates from organizations in South Africa, Rumania, and the South Slavic States. A cablegram was received from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declaring: "We cannot meet with representatives "of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but "we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised be- "tween us. * * * We assure the conference that we are pledged, "and will give our full man power and at least half our wealth power "in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom, and democ- "racy." The conference adopted a formal declaration of war aims. The clause with reference to Alsace-Lorraine was later indorsed by the French Socialists and Labor Party by practically a unanimous vote. The conference sent delegates to the United States to confer with the American Federation of Labor. The declaration of war aims is given in full herewith:*

I.—The Origin of the War

THE Interallied Conference declares that, whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war, it is clear that the people of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The conference sees no reason to depart from the following declaration unanimously agreed to at the conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the allied nations on Feb. 14, 1915:

This conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which international socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every Government has its share of responsibility.

The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the Governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another State or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

While inflexibly resolved to fight until

victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances, and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the members of the conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the allied powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the world.

II.—Making the World Safe for Democracy

Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the Interallied Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and was not protected by a supernational authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent State, should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a league of nations implies the immediate establishment of an international high court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between States that are of justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between States in other issues that vitally interest the power or honor of such States. It is also under the control of the League of Nations that the consultation of peoples for purposes of self-determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The League of Nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pressure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized State would have their allotted share, and energetically to push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several States.

By a solemn agreement all the States and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any State or States refusing to submit to the arbitration award or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the supernational authority implies the complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of Legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular Legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the League of Nations, with the absolute responsibility of the Government, and more particularly of the Foreign Minister of each country to its Legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of im-

perialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guarantees against aggression have been secured, the League of Nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The League of Nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea, and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which all the peoples are burdened, as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The States must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defense and for such action as the League of Nations may ask them to take in defense of international right, will be left free, under international control, either to create a voluntarily recruited force or to organize the nation for defense without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Interallied Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforward become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

1. That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.
2. That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that
3. Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States.
4. That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

III.—Territorial Questions

The Interallied Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which States calling themselves sovereign have hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a League of Nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.

The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by States, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the nineteenth century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The conference declares it to be the duty of the Labor and Socialist movement to suppress without hesitation the imperialist designs in the various States which have led one Government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantage.

The establishment of a system of international law, and the guarantees afforded by a League of Nations, ought to remove the last excuse for those strategic protections which nations have hitherto felt bound to require.

It is the supreme principle of the right of each people to determine its own destiny that must now decide what steps should be taken by way of restitution or reparation and whatever territorial readjustments may be found to be necessary at the close of the present war.

The conference accordingly emphasizes the importance to the Labor and Socialist

movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither destiny of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favor of federation or unification. During the nineteenth century theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the International cannot but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. Any adjustments of boundaries that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

It is true that it is impossible for the necessary consultation of the desires of the people concerned to be made in any fixed and invariable way for all the cases in which it is required, and that the problems of nationality and territory are not the same for the inhabitants of all countries. Nevertheless, what is necessary in all cases is that the procedure to be adopted should be decided, not by one of the parties to the dispute, but by the supernational authority.

Upon the basis of the general principles herein formulated the conference proposes the following solutions of particular problems:

(a) Belgium

The conference emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an international commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong, and the restoration of Belgium as an independent sovereign State, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(b) Alsace and Lorraine

The conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem the solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The Treaty of Frankfort at one and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfort, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. To this League of Nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

(c) The Balkans

The conference lays down the principle that all the violations and perversions of the rights of the people which have taken place, or are still taking place, in the Balkans must be made the subject of redress or reparation.

Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Albania, and all the territories occupied by military force should be evacuated by the hostile forces. Wherever any population of the same race and tongue demands to be united this must be done. Each such people must be accorded full liberty to settle its own destiny, without regard to the imperialist pretentions of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, or other State.

Accepting this principle, the conference proposes that the whole problem of the administrative reorganization of the Balkan peoples should be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives or in case of disagreement by an authoritative international commission on the basis of (a) the concession within each independent sovereignty of local autonomy and security for the development of its particular civilization of every racial minority; (b) the universal guarantee of freedom of religion and political equality for all races; (c) a Customs and Postal Union embracing the whole of the Balkan States, with free access for each to its natural seaport; (d) the entry of all the Balkan States into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common interest.

(d) Italy

The conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned

to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Regarding the Italian population dispersed on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the relations between Italy and the Yugo-Slav populations must be based on principles of equity and conciliation, so as to prevent any cause of future quarrel.

If there are found to be groups of Slavonian race within the newly defined Kingdom of Italy, or groups of Italian race in Slavonian territory, mutual guarantees must be given for the assurance to all of them, on one side or the other, of full liberty of local self-government and of the natural development of their several activities.

(e) Poland and the Baltic Provinces

In accordance with the right of every people to determine its own destinies, Poland must be reconstituted in unity and independence with free access to the sea.

The conference declares further that any annexation by Germany, whether open or disguised, of Livonia, Courland, or Lithuania, would be a flagrant and wholly inadmissible violation of international law.

(f) The Jews and Palestine

The conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence, and trade and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(g) The Problem of the Turkish Empire

The conference condemns the handing back to the systematically cruel domination of the Turkish Government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The conference condemns the imperialist aims of Governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the conference insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a commission acting under the Supernational Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralized and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the League of Nations, freely to all nations, without hindrance or customs duties.

(h) Austria-Hungary

The conference does not propose as a war aim dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the conference cannot admit that the claims to independence made by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules to be laid down by the League of Nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings and federations according to their affinities and interests. If they think fit they are free to substitute a free federation of Danubian States for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

(i) The Colonies and Dependencies

The International has always condemned the colonial policy of capitalist Governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the Interallied Conference nevertheless recognizes the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.

The conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain a certain degree of civilization, and for all the others a progressive participation in local Government.

The conference is of opinion that the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war, or the exchanges or compensations which might be effected, ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace.

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the Peace Conference, as to which the

communities in their neighborhood will be entitled to take part. But the clause in the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none are shut out from legitimate access to raw materials, prevented from disposing of their own products, or deprived of their proper share of economic development.

As regards more especially the colonies of all the belligerents in tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the profit of the capitalist, or use them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the Governments.

With respect to these colonies, the conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, while respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:

1. It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible to them.
2. The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.
3. The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

IV.—Economic Relations

The Interallied Conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war after peace has been secured either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. The conference realizes that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class sees in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and, in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The conference accordingly urges upon the Labor and Socialist Parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the Government toward commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development, by appropriate Government action, of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

V.—The Problems of Peace

To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessa-

tion of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments.

The Interallied Conference insists that, in view of the probable worldwide shortage, after the war, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for any one until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that, in all countries, the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of millions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several Governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the conference holds that it is the duty of every Government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the Labor Parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their Governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways, and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings, and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor, and thus prevent there being any unemployed.

It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any Government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment; which, if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of Government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

VI.—Restoration of the Devastated Areas and Reparations of Wrongdoing

The Interallied Conference holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication wherever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public buildings, capitalist undertakings, and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by

any international fund, should be made under the direction of an international commission.

The conference will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular Governments have ordered and particular officers have exercised acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention, in particular, to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other noncombatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or Government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or Government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several Governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a court of claims and accusations, and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

VII.—International Conference

The Interallied Conference is of opinion that an international conference of Labor and Socialist organizations, held under proper conditions, would, at this stage, render useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings, as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International Socialist Bureau, we consider that an international conference, held during the period of hostilities, should be organized by a committee whose impartiality cannot be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such conditions as would inspire confidence; and the conference should be fully representative of all the Labor and Socialist movement in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the conference is convoked.

As an essential condition to an international conference, the commission is of the opinion that the organizers of the conference should satisfy themselves that all the organizations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles "No annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from their Governments the necessary guarantees to apply these principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference.

In view of the vital differences between the allied countries and the Central Powers, the commission is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the conference should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

The conference is of opinion that the working classes, having made such sacrifices during the war, are entitled to take part in securing a democratic world peace, and that M. Albert Thomas, (France,) M. Emile Vandervelde, (Belgium,) and Arthur Henderson, (Great Britain,) be appointed as a commission to secure from the Governments a promise that at least one representative of labor and socialism will be included in the official representation at any Government conference, and to organize a Labor and Socialist representation to sit concurently with the official conference; further, that no country be entitled to more than four representatives at such conference.

The conference regrets the absence of representatives of American labor and

socialism from the Interallied Conference, and urges the importance of securing their approval of the decisions reached. With this object in view, the conference agrees that a deputation, consisting of one representative from France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain, together with Camille Huysmans, (Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau,) proceed to the United States at once, in order to confer with representatives of the American democracy on the whole situation of the war.

The conference resolves to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires and of the nations allied with them the memorandum in which the conference has defined the conditions of peace, conformably with the principles of Socialist and international justice. The conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every Socialist, and the conference asks for the answer of the Socialists of the Central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International, which has now become more than ever the best and the most certain instrument of democracy and peace.

American Labor Federation's Views

Address by Samuel Gompers

THE American Federation of Labor expressed its views on the war in an address by its President, Samuel Gompers, delivered in New York on Feb. 22, 1918, at a loyalty meeting held in celebration of Washington's Birthday. The meeting was held under the auspices of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, spoke from the same platform.

The President of the American Federation of Labor began his appeal to patriotism by saying that he, who was once an ultra-pacifist, was now a red-blooded fighting man, and that American workers were fighting men. Referring to the message he had sent to Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the British Labor Party, saying that American workers would send no delegates to the labor peace conference in London, Mr. Gompers said he wished to send word to all the world on Washington's Birthday as to the stand of America's workers. He reviewed the recent history of Russia and pictured that country's plight. He continued:

> The radicals of the Bolsheviki have not given the people land, nor bread, nor peace; and instead of finding the great people of Russia standing erect and fighting for their homes and for their lives, we find them licking the boots of the Kaiser and praying for mercy.
>
> Yes, this radical gang has done that, and to it must be laid the charge of the undoing of Russia.
>
> And they are showing their heads here. If the so-called radicals of America could have their way, you would find the people of the United States in the same position as the people of Russia are now.
>
> And then they invite us to peace conferences with representatives of the workers of enemy countries. Why, men and women, the Kaiser wouldn't give a passport to German delegates who would not be bound to do his bidding. He would let no one go to those conferences who was not his minion.
>
> I say to the Kaiser, I say to the Germans, in the name of the American labor movement: "You can't talk peace with American workers; you can't talk peace with us; you can't talk to us at all now. We are fighting now. Either you smash your Kaiser autocracy or we will smash it for you."
>
> Yes, we say to the Germans: "Get you out of France, out of Serbia, out of Belgium, and back into Germany, and then perhaps we'll talk peace terms with you. But we won't before you do that."

Here the audience arose as one and cheered Mr. Gompers. Then he paid his respects to those radicals in America who criticise the country and wouldn't fight for it. He said they were serving "the great autocrat of all time, the modern buccaneer of the world, an intellectual, scientific murderer."

"America is not perfect," Mr. Gompers said. "The Republic of the United States is not perfect; it has the imper-

fections of the human—but it is the best country on the face of the earth, and those who do not love it enough to work for it, to fight for it, to die for it, are not worthy of the privilege of living in it."

Mr. Gompers said that when the Congress of the United States declared war it handed down a decision from which there could be no appeal, and that no American today had the right to discuss whether or not we should be fighting Germany.

He again paid his respects to the Bolsheviki in America, and said that they had the same theories as the Russians who before any battle was undertaken would vote on whether or not to fight.

"In theory that might be fairly good," he said. "As an academic proposition it sounds good, but when you have opposite you a well-organized gang of scientific murderers who have their guns leveled at you, that is not the time to vote on whether or not you will defend yourself—that is a time to fight."

Mr. Gompers said that labor had gained in this war recognition by the Government of the principles for which it had so long fought, and pointed to the participation by labor leaders in the conferences of war at Washington. "When the war is over," he said, "do you think those representatives of labor are to be thrown aside? Not on your life!" Mr. Gompers went on to say that because labor had so much at stake it should remain steadfastly behind the Government until the end.

Resolutions adopted repeated the pledge of loyalty of American workers, and said:

Resolved, That we commend the determination of the American labor movement to have no contact or dealings with enemy nations so long as those nations remain autocratic, and that we send again to the people of those nations the word that the American working people can discuss no international or other questions with them so long as they consent to autocratic domination and fight the battles of autocracy; and be it further

Resolved, That we are one with the whole people of America in our resolve to exert every effort for a triumphant military effort on the battlefields of Europe to bring about the final overthrow of autocracy, meanwhile guarding jealously our democratic institutions at home as the foundations of a wider and fuller democracy to come; and be it further

Resolved, That we here again express our appreciation of the farsighted wisdom and singleness of purpose of President Wilson as manifested in his first statement of the aims of our nation in this war, which statement has furnished a rallying point for the advancing democratic thought of the world, and be it further

Resolved, That we forward this declaration of fidelity and loyalty to the President of the United States as our renewed pledge of fealty and true understanding at this most fitting time, the anniversary of the birth of our first Great Liberator.

[OFFICIAL]

The Battle of Cambrai

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig Tells Why Victory Was Lost

IN the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was printed the official report of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig on the British operations of 1917 in France up to the battle of Cambrai. His report on the latter engagement appeared a few weeks later. The battle of Cambrai began with a notable British victory on Nov. 20, 1917, and ended in a British reverse. It became the subject of much controversy and brought a Parliamentary inquiry. The report of the commission left the impression that the British had not been taken by surprise, but the chief commander's official report indicates otherwise.

Discussing the reasons for the decision to attack on the Cambrai front, Field Marshal Haig says that the repeated assaults in Flanders had caused a weakening of the enemy's line elsewhere, and that of these weakened sectors that of Cambrai was deemed the most suitable for the surprise operation contemplated, the ground being favorable for the employment of tanks, the plan being to dispense with previous artillery preparation, which would have prevented secrecy, and depend instead on the tanks to smash their way through the enemy's wire.

> The enemy [writes the Field Marshal] was laying out fresh lines of defense behind those which he had already completed on the Cambrai front, and it was to be expected his troops would be redistributed as soon as our pressure in Flanders relaxed. He had already brought large forces from Russia in exchange for divisions exhausted in the struggle in the western theatre, and it was practically certain that heavy reinforcements would be brought from the east to the west during the Winter.
>
> Against the arguments in favor of immediate action I had to weigh the fact that my own troops had been engaged many months in heavy fighting. The conditions of the struggle had greatly taxed their strength. Only a part of the losses of my divisions had been replaced, and many of the recently arrived draft were still far from being fully trained and included in the ranks of the armies.

Eventually the British commander decided in favor of immediate action. He continues:

> The infantry, the tanks, and the artillery, working in combination, were to endeavor to break through all the enemy's lines of defense on the first day. If this were successfully accomplished and the situation developed favorably, cavalry were then to be passed through to raid the enemy's communications, disorganize his system of command, damage his railways, and interfere as much as possible with the arrival of reinforcements.

The attack, the Field Marshal notes, was started at 6:30 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 20. The spectacular successes which first attended it have been told in the correspondents' reports written at the time. It was on the last day of November that the triumph began to give way to disaster.

> At the northern end of the Bonavis Ridge and in the Gonnelieu sector the swiftness with which the advance of the enemy's infantry followed the opening of his bombardment appears to have overwhelmed our troops, both in the line and the immediate support, almost before they had realized the attack had begun. The nature of the bombardment, which seems to have been heavy enough to keep our men under cover without at first seriously alarming them, contributed to the success of the enemy's plans.
>
> No steadily advancing barrage gave warning of the approach of the German assault columns, whose secret assembly was assisted by the many deep folds and hollows typical of the chalk formation, and was shielded from observation from the air by the early morning mist. It was only when the attack was upon them that great numbers of low-flying German airplanes rained machine-gun fire upon our infantry, while the extensive use of smoke shells and bombs made it extremely difficult for our troops to see what was happening on other parts of the battlefield or to follow the movements of the enemy.
>
> In short, there is little doubt that, although an attack was expected generally, yet in these areas of the battle, at the

moment of its delivery, the assault effected a local surprise.

The strength the enemy had shown himself able to develop in his attacks made it evident that only by prolonged and severe fighting could I hope to re-establish my right flank on Bonavis Ridge. Unless this was done the situation of my troops in the salient north of Flesquières would be difficult and dangerous, even if our hold on Bourlon Hill were extended. I had therefore to decide either to embark on another offensive battle on a large scale or to withdraw to a more compact line on Flesquières Ridge.

Although the decision involved the giving up of important positions most gallantly won, I had no doubt as to the correct course under the conditions.

Field Marshal Haig notes that the withdrawal was completed successfully without interference from the enemy on the morning of Dec. 7. Summarizing the results of the three weeks' fighting, he says:

There is little doubt that our operations were of considerable indirect assistance to the allied forces in Italy. Large demands were made upon the available German reserves at a time when a great concentration of German divisions was still being maintained in Flanders. There is evidence that German divisions intended for the Italian theatre were diverted to the Cambrai front, and it is probable that a further concentration of German forces against Italy was suspended for at least two weeks at a most critical period, when our allies were making their first stand on the Piave line.

Had Field Marshal Haig not met with a check which compelled him to abandon part of the captured territory, what he might have accomplished he thus discloses:

My intentions as regards subsequent exploitation were to push westward and northwestward, taking the Hindenburg line in the reverse from Moeuvres to the River Scarpe and capturing all the enemy's defenses and probably most of his garrisons lying west of a line from Cambrai northward to the Sensee and south of that river and the Scarpe.

Time would have been required to enable us to develop and complete the operation, but the prospects of gaining the necessary time were, in my opinion, good enough to justify the attempt to execute the plan. I am of the opinion that on the 20th and 21st of November we went very near to success sufficiently complete to bring the realization of our full program within our power.

[OFFICIAL]

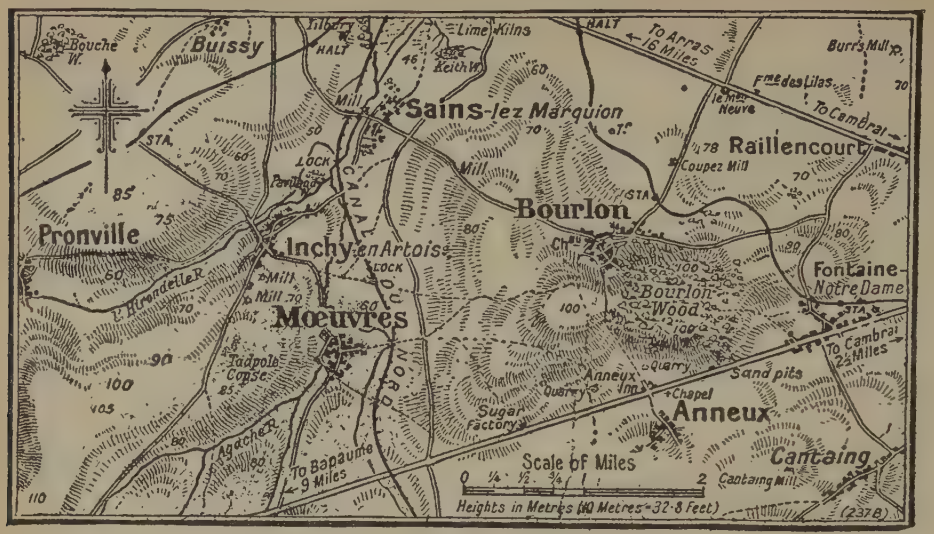
The Battle of Bourlon Wood

A Chapter of Thrilling Heroism

In connection with the official report of the battle of Cambrai the British military authorities made public late in February the story of a brilliant and heroic struggle at Bourlon Wood, Nov. 30, 1917, in which the 47th, 2d, and 56th Divisions of English troops were engaged. It is a narrative of fighting unsurpassed in individual feats of valor in any engagements of the war, and merits a place in history. The official account follows:

THE position on the morning of Nov. 30 was as follows: The 47th (London) Territorial Division, the 2d Division, and the right brigade of the 56th (London) Territorial Division were holding a front of about five miles, extending from the eastern edge of Bourlon Wood to Tadpole Copse in the Hindenburg line, west of Moeuvres. From Tadpole Copse the left brigade of the 56th Division formed a defensive flank across No Man's Land to our old front line. The day brought most determined attacks by four German divisions, with three other divisions in support. All these attacks were utterly crushed by the three British divisions, the enemy sustaining enormous losses.

After considerable shelling during the night on Bourlon Wood the enemy's artillery barrage opened at about 8:45 A. M., being directed on our front line of posts and also with great intensity on the line of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, severing all connection with the two right battalions of the 2d Division.



SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF BOURLON WOOD

Soon after 9 A. M. large numbers of the enemy were seen coming over the ridge west of Bourlon Wood, against the junction of the 2d and 47th Divisions. Our artillery barrage, which at that time was intense, caught this advance; but, in spite of their losses, the German infantry pressed on. The left of the London Territorials was being forced back. Four posts on the right of the 2d Division were wiped out. The situation was critical.

As the enemy's infantry appeared over the crest of the hill, however, they were engaged with direct fire by our field artillery. Machine guns in position in a sunken road southwest of Bourlon Wood and in the sugar factory on the Bapaume-Cambrai road swept their advancing lines. The survivors of the 2d Division's posts succeeded in getting to shell holes further back and held on. While the artillery of both British divisions maintained a constant and accurate fire, rifle, Lewis-gun, and machine-gun fire inflicted enormous losses on the enemy, held up his advance, and eventually drove him back after three hours' hard fighting.

A REARGUARD'S SACRIFICE

Further west the enemy's advance broke upon the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, 2d Division, which was in the act of withdrawing from an advanced sap and trench, judged too exposed to be maintained in the face of so powerful an attack.

Owing to the enemy being concealed in some dead ground, the attack developed with unexpected speed and the company holding the advanced position was ordered to leave a rearguard to cover the withdrawal of the remainder. Captain W. N. Stone, who was in command of the company, sent back three platoons, and himself elected to remain with the rearguard, together with Lieutenant Benzecry.

This rearguard, assisted by our machine guns, held off the whole of the German attack until the main position of the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, was fully organized, and they died to a man with their faces to the enemy.

It is impossible to make comparisons in an action such as was fought on this day, in which so many glorious deeds were performed, but the report of the officer commanding the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, concerning this incident adds distinction to the history of the regiment, and will be remembered as a devoted example of the greatest of all sacrifices. It runs:

"Of the heroism of the rearguard it is "difficult to speak. Captain Stone and "Lieutenant Benzecry, although ordered "to withdraw to the main line, elected "to remain with the rearguard. The

"rearguard was seen fighting with "bayonet, bullet, and bomb to the last. "There was no survivor. Captain Stone "by his invaluable information as to "the movements of the enemy prior to "the attack, and his subsequent sacri- "fice with the rearguard, saved the "situation at cost of his life. Lieutenant "Benzecry was seen to be wounded in "the head. He continued to fight until "he was killed."

STRAIGHT SHOOTING

The 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, on the left of the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, were in action throughout this period, and masses of the enemy moved against them; but by their well-directed and intense volume of fire, delivered from rifles, Lewis guns, and machine guns, the enemy were literally mown down in heaps after topping the rise some 200 or 300 yards from our front line. Throughout the day formed bodies of Germans never got nearer than this to our position; though many individuals endeavored to creep forward until disposed of by our snipers and Lewis-gun detachments.

After midday the enemy again attacked on the whole front of the right brigade of the 2d Division, but was once more hurled back with great slaughter, offering very favorable targets at from 50 to 200 yards' range to machine guns, Lewis guns, and rifles.

Early in the afternoon large masses of the enemy attacked on a front of nearly a mile west of Bourlon Wood. On the left of the front attacked he was once more driven off with heavy loss by the accuracy and volume of our fire; but three posts on the extreme right of the 2d Division were captured. The garrisons of the three posts on the front of the 2d Division fell fighting to the last, and, when the line at this point was restored, such a heap of German dead lay in and around the posts that it was impossible to find the bodies of our men.

In this locality five other posts held by a company of the 1st Battalion, Royal Berkshire Regiment, repulsed all the enemy's attacks and maintained themselves until our reinforcements had restored the situation. This company showed the utmost valor and steadfastness in a most critical period, extending over some six hours. The enemy made attack after attack, always in vastly superior numbers, and time after time came right up to our posts, only to be mown down by our fire and driven back in disorder. The casualties of this company were forty-six of all ranks. They claim to have killed over 500 of the enemy.

AT POINTBLANK RANGE

The story of the gallant fight against odds put up by the garrisons of these posts, both those who survived and those who died valiantly, constitutes one out of the many examples furnished by the fighting of this day of the supreme importance of the resistance that can be offered by small parties of determined men who know how to use their weapons and are resolved to use them to the last.

As the result of their efforts on this occasion, the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, reported at 1 P. M. that their line was intact, that they were in close touch with the units on either flank, and that the men were really enjoying the novel experience of killing Germans in large numbers at pointblank range.

During the afternoon a strong hostile attack was made upon the 141st Brigade on the right of the 47th Division. For some days the German artillery had been steadily pouring gas shell into Bourlon Wood, until the thick undergrowth was full of gas. Many casualties were caused to our troops; and gas masks had to be worn continuously for many hours. None the less, when the enemy attacked he was again hurled back with heavy loss. A distinctive feature of the defense was the gallantry of the Lewis gunners, who, when the attack was seen to be beginning, ran out with their guns in front of our line and, from positions of advantage in the open, mowed down the advancing German infantry.

Later in the afternoon the enemy made two other attacks against the right brigade of the 2d Division. In each case he was beaten off with great slaughter, his losses being materially increased by

the fire of an 18-pounder battery which got right on to his infantry in crowded trenches.

ATTACK AT MOEUVRES

Similar events were happening meanwhile on the left of the 2d Division and on the right of the 56th Division. At 9:20 A. M. the enemy had been seen advancing from the north toward the Canal du Nord, and subsequently attack after attack was delivered by him on both sides of the canal against the 6th and 169th Infantry Brigades.

South of Moeuvres the enemy succeeded in effecting an entry, but was driven back by a bombing attack after heavy fighting. In the fighting in this area Captain A. M. C. McReady-Diarmid of the 17th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, greatly distinguished himself. When the enemy had penetrated some distance into the position and the situation was extremely critical he led his company forward through a very heavy barrage, and engaged the enemy with such success that the Germans were driven back at least 500 yards with the loss of many casualties and a number of prisoners.

On the following day this officer again led a bombing attack against a party of Germans who had broken into our positions, and drove them back 300 yards, himself killing eighty of the enemy. Throughout this attack he led the way himself, and it was absolutely and entirely due to his marvelous throwing that the ground was regained. Captain McReady-Diarmid was eventually killed by a bomb when the Germans had been driven back to the place from which they had started.

At this time, from Moeuvres westward to Tadpole Copse, a desperate struggle was taking place for the possession of the Hindenburg line, in the course of which the enemy at one time reached the battalion headquarters of the 8th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, attached to the 168th Brigade, 56th Division. Here the German infantry were stopped by the gallant defense of the officer commanding the battalion, who, with the assistance of his headquarters staff, held off the enemy with bombs until further help was organized and the trench regained.

ANOTHER GALLANT EXPLOIT

Later in the evening another attack in force was made southeast of Moeuvres, and the enemy once more effected an entry. In doing so he isolated a company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment, 2d Division, which was holding a trench along the west side of the Canal du Nord. * * * The successful defense was greatly assisted by the heroic resistance of the isolated company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment. It would appear that at 4 P. M. this most gallant company, realizing the improbability of being extricated, held a council of war, at which the two surviving company officers, Lieutenant J. D. Robinson and Second Lieutenant E. L. Corps, the company Sergeant Major A. H. Edwards, and Platoon Sergeants C. Phillips, F. C. Parsons, W. Fairbrass, R. Lodge, and L. S. Legg were present. It was unanimously determined to fight to the last and have no surrender. Two runners, who succeeded in getting through, were sent back to notify battalion headquarters of this decision.

Throughout the night of Nov. 30 many efforts were made to effect the relief of these brave men, but all attempts failed against the overwhelming strength of the enemy. The last that is known of this gallant company is that it was heard fighting it out, and maintaining to the last a bulwark against the tide of attacking Germans. It is impossible to estimate the value of this magnificent fight to the death, which relieved the pressure on the main line of defense.

At the end of this day of high courage and glorious achievement, except for a few advanced positions, some of which were afterward regained, our line had been maintained intact. The men who had come triumphantly through this mighty contest felt, and rightly felt, that they had won a great victory, in which the enemy had come against them in his full strength, and had been defeated with losses at which even the victors stood aghast.

Heroic Deeds of British Soldiers

Official Records of Men Who Won the Victoria Cross by Conspicuous Bravery in Battle

THE much-coveted Victoria Cross, which is awarded by the British Government only in cases of exceptional daring and achievement, numbers among its records many thrilling deeds of heroism. It is the custom of the British War Office to publish lists of these awards, appending to each name a brief official account of the acts that won the "V. C." The following typical examples have been selected almost at random. These brief tales of heroism, when multiplied by hundreds of thousands, give some measure of what the British Army is doing at the front:

THE ROLL OF HONOR

MAJOR LEWIS PUGH EVANS, (Acting Lieutenant Colonel,) D. S. O., Royal Highlanders, commanding the Lincolnshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and leadership. Lieut. Col. Evans took his battalion in perfect order through a terrific enemy barrage, personally formed up all units, and led them to the assault. While a strong machine-gun emplacement was causing casualties, and the troops were working round the flank, Lieut. Col. Evans rushed at it himself, and by firing his revolver through the loophole forced the garrison to capitulate. After capturing the first objective he was severely wounded in the shoulder, but refused to be bandaged, and re-formed the troops, pointed out all future objectives, and again led his battalion forward. Again badly wounded, he nevertheless continued to command until the second objective was won, and, after consolidation, collapsed from loss of blood. As there were numerous casualties, he refused assistance, and by his own efforts ultimately reached the dressing station. His example of cool bravery stimulated in all ranks the highest valor and determination to win.

SERGEANT JOSEPH LISTER, Lancashire Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery in attack, when advancing to the first objective, his company came under machine-gun fire from the direction of two "pillboxes." Seeing that the galling fire would hold up our advance and prevent our troops keeping up with the barrage, Sergeant Lister dashed ahead of his men and found a machine gun firing from a shell hole in front of the "pillbox." He shot two of the enemy gunners, and the remainder surrendered to him. He then went on to the "pillbox, and shouted to the occupants to surrender. They did so with the exception of one man, whom Sergeant Lister shot dead; whereupon about 100 of the enemy emerged from shell holes further to the rear and surrendered. This noncommissioned officer's prompt act of courage enabled our line to advance with hardly a check and to keep up with the barrage, the loss of which might have jeopardized the whole course of the local battle.

CORPORAL ERNEST ALBERT EGERTON, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery, initiative, and devotion to duty when, during attack, owing to fog and smoke, visibility was obscured, and in consequence thereof the two leading waves of the attack passed over certain hostile dugouts without clearing them. Enemy rifles, assisted by a machine gun, were from these dugouts inflicting severe casualties on the advancing waves. When volunteers were called for to assist in clearing up the situation Corporal Egerton at once jumped up and dashed for the dugouts under heavy fire at short range. He shot in succession a rifleman, a bomber, and a gunner, by which time he was supported, and twenty-nine of the enemy surrendered. The reckless bravery of this noncommissioned officer relieved in less than thirty seconds an extremely difficult situation. His gallantry is beyond all praise.

CORPORAL FILIP KONOWAL, Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and leadership when in charge of a section in attack. His section had the difficult task of mopping up cellars, craters, and machine-gun emplacements. Under his able direction all resistance was overcome successfully, and heavy casualties inflicted on the enemy. In one cellar he himself bayoneted three of the enemy and attacked single-handed seven others in a crater, killing them all. On reaching the objective, a machine gun was holding

up the right flank, causing many casualties. Corporal Konowal rushed forward and entered the emplacement, killed the crew, and brought the gun back to our lines. The next day he again attacked single-handed another machine-gun emplacement, killed three of the crew, and destroyed the gun and emplacement with explosives. This noncommissioned officer alone killed at least sixteen of the enemy, and during the two days' actual fighting carried on continuously his good work until severely wounded.

Corporal Walter Peeler, Australian Imperial Force.

For most conspicuous bravery when with a Lewis gun accompanying the first wave of the assault he encountered an enemy party sniping the advancing troops from a shell hole. Lance Corporal Peeler immediately rushed the position and accounted for nine of the enemy, and cleared the way for the advance. On two subsequent occasions he performed similar acts of valor, and each time accounted for a number of the enemy. During operations he was directed to a position from which an enemy machine gun was being fired on our troops. He located and killed the gunner, and the remainder of the enemy party ran into a dugout close by. From this shelter they were dislodged by a bomb, and ten of the enemy ran out. These he disposed of. This noncommissioned officer actually accounted for over thirty of the enemy. He displayed an absolute fearlessness in making his way ahead of the first wave of the assault, and the fine example which he set insured the success of the attack against most determined opposition.

COURAGEOUS PRIVATES

Private Frederick George Dancox, Worcestershire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in attack. After the first objective had been captured and consolidation had been started, work was considerably hampered, and numerous casualties were caused by an enemy machine gun firing from a concrete emplacement situated on the edge of our protective barrage. Private Dancox was one of a party of about ten men detailed as moppers-up. Owing to the position of the machine-gun emplacement, it was extremely difficult to work round a flank. However, this man with great gallantry worked his way round through the barrage and entered the "pillbox" from the rear, threatening the garrison with a Mills bomb. Shortly afterward he reappeared with a machine gun under his arm, followed by about forty enemy. The machine gun was brought back to our position by Private Dancox, and he kept it in action throughout the day. By his resolution, absolute disregard of danger, and cheerful disposition, the morale of his comrades was maintained at a very high standard under extremely trying circumstances.

Private Arthur Hutt, Royal Warwickshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and initiative in attack, when all the officers and noncommissioned officers of No. 2 platoon having become casualties, Private Hutt took command of and led forward the platoon. He was held up by a strong post on his right, but immediately ran forward alone in front of the platoon and shot the officer and three men in the post, causing between forty and fifty others to surrender. Later, realizing that he had pushed too far, he withdrew his party. He personally covered the withdrawal by sniping the enemy, killing a number, and then carried back a badly wounded man and put him under shelter. Private Hutt then organized and consolidated his position, and learning that some wounded men were lying out and likely to become prisoners if left there, no stretcher bearers being available, he went out and carried in four wounded men under heavy fire.

Private Charles Melvin, Royal Highlanders.

For most conspicuous bravery, coolness, and resource in action. Private Melvin's company had advanced to within fifty yards of the front-line trench of a redoubt, where, owing to the intensity of the enemy's fire, the men were obliged to lie down and wait for reinforcements. Private Melvin, however, rushed on by himself, over ground swept from end to end by rifle and machine-gun fire. On reaching the enemy trench, he halted and fired two or three shots into it, killing one or two enemy, but, as the others in the trench continued to fire at him, he jumped into it, and attacked them with his bayonet in his hand, as, owing to his rifle being damaged, it was not "fixed." On being attacked in this resolute manner most of the enemy fled to their second line, but not before Private Melvin had killed two more and succeeded in disarming eight unwounded and one wounded. Private Melvin bound up the wounds of the wounded man, and then, driving his eight unwounded prisoners before him and supporting the wounded one, he hustled them out of the trench, marched them in, and delivered them over to an officer. He then provided himself with a load of ammunition and returned to the firing line, where he reported himself to his platoon Sergeant. All this was done not only under intense rifle and machine-gun fire, but the whole way back Private

Melvin and his party were exposed to a very heavy artillery barrage fire. Throughout the day Private Melvin greatly inspired those near him with confidence and courage.

Major John Sherwood-Kelly, (Acting Lieutenant Colonel,) Machine Gun Corps, Norfolk Regiment, commanding a battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery and fearless leading when a party of men of another unit detailed to cover the passage of the canal by his battalion were held up on the near side of the canal by heavy rifle fire directed on the bridge. Lieut. Col. Sherwood-Kelly at once ordered covering fire, personally led the leading company of his battalion across the canal, and, after crossing, reconnoitred under heavy rifle and machine-gun fire the high ground held by the enemy. The left flank of his battalion advancing to the assault of this objective was held up by a thick belt of wire, whereupon he crossed to that flank and, with a Lewis-gun team, forced his way under heavy fire through obstacles, got the gun into position on the far side, and covered the advance of his battalion through the wire, thereby enabling them to capture the position. Later, he personally led a charge against some pits from which a heavy fire was being directed on his men, captured the pits, together with five machine guns and forty-six prisoners, and killed a large number of the enemy. The great gallantry displayed by this officer throughout the day inspired the greatest confidence in his men, and it was mainly due to his example and devotion to duty that his battalion was enabled to capture and hold their objective.

Lieutenant Robert Gee, (temporary Captain,) M. C., Royal Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery, initative, and determination when an attack by a strong enemy force pierced our line and captured a brigade headquarters and ammunition dump. Captain Gee, finding himself a prisoner, killed one of the enemy with his spiked stick and succeeded in escaping. He then organized a party of the brigade staff, with which he attacked the enemy fiercely, closely followed and supported by two companies of infantry. By his own personal bravery and prompt action he, aided by his orderlies, cleared the locality. Captain Gee established a defensive flank on the outskirts of the village, then, finding that an enemy machine gun was still in action, with a revolver in each hand, and, followed by one man, he rushed and captured the gun, killing eight of the crew. At this time he was wounded, but refused to have the wound dressed until he was satisfied that the defense was organized.

Second Lieutenant Arthur Moore Lascelles, (Acting Captain,) Durham Light Infantry.

For most devoted bravery, initiative, and devotion to duty when in command of his company in a very exposed position. After a very heavy bombardment during which Captain Lascelles was wounded, the enemy attacked in strong force, but was driven off, success being due in a great degree to the fine example set by this officer, who, refusing to allow his wound to be dressed, continued to encourage his men and organize the defense. Shortly afterward the enemy again attacked and captured the trench, taking several of his men prisoners. Captain Lascelles at once jumped on to the parapet, and, followed by the remainder of his company, twelve men only, rushed across under very heavy machine-gun fire and drove over sixty of the enemy back, thereby saving a most critical situation. He was untiring in reorganizing the position, but shortly afterward the enemy again attacked and captured the trench and Captain Lascelles, who escaped later. The remarkable determination and gallantry of this officer in the course of operations, during which he received two further wounds, afforded an inspiring example to all.

Private Henry James Nicholas, New Zealand Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in attack. Private Nicholas, who was one of a Lewis-gun section, had orders to form a defensive flank to the right of the advance which was subsequently checked by heavy machine-gun and rifle fire from an enemy strong point. Whereupon, followed by the remainder of his section at an interval of about twenty-five yards, Private Nicholas rushed forward alone, shot the officer in command of the strong point, and overcame the remainder of the garrison of sixteen by means of bombs and bayonet, capturing four wounded prisoners and a machine gun. He captured this strong point practically single-handed, and thereby saved many casualties. Subsequently, when the advance had reached its limit, Private Nicholas collected ammunition under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire. His exceptional valor and coolness throughout the operations afforded an inspiring example to all.

Private James Peter Robertson, late Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and outstanding devotion to duty in attack. When his platoon was held up by uncut wire

and a machine-gun causing many casualties, Private Robertson dashed to an opening on the flank, rushed the machine gun, and, after a desperate struggle with the crew, killed four and then turned the gun on the remainder, who, overcome by the fierceness of his onslaught, were running toward their own lines. His gallant work enabled the platoon to advance. He inflicted may more casualties among the enemy, and then, carrying the captured machine gun, he led his platoon to the final objective. He there selected an excellent position and got the gun into action, firing on the retreating enemy, who by this time were quite demoralized by the fire brought to bear on them. During the consolidation Private Robertson's most determined use of the machine gun kept down the fire of the enemy snipers; his courage and his coolness cheered his comrades and inspired them to the finest efforts. Later, when two of our snipers were badly wounded in front of our trench, he went out and carried one of them in under very severe fire. He was killed just as he returned with the second man.

Corporal John Collins, Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery, resource, and leadership, when, after deployment, prior to an attack, his battalion was forced to lie out in the open under heavy shell and machine-gun fire, which caused many casualties.

This gallant noncommissioned officer repeatedly went out under heavy fire and brought wounded back to cover, thus saving many lives. In subsequent operations throughout the day Corporal Collins was conspicuous in rallying and leading his command. He led the final assault with the utmost skill, in spite of heavy fire at close range and uncut wire. He bayoneted fifteen of the enemy, and with a Lewis-gun section pressed on beyond the objective and covered the reorganization and consolidation most effectively, although isolated and under fire from snipers and guns.

He showed throughout a magnificent example of initiative and fearlessness.

Major Alexander Malius Lafone, late Yeoman.

For most conspicuous bravery, leadership, and self-sacrifice when holding a position for over seven hours against vastly superior enemy forces. All this time the enemy were shelling his position heavily, making it very difficult to see. In one attack, when the enemy cavalry charged his flank, he drove them back with heavy losses. In another charge they left fifteen casualties within twenty yards of his trench, one man, who reached the trench, being bayoneted by Major Lafone himself.

When all his men, with the exception of three, had been hit and the trench which he was holding was so full of wounded that it was difficult to move and fire, he ordered those who could walk to move to a trench slightly in the rear, and from his own position maintained a most heroic resistance. When finally surrounded and charged by the enemy, he stepped into the open and continued to fight until he was mortally wounded and fell unconscious.

His cheerfulness and courage were a splendid inspiration to his men, and by his leadership and devotion he was enabled to maintain his position, which he had been ordered to hold at all costs.

Captain (Acting Major) Okill Massey Learmouth, M. C., late Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and exceptional devotion to duty. During a determined counterattack on our new positions, this officer, when his company was momentarily surprised, instantly charged and personally disposed of the attackers. Later, he carried on a tremendous fight with the advancing enemy. Although under intense barrage fire and mortally wounded, he stood on the parapet of the trench, bombed the enemy continuously, and directed the defense in such a manner as to infuse a spirit of utmost resistance into his men.

On several occasions this very brave officer actually caught bombs thrown at him by the enemy and threw them back. When he was unable, by reason of his wounds, to carry on the fight he still refused to be carried out of the line, and continued to give instructions and invaluable advice to his junior officers, finally handing over all his duties before he was evacuated from the front line to the hospital where he died.

Second Lieutenant Hugh Colvin, Cheshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery in attack. When all the officers of his company except himself—and all but one in the leading company—had become casaulties and losses were heavy, he assumed command of both companies and led them forward under heavy machine-gun fire with great dash and success. He saw the battalion on his right held up by machine-gun fire, and led a platoon to their assistance.

Second Lieutenant Colvin then went on with only two men to a dugout. Leaving the men on top, he entered it alone and brought up fourteen prisoners.

He then proceeded with his two men to another dugout, which had been holding

up the attack by rifle and machine-gun fire and bombs. This he reached, and, killing or making prisoners of the crew, captured the machine gun. Being then attacked from another dugout by fifteen of the enemy under an officer, one of his men was killed and the other wounded. Seizing a rifle, he shot five of the enemy, and, using another as a shield, he forced most of the survivors to surrender. This officer cleared several other dugouts alone or with one man, taking about fifty prisoners in all.

Later, he consolidated his position with great skill, and personally wired his front under heavy close-range sniping in broad daylight, when all others had failed to do so.

Second Lieutenant Montagu Shadworth Seymour Moore, Hampshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery in operations necessitating a fresh attack on a final objective which had not been captured.

Second Lieutenant Moore at once volunteered for this duty and dashed forward at the head of some seventy men. They were met with heavy machine-gun fire from a flank which caused severe casualties, with the result that he arrived at his objective—some 500 yards on—with only a Sergeant and four men. Nothing daunted, he at once bombed a large dugout and took twenty-eight prisoners, two machine guns, and a light field gun.

Gradually more officers and men arrived, to the number of about sixty. His position was entirely isolated, as the troops on the right had not advanced, but he dug a trench and repelled bombing attacks throughout the night. The next morning he was forced to retire a short distance. When opportunity offered he at once reoccupied his position, rearmed his men with enemy rifles and bombs, most of theirs being smashed, and beat off more than one counterattack.

Second Lieutenant Moore held this post under continual shellfire for thirty-six hours until his force was reduced to ten men, out of six officers and 130 men who had started the operation. He eventually got away his wounded, and withdrew under cover of a thick mist.

As an example of dashing gallantry and cool determination this young officer's exploit would be difficult to surpass.

Captain Harold Ackroyd, M. D., late Royal Army Medical Corps.

For most conspicuous bravery. During recent operations Captain Ackroyd displayed the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty. Utterly regardless of danger, he worked continuously for many hours up and down and in front of the line tending the wounded and saving the lives of officers and men. In so doing he had to move across the open under heavy machine-gun, rifle, and shell fire. He carried a wounded officer to a place of safety under very heavy fire. On another occasion he went some way in front of our advanced line and brought in a wounded man under continuous sniping and machine-gun fire. His heroism was the means of saving many lives, and provided a magnificent example of courage, cheerfulness, and determination to the fighting men in whose midst he was carrying out his splendid work. This gallant officer has since been killed in action.

Second Lieutenant George Wyldbore Hewitt, late Hampshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when in command of a company in attack. When his first objective had been captured he reorganized the company and moved forward toward his objective. While waiting for the barrage to lift he was hit by a piece of shell, which exploded the signal lights in his haversack and set fire to his equipment and clothes. Having extinguished the flames, in spite of his wound and the severe pain he was suffering, he led forward the remains of the company under very heavy machine-gun fire, and captured and consolidated his objective. He was subsequently killed by a sniper while inspecting the consolidation and encouraging his men. This gallant officer set a magnificent example of coolness and contempt of danger to the whole battalion, and it was due to his splendid leading that the final objective of his battalion was gained.

Corporal Tom Fletcher Mayson, (Acting Lance Sergeant,) Royal Lancashire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when, with the leading wave of the attack, his platoon was held up by machine-gun fire from a flank. Without waiting for orders, Lance Sergeant Mayson at once made for the gun, which he put out of action with bombs, wounding four of the team. The remaining three of the team fled, pursued by Lance Sergeant Mayson, to a dugout, into which he followed them, and disposed of them with his bayonet. Later, when clearing up a strong point, this noncommissioned officer again tackled a machine gun single-handed, killing six of the team. Finally, during an enemy counterattack, he took charge of an isolated post, and successfully held it till ordered to withdraw, as his ammunition was exhausted. He displayed throughout the most remarkable valor and initiative.

War Widows of the Poor in Paris

By Anna Milo Upjohn

This extract from the journal of a war worker, like that by the same author in the January issue, portrays the courage with which the lonely war widows of France are trying to face their difficult problems. The author, an American, is the visiting inspector in Paris for the Fraternité Americaine, and the conditions that she here recorded in March, 1917, still prevail in the early months of 1918.

NO coal; but a hundred kilos of wood! It is stacked in a comfortable pile in the kitchen, and from it Angèle allows me five sticks an evening. At that rate it should be a long-drawn-out delight, like the sucking of a stick of candy. Angèle is our femme de chambre. She is a Bretonne, with a hard, flat figure like a man's, and sea-blue eyes that seem to look far beyond the confines of the room. She does not wear sabots, but she walks as though she did, and she has stern views as to the cleaning of a room.

I like the Bretons. Though they are unresponsive, inclined to suspicion and a race apart for obstinacy, yet there is a simplicity and strength about them which command respect. And they are proud and brave, with hidden depths of affection under their reticent bearing. I often come upon them on my rounds, and they are known to me at once by the shining coppers (a part of the marriage dower) which hang near the stove, no matter how poor the room. Only yesterday I stepped into such a kitchen, tiny and burnished as a ship's cabin. I found that Mme. Beguivin's home in Brittany was but a stone's throw from the village where I once spent an unforgettable Summer. We talked of shrimps and heather and of the pilgrimages to the holy springs which abound on the rocky peninsula. And then Mme. Beguivin brought her most sacred treasures and spread them before me.

HER SOLDIER'S BURLAP BAG

Millions of rough burlap sacks are sewn by the women of France, and every soldier takes one to the front with him. Into it are put those homely and intimate objects taken from his body when he is carried to a hospital or buried where he has fallen. On the kitchen table Mme. Beguivin laid her poor little souvenirs with all the reverence and with infinitely more devotion than as if they had been the relics of a saint. Her man had gone away robust and courageous under the sloping cap of the Chasseurs d'Alpin, his strong legs strapped with blue puttees, and this was all that had come back to her. His shabby pocketbook, his watch, his pipe, a group photograph of the family, and, because he was a Breton, three silver amulets. Mme. Beguivin has sent her three children to her parents in Brittany, as she found that she could earn little or nothing while they were with her. Rather sagely she has thought out a place for the future and unhesitatingly faced toward it. Freed from the daily care of the children, she is able to enter a tobacco factory not far from the southern fortifications of Paris. The company owning the factory has another at Morlaix, and Mme. Beguivin has already applied for her transference there when the war is over. Until that time she can live more cheaply in Paris than elsewhere, because here she has no rent to pay. But after the war, when the moratorium is ended, she can probably manage on less at Morlaix, at the same time supporting her children and keeping them in the country.

Another little woman, also a Bretonne, has not been able to plan her way so clearly. She has reached the first stage only—the realization that her young life is ended. The rest is dark. I found the three little boys (all under 5) in the care of a neighbor while their mother was out searching for coal, and I waited for her to come in. The children were Bretons, I knew that instantly, strong limbed, fearless little men with that un-

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President of the American Federation of Labor, who as the head of two and a half million organized workers is co-operating with the Government in the prosecution of the war

(Photo Paul Thompson)

PRINCE LEOPOLD OF BAVARIA

Commander in Chief of the Austro-German armies on the eastern front

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

mistakable look of the sea, which lies not alone in the eye but in the lift of the chin, the straight line of the mouth, the whole attitude of facing the wind.

Mme. Guegan came in after a fruitless search for coal and potatoes, bringing only delicatessen fare for the three babies. She is small and thin almost to emaciation. "If I could get back to the sea," she said, with her head between her hands, "I might be able to think what to do!" I asked if she had any relatives living in Brittany. Only her mother. Of her three brothers, one had fallen and the others were at the front. Her mother lives alone in a little cottage in a village of the Côte du Nord. I know exactly the wee bit of a house it is, crouching behind the spur of granite, the wind tearing through the one ragged pine tree in front.

IN LINE FOR POTATOES

I have stood in line for potatoes myself today, near the Porte St. Ouen, and have borne them away in triumph in a newspaper cornucopia. It happened in this way: Intent upon finding the Widow Conpat and her two little girls, I stopped to ask on which floor they lodged, and discovered the concièrge helpless with grip, and her paralyzed husband in bed in the one room which serves them as home. It was evident that she could not go out for food, so I offered, on coming down, to get what she needed for dinner. Potatoes, being very scarce, were the thing most desired, and she had heard that there were to be some for sale that morning for 50 centimes a kilo, (10 cents for two pounds.) She was agonized at the thought of the lost opportunity.

Fortunately I was early on the scene. A young soldier had just established himself on the sidewalk behind a long table heaped with potatoes, and was weighing them out in quantities of one and two kilos. No one was allowed more than two kilos. The line was forming rapidly and the potatoes were dropped into string bags without the ceremony of wrapping. I suddenly realized that I had nothing in which to carry off the spoils. Then remembering my newspaper, which happened to be of two sheets, I handed it to the soldier and he deftly whisked it into an inverted cone, which with great care and agility could be made to accommodate a kilo of potatoes. The greenness of my procedure did not escape comment, and one old woman jeered audibly at me for taking advantage of an opportunity intended for the poor. Somewhat fussed, I escaped from the queue without capsizing the potatoes on the sidewalk. A small piece of meat, a handful of carrots and onions, so depleted my pocketbook that I was obliged to swing by means of the Metro from one side of Paris to the other in order to replenish it before I could get my own luncheon.

COLONIALS AND ONE-LEGGED MEN

The Kabyles (Mohammedan natives from the north of Africa) have been set to clean up the streets—picturesque figures, clad in regulation khaki from their waists down, their upper portions brilliant in embroidered jackets and turban or fez. Under their long brooms the melting snows swish through the gutters. Russian soldiers, too, are in evidence these days, looking a little mussy and like overgrown boys in their practical but abbreviated uniforms.

And now that the sidewalks are less incumbered a veritable army of one-legged men makes its appearance. They are mostly young men, broad-backed and ruddy-faced, swinging briskly along on crutch or stick, as though the mere loss of a limb were scarcely an impediment. How do they face a mutilated life with such unshaken courage? Perhaps it is the wonder that they should have escaped the full horror of the battlefield and have come back to find the world still beautiful and full of hope. They are welcomed, too, as heroes, and carry for life the badge of their courageous sacrifice.

There is another type of French soldier going about Paris who demands one's keenest sympathy. It is the middle-aged man with high cheek bones touched with feverish color, a long, thin nose and sparse beard, through which may be seen the convulsive movement of a prominent Adam's apple. He is con-

sumptive, and is termed Reformé No. 2. Wistfully he looks out from his sunken eyes, for unless he can go south or to the mountains the shattered life he has brought back from the trenches is of short duration. Usually he has a family dependent upon him, to whom his presence is a constant menace, and to whom his death will bring no pension, because he did not die at the front.

MUTILATED VICTIMS OF WAR

But perhaps the deepest pity is due those with strong limbs and bodies but whose faces are criss-crossed with bandages and bulging with pads; those whose dear and familiar features have been transformed into a repellent mask, who will never again be kissed with ecstasy and whose presence cannot fail to bring a shock to those they love best. But the women take back their battered heroes with a glorious devotion. The other day I saw a man who had lost both arms and both eyes being piloted across the space in front of the Madeleine by a slender young woman. Both looked radiantly happy.

In a London canteen a soldier with a cheek scarred from temple to chin, said brusquely: "Why don't you ask me where I got my wound, Ma'am?" and, without waiting for answer, continued: "Coming up in the bus just now an old lady looked at me with tears in her eyes till I leaned over and said, 'Don't you worry about my face, Ma'am; I got that in Peckham Heath at football.' You see, I couldn't bear her looking that sorry for me, and when you say nothing I am sure you are feeling the same." "Oh, no," I said, "I was thinking how proud some woman would be of that some day." "My word," he exclaimed, with a joyous laugh, "she's kissed every inch of it already!"

CARING FOR THE ORPHANS

As I go about the stormy streets, climbing dark stairways leading to stricken homes, I often wish that those who have given their $36 a year for these French orphans might see for themselves the comfort and relief which their money brings and realize how wisely it is spent in the main.

And the children are such jolly little specimens, in spite of the sinister atmosphere which, unknown to them, envelops their country and their babyhood. * * * The best that we can do is to see that they have plenty of bread and milk—these very little boys and girls, who unconsciously make their appeal to us with their shy, merry, michievous ways! Perhaps it is a round-eyed baby with downy hair and tiny reaching hands, or a little fellow with laughing blue eyes and square shoulders, or a typical little French girl, oval-faced and dark-eyed, refusing to play and grieving for her father, grieving most of all that she was not beside him in the trenches: "If I had been there I would not have let those boches hurt my little papa!"

The floor may be of polished wood, or of red tiles, but there is sure to be a cook stove about as big as a water bucket, and a sideboard out of all proportion to its surroundings, for that article of furniture seems as indispensable as is the bed or the round table. The little interior may be clean and attractive, no matter how poor, perhaps with a devoted grandmother in charge, while the mother works away from home. Sometimes it is dirty and chaotic, the children romping carefree about the place, the mother flattened against the window folding paper bags or feathering hat ornaments in the waning light.

The bourgeois apartment is not picturesque, but it often contains the more touching tragedy. Here strivings and aspirations had begun to be possibilities. Now the widowed mother, working indefatigably to keep the older children in school and the younger ones well nourished, cries out from the wreck of her hopes: "Do what I will, I can never make more than a home for my children. Their father would have given them a position in life!"

HOW WOMEN EARN A LIVING

There is, of course, a great difference in the earning capacity of the women, as well as in their ability to make four or five francs compass the daily needs of the family; but French thrift and good management are seldom lacking. Some mothers are young and equipped with a

modern training, which carries them into newspaper or recruiting offices or fits them for secretarial work in the various branches of the Ministry of War or of the Post. Some are dressmakers or modistes, searching anxiously for work now, and others go out by the day or half day to do cleaning and housework if they can find it. Then there are the more lucrative lines of employment, the making of uniforms, the tobacco factories, many of which employ only war widows having three or four children, and the munitions.

There are rumors of fabulous wages, 30 or 40 francs a day, paid in certain departments of the latter industry, but I have never met any one who was willing to own up to more than 4, [80 cents.] But if the pay is high, the hours are long and the work arduous. Often the women became broken in health or in morale in a short time. In almost every case in which the war widows have regular employment they have had to abandon their old pursuits and take up some new occupation. This they do with amazing courage and adaptability.

Not one but will tell you with wet eyes that her poilu was the bravest, best-hearted garçon in the whole world, and at least one little woman with a wistful smile adds that he is not really dead—that it was some one else of the same name who died in the Florentine Hospital, and that after the war he will come back to her.

The tenderness of the French for children, particularly for little children, is very great. A touching sight is the poilu on leave taking his little girl for an outing. She comes into the Metro perched on his arm like a fluffy bird, is carefully settled on his knee—for the most hardened Parisian gives up his seat to any one carrying a child—her cloths are pulled down, her socks pulled up, her jacket loosened at the throat, and, possessing himself of a small hand, the heavy-footed warrior in the shabby uniform gazes enraptured at the tiny thing, with its satiny skin and limpid eyes, snuggling against him. When their station is reached she is stood on the seat, while one deft sweep of the blue sleeve straightens her little skirts and she makes her exit on a strong arm, her chubby fingers caressing the back of a seamy neck.

The Bombardment of Rheims

By Barr Ferree

THE bombardment of a single city that has lasted more than three years and is still in progress, [March, 1918,] would seem, even in this war of wars, an event certain to win universal attention. And when this bombardment has resulted in the practical destruction of one of the most important and beautiful architectural monuments in the world it scarcely seems necessary to draw attention to it. Yet the bombardment of Rheims, amounting, in some days, to the throwing of many thousands of shells on the beleaguered city and the attendant destruction of its great cathedral, has by no means received the attention from the world that it deserves; even in Paris the newspapers make reference to the daily bombardment only at long intervals.

The reason is not hard to find. There has been no neglect of Rheims, but its siege, terrible and terrifying as it is to its people, is but a minor episode in the great war. It has involved no great points of strategy; it has meant no huge accumulation of men and ammunition; it has not been a vital point. For the Germans it has been a work of destruction, and nothing else; even its surrender, after more than three years of effort, would yield them little prestige. Up to the present moment the accomplishment of their guns would seem scarcely to have compensated for the huge waste of ammunition.

It must be highly exasperating to the Germans to recall that they were once actually in Rheims. They occupied it for ten days in 1914, German officers en-

tering the city at 8:30 o'clock in the evening of Sept. 3; they evacuated it in the afternoon of Sept. 12, the actual time being thus less than ten full days. They were not ejected; they went—because the movement of troops on both sides was such that they could not remain. But they stayed long enough to prepare the way for the great disaster of Rheims, the burning of the cathedral. They filled the vast church with straw, intending to use it as a hospital for their wounded. The wounded Germans were placed in it only after the troops had left; but when an incendiary bomb set fire to the heavy wood scaffolding built several years before to restore the north tower, the straw within also caught fire and woefully aided in furthering the destruction of the cathedral.

But before this, so singularly works the German mind, the destruction of the city had been begun by a German bombardment on Sept. 4, while German officers were in charge of the city. On the morning before two aerial bombs had been dropped by an airplane; Rheims was then in French hands, and this might have been expected as an act of war. But the bombardment of Sept. 4, 1914, stands almost alone in the annals of war, for certainly there is no reason at all why a captured city should be bombarded by its captors. The Germans were unable to offer any explanation for this unheard-of proceeding. Great damage was done on that day, many buildings being ruined by shells and by fire.

The German evacuation of Sept. 12, 1914, was followed by the entrance of French officers at 6:30 P. M.; the French troops came in the next day, and the German bombardment began betimes the following morning, Sept. 14, at 5 A. M. The bombardment then started has never ceased. This is the tragedy of Rheims, this her martyrdom.

It is true that shells have not fallen every day. Occasionally a calm day, on which nothing happened, would be interspersed between periods of great artillery activity. This was particularly the case in 1915, when in several months the "calm" days actually outnumbered those of bombardment. On other days the guns heard would be those on the front, Rheims itself being free from the fall of shells. But the possibility of shells was always present. No one could tell when the bombardment would be renewed, nor could one be certain that one's own house might not be the next to go. The bombardment hung over Rheims as an ever-present danger. A calm day would be followed by a calm night; or a peaceful night would be followed by a tempestuous day. The German airplanes became familiar visitors, coming generally in the early morning to spy out the land, or later in the day to take note of ruin accomplished.

It seems hardly necessary to point out that, with this terrible menace constantly hanging over them, the people of Rheims were reduced to all sorts of devices to protect their lives. Their property they could not save; that was at the mercy of the bombarders, but their lives they would not yield up without an effort. The wonder is that any were left in the city; many, of course, sought refuge elsewhere, but many still remained, and not until April, 1917, was the evacuation of the civil population finally ordered.

But the people of Rheims lost no time in reversing their modes of life. They betook themselves to the cellars and wine vaults. There they established their homes, such as they were; there schools were opened for the children; there the Mayor and other officials of the city had their offices and conducted public business; there the newspapers were edited, for Rheims boasted two daily papers until the Spring of 1917, and still retains one. Astonishing the vitality of the city, the courage and heroism of the people! The tenacity of the French to their home soil has nowhere been more amply illustrated than at Rheims, and its underground life, while the city above was being slowly shot to pieces, must rank among the wonders of the war.

Meanwhile things were going from bad to worse. December, 1916, was a comparatively calm month; only a few days with bombardments, and these with but a minor fall of shells. January, 1917, opened with utter calm. Shells fell on Jan. 2, and a few on the three succeeding

days. Events became more uncertain as time went on; there were days of bombardment and days of no bombardment. No one could tell what would happen next. On Feb. 2 the bombardment started in with some daily regularity; but since March 1, 1917, there have been barely half a dozen days in which Rheims has not been subjected to a bombardment.

The siege had assumed a new character. The bombardment of 1917 was almost continuous. Rheims was fairly drenched with shells. They were no longer to be counted by twos, threes, twenties, fifties, but by hundreds and thousands. On the two days of April 6 and 7 no less than 8,785 shells were counted. On April 12 the number for the single day rose to 7,000 or 8,000. Eighty fires were noted in Rheims from shells between April 7 and April 18. The beautiful Hotel de Ville took fire on May 3 and burned for two days. It was estimated that 15,000 shells fell between May 11 and 13, and the total for all months of 1917 reached gigantic figures.

July, 1917, was a dreadful month. Twelve hundred shells fell on July 3, 1,350 on July 12, more than 2,000 on July 13, from 2,500 to 3,000 on July 14, 800 on July 15, and 2,537 on July 16. July 17 was relatively calm, with 129 shells. Then a renewal on the 18th of 840 shells, dropping to 80 on the 19th, rising slightly to 119 on the 20th and then amounting to more than 900 on the 21st. Of these 30 fell between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning, 30 from 8:30 to 11 A. M., 760 from 1 to 3 P. M., and 100 after 11 o'clock at night—a typical day of the great bombardment of Rheims.

Has anything been left of the city? That is the marvel of it. People are still in Rheims. Its heoric Mayor, Dr. Langlet, still carries on the business of his office. The Archbishop, Cardinal Luçon, still offers what succor he can to his sorely tried flock. The daily newspaper of Rheims, L'Eclaireur de l'Est, is still published. And while no detailed news has come out of Rheims for some months, it is known that the battered cathedral still stands. An enormous triumph for the French, a splendid tribute to their inexhaustible vitality and unconquerable heroism! That it is costing them dear goes without saying, but that they have kept on is superb. Even today, with the German shells carrying destruction into their midst, the blackened walls of Rheims are placarded with posters inviting subscriptions to the latest French loan! And this after more than three years of German battering!

It is quite impossible for any one not a German to elucidate the operations of the German mind. Even the Germans must find the job difficult at times. Judging from their great waste of ammunition—for their three years' gunfire has not yet eradicated Rheims from the surface of the earth—they have simply tried to make the destruction of the city as complete as possible. Their failure has been precisely as great as their effort. Rheims still lives. Vive Rheims!

Indians Among America's Fighters

Five thousand Indians have enlisted in the American Army and Navy for the present war, according to an estimate made early in 1918 by Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner also stated that Indians had subscribed to more than $9,000,000 worth of Liberty bonds, besides assisting in Red Cross work and creating a great increase in the output of meat and agricultural products on Indian reservations. He added: "There is something epochal and eloquent in the patriotic fervor and martial spirit of the Indians everywhere in the recent months."

Food Shortage in Central Empires

Official Summary of Living Conditions During 1917 as Revealed Through German and Austrian Sources

THE United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Fall of 1917 made a minute survey of internal conditions in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, as revealed through published statements in those countries. The result was presented in an official report, which gave a clear understanding of the real economic status of the Central Powers at that time. As a historical record this possesses great value.

The report shows that Turkey was actually starving because of the corruption of her own officials and the greed of Germany; that Germany and Austria were not starving, but were having a hard struggle to feed themselves; that Hungary was in better shape than either Germany or Austria, and that Bulgaria, so far as food was concerned, was suffering the least of all the countries covered in the report. The report also showed that Germany failed by a wide margin to live up to her reputation for efficiency in her attempts at food administration, having been obliged to reverse her policies in an effort to remedy in part the fatal results of blundering. It showed, conclusively, that the civil populations of Germany and Austria were suffering permanent physical deterioration from lack of proper food, that the death rate from tuberculosis was rapidly increasing, that growing boys and girls were not getting more than half the nourishment they needed, and that manual laborers were being underfed to about the same extent.

Politically, the most interesting thing revealed by the report was the fact that the traditional hatred between the two parts of the Dual Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, was manifesting itself in an economic way in the refusal of Hungary to share her comparative abundance with Austria and in the official and public resentment of that fact in Vienna.

The report contains a statement from Dr. Schlittenbauer, Director of the Agricultural Central Co-operative Society of Ratisbon, asserting that the German food situation for 1917 was serious because of previous blunders in not making proper provision against the diminishing imports of fodder. The consequence is stated as follows:

> Hundreds of thousands of thin animals, which might in the Summer have put on flesh finely for the Winter of 1917-18 in the green pastures, fell a sacrifice to the butcher's axe. Even the milch cows, the plow oxen, and, above all, the stock of calves and heifers which were to have prevented the milk famine, unfortunately have been slaughtered. The doubling of the meat ration was bound to have a bad effect on the stock of horned cattle as soon as the supply of pigs ready for slaughter gave out, which took place somewhere about May 20. The doubled meat ration necessitated from this time onward not a double amount of slaughtering from the stock of oxen, but a trebel amount, owing to the fact that the civil population formerly supplied its meat needs principally from pork, and that in Summer the average killing weight of pigs had seriously diminished.

ALL GAME DISTRIBUTED

Even the game and the fish taken by sportsmen are under strict regulation in Germany. Civil and military hospitals must be supplied, and even war prisoners have game if there is not sufficient beef. A small number of deer and wild boars and the smaller animals and birds killed by huntsmen go to the owners of the preserves. The rest of the bag is divided into halves, one for the local supply, the other for the cities. In Bavaria, two out of three wild boars must be delivered to the commune, also four out of every five hares, pheasants, and partridges after the first five. Maximum prices are fixed for partridge and wild duck.

Another food card has been added to the rest, says the Leipziger Volkszeitung. It is the card for hares, issued in five

sections. For a whole hare the entire card must be delivered; for back and legs, four sections; back or legs separately, two each; forelegs, or head, liver, &c., one section each. Every household of one to three persons is entitled to one card.

Preserved porpoise has been added to the list of edible fish, and some experiments have been made in getting fish from Rumania to the German cities.

The Berliner Tageblatt says: "Like so many other foodstuffs, fish has also disappeared from the Greater Berlin market during the war."

The Deutsche Tageszeitung, commenting on the lack of poultry and eggs, urges that the small bantam breeds be tried in the cities, where there is not room for larger fowls.

In Berlin the prices for fowls in the Summer of 1917, according to the lists printed in the Tageblatt, were:

	Pound.
First quality	$1.19
Second quality	.99
Third quality	.84
Ducks	.86

DISSECTING A GOOSE

The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger for Oct. 5 gave the following schedule of prices for parts of a goose:

Parts.	Price Per Pound.
Head and neck	$0.95
Wings	.95
Gizzard and heart	.95
Pickled giblets	2.16
Liver	1.95
Liver sausage	1.73
Leg	1.41
Leg, smoked	1.95
Breast, with bone	1.90
Breast, smoked, with bone	2.49
Breast, without bone	1.95
Breast, smoked, without bone	2.71
Frame, with legs but without inwards	1.35
Scraps of meat	.93
Back fat	2.16
Stomach fat	1.52
Internal fat	1.73
Drippings	3.03
Melted pieces of fat	2.16
Pieces, roasted	2.37
Pieces, smoked	2.81

The Hamburger Fremdenblatt asserted that for four weeks in the Fall of 1917 Hamburg received no eggs. In September the retail price of eggs was fixed at $1.14 a dozen. The Frankfurter Zeitung quoted butter at 65 cents a pound.

In Greater Berlin the local fat office has reduced the young children's ration of whole milk, says the Lokal-Anzeiger. Children born since October, 1913, now get only .79 of a quart per day. In some towns, Nuremberg, for example, the ration is less than that. In several places there has been an attempt at compensation for reduced milk rations for children by increase of sugar allowance and by infant food preparations. Also, persons over 75 years of age are allowed these food preparations at the rate of 500 grams a week.

BABIES' MILK SUPPLY

In Hanover, according to the Hannoverscher Kurier, the milk saved by cutting down the allowance for babies is used for invalids.

All Germany suffered greatly in health from the dearth of fresh vegetables and fruits. In the last growing season Vorwärts, in its issue of July 25, contained the following from the Berlin municipal administration: "The German Towns Congress has been conducting an inquiry among the forty-two German towns with over 100,000 population each (not including Greater Berlin) as to whether there has been a shortage of fruits and vegetables during the last few weeks. Thirty-nine replies have been received, which, with very few exceptions, establish that the supply has been entirely inadequate. Several towns complain that the supply obtained through the imperial office is insufficient."

All the reports indicate a practical failure in the vegetable crop on account of drought and vermin plague. The fruit crop was only fair. At Hamburg apples were quoted from 3.9 cents to 14.1 cents per pound, pears 13 cents, and plums 10.8 cents per pound.

No experiment was left untried that might add to the country's supply of fats and oils. Fruit pits were pressed and every inducement offered to farmers to save everything that might produce even an infinitesimal amount of oil. The Vossische Zeitung of Berlin (Sept. 27) said:

A new source of oil production is now

being drawn upon—tomato seeds. The analysis of tomato seeds by the War Committee for oils gave a result of 20 to 24 per cent. of oil, 9.1 per cent. of water, and 4 per cent. of nitrogen. Tomato seeds are being collected everywhere in Germany and in the occupied territories, especially Rumania.

The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger said:

Oil collectors for the Government are paying cash or soup cubes for fruit kernels and melon seed from which to extract oil for margarine. The soup cubes are delivered to collectors of kernels and are rated at the cash price of six-tenths of a cent per cube. Apple parings are being used as a substitute for tea.

The deaths from tuberculosis in Berlin in the three months ended with May, 1917, were 1,606, against 1,032 in the corresponding period of 1916; from pneumonia, 1,009, against 622. Infant mortality in Berlin, which was 9.62 in September, 1915, steadily rose and stood at 13.52 in June, 1917. The increased death rate was due to insufficient nourishment.

IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In Austria the food conditions were at their worst in the industrial districts on the northern border of Bohemia and the Sudetic lands, (Moravia and Silesia.) The common pressure of hunger seems to have united Czech and German workmen against the food situation. The Bohemia, published at Prague, Sept. 10, summarized the demands of the metal workers as follows: "The bread ration for heavy workers to be increased from 4.6 to 6.6 pounds weekly; for other workers, from 3.1 to 4.6 pounds. The sugar ration for heavy workers to be raised from 3.3 pounds to 4.4 pounds per month; for other workers, from 2.2 to 3.3 pounds per month. The potato rations must be 8.8 pounds per person per week. Profiteering must be suppressed."

The Arbeiter Zeitung of Vienna (Sept. 20) said that increases of wages for industrial workers in the Sudetic lands had not alleviated the suffering, that thousands of workmen had not had any increases. In food disturbances in Moravia it was proved that thousands were earning less than $4.06 a week and only a very few as much as $6.09. In Northern Moravia many weavers were earning only $1.42 per week or less.

In the resolutions adopted by the workmen in a conference at Brunn was the following: "The industrial workers of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, without distinction of language and nationality, are suffering intolerably in consequence of transport difficulties and the high cost of food. These conditions cannot be explained as due to scarcity of foodstuffs, but are founded on the two following causes: The passive resistance of the agrarian population to the regulations of the Food Administration and the faulty and senseless organization of the Food Administration itself."

PRICES OF HORSE MEAT

The prices of horseflesh for food in September, 1917, were quoted in the Volksblatt of Vienna as follows:

Parts of Horse.	Cents per Pound.
Forequarter	41.3
Hindquarter	51.7
Roast pieces, sirloin, loin, haunch	59.9
All other cuts	41.3
Horst tongue	32.2
Horse lung, raw	9.1
Horse lung, cooked	10.9
Horse liver, heart, brains, or kidney	15.0
Horse sausage	42.2
Horse fat	59.9

The retail price fixed for eggs at the same time was 7.2 cents each for Russian-Polish eggs and 9.8 cents each for Hungarian eggs.

The Vienna Fremdenblatt of Oct. 10, 1917, stated that Vienna's milk supply, which in peace times was 951,000 quarts a day, had fallen to 211,340 quarts a day. This was explained by the slaughter of cows for lack of fodder.

Highest retail prices for vegetables in Vienna on Sept. 29 were reported in Die Zeit of that date as follows:

	Cents per Pound.
French and butter beans	20.7
Pumpkins	10.1
Cucumbers	5.9
Viennese onions	17.0
Native onions	22.5
Garlic	25.8
Red cabbage	15.1
Leaf spinach	8.5
Stalk spinach	6.6
Brussels sprouts	21.2
Green cabbage	14.2

	Cents Each.
Hungarian peppers	3.0
Cooking lettuce	4.5
Cabbage lettuce	4.1
Fine crinkled lettuce	4.9
Kohlrabi	6.5
Hungarian maize in ear	5.3
Native maize in ear	5.7
Cauliflower	11.0
Large radishes	4.1
Small table radishes (per bunch)	4.9

Until the war stress became serious pumpkins were never considered fit food for humans in Austria. They were used formerly only as fodder for swine.

THE POOR IN VIENNA

Public kitchens (volksküchen) were much used in Vienna during August, 1917. With the return of cold weather, the coal shortage, and the inconvenience of waiting in line, the number of persons patronizing these kitchens was further increased. In an interview with a representative of Die Zeit, Dr. Eisler, President of the Union of Public Kitchens, expressed himself as follows:

Ninety-nine public kitchens now belong to the union, in which 49,000 persons of Vienna are fed daily. The largest of these kitchens is that attached to Krupp's Metal Works at Berndorf, feeding 7,000 persons per day. In other kitchens the number of patrons ranges from 30 to 2,200.

No fresh milk is used in the kitchens. In certain dishes for which milk is an essential ingredient only powdered milk is used; this in very limited quantities, which often run short.

Much economy has to be observed in the use of flour. The managers of the individual kitchens have no easy task in apportioning their flour quota when preparing farinaceous dishes. A weekly ration of only ¼ kilogram (.55 pound) per capita is allowed on the food cards. According to the supplies on hand, a further very limited quantity of potato flour is sometimes allowed without cards to eke out the scanty supply of grain flour.

Nothing definite can at present be stated with respect to pulse. For the period from July 22 to Oct. 1 the kitchens were assigned three wagonloads by the Provisional Government. Naturally, considering present conditions, these had to be used very sparingly. A considerable portion, too, had to be stored up.

A midday meal costs the guests from 2 to 2.30 crowns, (40.6 to 46.7 cents.) In some kitchens it is as low as 1.50 to 1.80 crowns, (30.5 to 36.5 cents.) It is doubtful whether these extraordinarily cheap prices can be maintained. For purely technical reasons, it has hitherto proved impossible to provide a cheap evening meal. People must regard the hot midday meal as their principal meal and content themselves with a cold supper.

The Hungarian Socialist paper Nepszava printed a percentage table showing the comparison of war food prices in Hungary and in England, taking as the periods for comparison the months of July, 1914, and June, 1917, for both countries:

PER CENT. OF INCREASE

	In England.	In Hungary.
Beef, ribs	96	700
Bacon	76	350
Flour	109	64
Sugar	188	65
Milk	60	180
Butter	65	200
Eggs	95	200
Potatoes	144	115

According to those figures the prices of flour, sugar, and potatoes had risen more in England than in Hungary, whereas the increases in beef, bacon, milk, butter, and eggs had been far greater in Hungary.

IN BULGARIA AND TURKEY

Bulgaria being a predominantly agricultural country, the food situation in the nation at large was by no means acute, according to the report. In the capital, Sofia, however, the population had increased to such an extent that distribution was difficult and all newcomers who had no war business to keep them in the city had been ordered to leave.

The prices of meats in Sofia last quoted were 28.9 cents a pound for lamb or kid; heads, 19 cents each, and livers, 38 cents each.

Slaughtering of pigs in Bulgaria was prohibited from Sept. 6 to Dec. 10. The weekly meat ration for Sofia, as reported in the Narodni Prava of Sept. 6, was .44 of a pound per person distributed over Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays. To supplement the meat supply there is an abundance of fish from the Danube marshes, the Lower Maritsa, and the Aegean Sea.

Milk prices fixed for Sofia on Oct. 10 were 20 cents a quart for fresh milk delivered, 24 cents for boiled milk at the

shops, and 27 cents for curdled milk. The price of butter was fixed at the same time at $1.05 per pound.

French beans were only 8.8 cents a pound in Sofia when they were selling for 20.7 in Vienna and 11 cents in Budapest. Cabbage in Sofia sold for 2.2 cents per pound when it was 15.1 cents a pound in Vienna and 7.9 a pound in Budapest. Apples were selling in Bulgaria at 9 cents a pound when the price in Germany was 14 cents.

The suffering of the people in Turkey, the report says, is not and has not been due to shortage of food crops, for the crops on the whole have been good and the acreage increased, but to the corruption and graft of officials and to the fact that Germany has taken vast quantities of Turkey's supplies away from her. But this greed of Germany to supply her own lack and the extortion of Turkish officials combined have been more than sufficient to reduce the people of that country to a far worse condition than that obtaining in any of the other Central Empires, so-called. In Germany and Austria the word starvation is still something of a figure of speech. In Turkey it is a word to be taken literally. Profiteering is unrestricted.

Bread costs eleven times as much as before the war, sesame oil more than thirteen times as much, coal eight times as much, salt eight times as much, beans and tea fifteen times as much, wood six times as much, milk five times as much. Butter at Constantinople is $2.33 a pound.

Weekly Foodstuff Rations in Twenty-four German Towns

The following table, compiled from local German papers, shows the average weekly rations of principal foodstuffs in twenty-four representative German towns during August, 1917. Blanks indicate merely that information was unobtainable:

	Bread. Lbs. Oz.	Flour. Oz.	Groats. Oz.	Fresh Meat. Oz.
Aix-la-Chapelle	3 13.7	..	3.1	6.2
Altona	3 14.8	3.1	1.8	10.1
Berlin	3 14.6	.9	.9	13.2
Charlottenburg	3 14.6	.9	2.2	13.2
Schoeneberg	3 14.6	.9	2.2	13.2
Wilhelmsdorf	..	..	1.5	13.2
Bremen	..	2.2	..	13.2
Breslau	4 2.1	..	..	13.2
Brunswick	3 8.4	..	2.6	13.2
Dresden	3 13.7	..	2.2	13.2
Duren	..	..	1.8	10.6
Duesseldorf	..	..	1.8	9.7
Frankfort-on-Main	3 13.7	1.9	2.6	10.6
Gladbach	3 9.3	..	1.8	13.2
Hamburg (urban)	3 14.1	7.4	2.4	6.2
Hamburg (rural)	3 14.0	..	.9	13.2
Hanover	3 15.5	..	4.4	12.3
Kiel	..	..	..	13.2
Krefeld	..	..	8.8	12.3
Leipsic	13.7	2.6	1.1	10.6
Magdeburg	3 15.5	..	1.1	13.2
Munich	3 13.7	..	..	13.2
Strassburg	4 3.0	..	..	11.5
Stuttgart	..	..	..	..

	Eggs. Av. No.	Butter. Oz.	Potatoes. Lbs. Oz.	Sugar. Oz.	Jam. Oz.
Aix-la-Chapelle	¼	2.2	3 4.9	6.2	3.5
Altona	1¾	2.8	6 1.0	5.7	4.2
Berlin	¼	1.8	5 8.2	..	..
Charlottenburg	¾	1.8	4 15.4	..	4.4
Schoeneberg	..	1.8	5 12.6	5.9	4.4
Wilhelmsdorf	..	1.8	4 6.5	..	8.8
Bremen	1	2.1	4 2.1	..	2.2
Breslau	¼	1.8	3 .5	..	..
Brunswick	1	2.6	5 8.2	6.6	..
Dresden	1	2.2	2 12.1	..	.9
Duren	..	1.9	4 13.7	..	5.5
Duesseldorf	½	2.2	4 15.4	..	2.2
Frankfort-on-Main	¾	1.3	2 12.1	6.2	6.6
Gladbach	½	2.4	5 3.8	6.3	..
Hamburg (urban)	½	1.1	5 8.2	5.7	4.0
Hamburg (rural)	..	..	5 2.9	7.0	..
Hanover	1	..	2 12.1	..	..
Kiel	..	..	..	..	2.2
Krefeld	½	..	4 15.4	..	1.3
Leipsic	½	2.5	..	..	2.6
Magdeburg	..	1.1	6 1.0	..	..
Munich	1	2.6	3 .5	6.6	2.2
Strassburg	1	..	5 8.2	..	..
Stuttgart	..	..	8 4.2	..	..

Rise in Food Cost in First Three Years of War

Retail prices of meats, fish, fruits, and vegetables in the markets of Leipsic for the first weeks of August, 1914 *and* 1917. *Table shows the percentages of war increases. Unless otherwise stated, the prices are per pound:*

(Source: Leipziger Volkszeitung, Leipsic, Sept. 20, 1917.)

Article.	August, 1914.	August, 1917.	P.C. Inc.
Beef, loin	$0.302	$0.751	149
Veal, leg	.215	.475	120
Pork, leg	.173	....	...
Liver pudding (leberwurst)	.151	.432	186
Blood pudding (blutwurst)	.151	.432	186
Pickled pork	.151	.345	129
Goose	.194	.918	372
Flounder	.130	.324	150
Haddock	.108	.238	120
Apples	.043	.136	215
Pears	.043	.130	200
Bilberries	.069	.108	56
Tomatoes	.043	.259	500
Rhubarb (bunch)	....	.060	...
Cauliflower (head)	.060	.190	220
Green peas	.022	.215	900
Kohlrabi (ten)	.071	.476	567

Article.	August, 1914.	August, 1917.	P.C. Inc.
Savoy (head)	.024	.119	400
Red cabbage	.060	.119	100
White cabbage	.048	.119	150
Carrots (bunch)	.024	.143	500
Radishes (each)	.012	.060	400
Cucumbers	.048	.071	50
Mushrooms	.215	.756	250
Jam, first quality	.097	.302	211
Artificial honey, in boxes	.076	.119	57
Artificial honey, loose	.076	.119	57
Syrup	.043	.076	75
Sauerkraut	.013	.035	167
Fifty per cent. coffee	....	.475	...
Twenty-five per cent. coffee	....	.302	...
Ten per cent. coffee	....	.199	...
Onions	.013	.043	233
Herrings	.048	.215	355
Bloaters (each)	.012	.214	1,700
Smoked herrings (each)	.036	.214	500

Article.	August, 1914.	August, 1917.	P.C. Inc.
Beans	.045	.093	105
Condensed milk, sweetened (can)	.131	.405	209
Eggs (each)	.017	.076	357
Soap, first quality	.155	.864	456
Butter, first quality	.259	.626	142
Wheat flour	.043	.056	30
Margarine	.181	.432	138
Limburger cheese	.108	.194	80
Lard	.194	.915	371
Wheat grits	.043	.097	125
Farinaceous food	.076	.110	46
Bread	.032	.035	7
Hulled barley	.039	.065	67
Prepared oats, loose	.076	.095	26
Prepared oats, in packages	.107	.133	24
Potato flakes	.019	.086	344
Potato starch flour	.039	.058	50
Potatoes	.006	.022	233
Salad oil	.215	.756	250

New Light on Polish History

The World War a Sequel to the American Civil War, Professor Lutoslawski's Interpretation*

THE war most similar to the present world war was the conflict of more than fifty years ago between the Northern and Southern sections of the United States of America. So says the eminent Polish philosopher, Professor Vincent Lutoslawski, in an article on the "Meaning of the World War," in the Chicago Dziennik Zwiazkowy. The Southern defenders of slavery had a better military organization than the Northerners, and in the fourth year of the war it still seemed that they would be able to gain the ascendency.

They charged the Northern industrialists with being concerned not at all for the emancipation of the negroes, but only for the hindrance of the industry of the South, which was developing, thanks to the cheap labor of the slaves. In a like manner, the Germans now are charging the English with being concerned chiefly for the ruin of German competition in industry, which rests on cheap production, due to the fewness of German strikes and the greater political dependence of the workman.

But, such charges are false. The Germans are waging the war for material gains, just as the defenders of slavery in America waged it for that object. And if the Northern States triumphed then it was because they were fighting for an ideal that exalted the spirit and the hearts, not only of the industrialists, but also of the whole people. Similarly in this war, it is a question of a great ideal—the abolition of the slavery of nations, which the Germans introduced into Europe and which they wish to maintain. The world war began with the invasion of two small countries, the German assault on Belgium and the Austrian assault on Serbia. It will be concluded with the gaining of the right for the weakest nation to live its own natural life without the need of standing in fear of violence and outrage from the strongest neighbors. Therefore, the present war is, as it were, a continuation of the American civil war. At that time it was a question of the abolition of the slavery of individuals; now, it is a question of making impossible the slavery of nations.

"During the first two years of the world war this was not realized," observes Professor Lutoslawski, "and there was proclaimed as one of the aims of the war the conquest of the whole of

*Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Waclaw Perkowski.

Poland for the Czar of Russia—the unification of Poland under one of her oppressors. This impaired the character of the world war, discredited it in the eyes of many Poles, and even led some of them to service in the ranks of Poland's worst and immemorial foes. But when the Czar fell, and when the socialism of the Muscovites manifested its military impotence, then all began to comprehend that a strong Poland is needful in Europe. This was proclaimed first by President Wilson, after him by the revolutionary Russian Government, and then by France, England, and Italy. Now the war is waged for the independence of a United Poland. This aim is recognized universally."

GAUL AND GERMANY

The present war not only constitutes the ending of the great conflicts of history, but it also decides the strifes of the Germans with their various neighbors, says this writer. Old is the rivalry between the peoples living west of the Rhine and those who had settled on the eastern bank of that river. Two thousand years ago, according to the testimony of Caesar, Gaul constituted a definite whole and reached to the Rhine. Later the land of the Celts yielded to the invasions of the Germanic Franks, and from them it received the name of France. But the Franks were absorbed by the children of the soil, and the French of today regard themselves as more Gallic than Frank. For the boundaries of the Rhine the rulers of France have carried on with their eastern neighbors an age-long contest. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon extended the limits of France to the Rhine and beyond the Rhine; but the French dominion in the Rhine provinces, though eagerly greeted by the population in those times, did not last long.

"Now France wants to regain her lost territories; and this restitution concerns not only France, but also the whole world. For if the Germans shall be able to keep their conquests, there will prevail in Europe the spirit of hate; while if the Germans shall have to return to their former boundaries, the French spirit of political freedom—a nobler spirit than the German—will have the predominating influence on the future system of the world."

SLAVONIANS AND GERMANS

The Germans and Slavs also have been carrying on a contest for 2,000 years. In olden times the seats of the Slavonians reached to the Laba (German Elbe) River, and Professor Lutoslawski recalls the fact that Dresden, Leipsic, Berlin, Rostock, Bremen, are cities founded by the Slavonians.

"Little by little the Germans, impelled by their pressure to the east, (Drang nach Osten,) seized on the Slavonic countries between the Laba and the Oder, then between the Oder and the Vistula, and now they have reached the Niemen. The Poles defeated the Germans as long ago as the reign of Miecislaus I., in the tenth century; then in the reign of Boleslaus the Valiant, who, after a conflict of many years, fixed the western boundary of Poland by the peace of Budziszyn, (Bautzen,) in 1018. Ninety years later Boleslaus III. beat the Germans on the Dogs' Field, near Breslau, (in 1109,) and reconquered Pomerania, converting the Slavonic Pomeranians to Christianity. Poland at that time bordered on Denmark. Later, the Germans again gained the ascendency; until, in 1331, Ladislaus the Ell-long routed them at Plowce, and thenceforward their pressure to the east was curbed for a time. The battle of Grünwald in 1410 and the ensuing conflicts with the Knights of the Cross, (Teutonic Knights,) waged with the participation of the Lithuanians and Ruthenians, exorcised the German danger for a long time and led to the peace of Thorn in 1466, after which the Grand Master of the Knights of the Cross became a vassal of the Polish King.

FATE OF POLISH EMPIRE

"The Poles did not at that time back King Casimir IV. in crushing the Knights of the Cross utterly, and they prepared a hard lot for themselves. The two German dynasties—the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns—prepared the downfall of Poland through their matrimonial

combinations. Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg, married Sophia, sister of Sigismund the Old, King of Poland. Frederick's son Albert, Grand Master of the Knights of the Cross, obtained Prussia in 1525 from his uncle, the King of Poland, as a secular fief. In this way, by obtaining the hand of a royal Princess of Poland, the Brandenburger possessed himself of territory that he could not have gained by arms. It reached to the heart of Poland. In a similar way, the Hapsburgs obtained from the Jagiellons Bohemia and Hungary. In these countries there reigned Ladislaus of the Polish dynasty of Jagiellons; and with him Emperor Maximilian in 1515 concluded a special agreement in Vienna betrothing—subject to later choice—his two grandsons to Anna, the daughter of Ladislaus. When Louis, the son of Ladislaus and his successor on the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, fell at Mohacs, in 1526, in defense of the freedom of the peoples of Europe against the Turkish invasion, Ferdinand of Austria, the husband of Anna, King Louis's sister, seized Bohemia and Hungary.

POLES UNDER TEUTONIC RULE

"In this way, the German dynasties, when they could not conquer Poland by arms, lessened the heritage of the Jagiellons through marriages with Polish Princesses. From that time the Prusso-Austrian intrigue for 250 years was preparing the downfall of Poland by artifice and treachery, rather than by military force; until by the partitions of Poland it annihilated the hearthstone of Slavonic freedom in the East, and by making a perverse German woman, Sophia von Anhalt-Zerbst, (the widow of Czar Peter von Holstein-Gottorp,) the Czarina of Muscovy under the name of Catherine II., it opened for itself the road to Asia.

"The cause of the Slavonians seemed lost forever. The most ancient Slavonic people, the Poles, was brought under the yoke of Prussia, of Muscovy ruled by Germans, and of Austria, oppressor of other Western Slavonians. The Muscovites, being not Slavonians themselves, but a Turanian people that had adopted the Slavonic tongue from its Princes and priests, joined with the Germans to obliterate the traces of the existence of Poland.

"But this world war, discrediting Czarism and then the Russian Republic also in the sight of Europe, has evinced how needful is a strong Poland for the guarding of the world against the rapacity of the Germans. This war is the reprisal of the Slavonians; and one of its aims is the repulsion of the German wave pressing to the East, the deliverance of Bohemia, Serbia, and Poland —the three principal Slavonic nations— from the yoke of the German dynasties."

POLAND AND MUSCOVY

Besides their struggle with the Germans, the Poles for centuries protected Europe from the Turanian invaders— the Turks, Tartars, and Muscovites. When Muscovy passed under the dominion of the Germans, with the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty of Czars, the conflict of Poland with Muscovy became an episode of the general contest with the Germans. In these two neighboring countries—Poland and Russia—we see two worlds, different and diametrically opposite, says Professor Lutoslawski. The revolts of Poland after the partitions were directed chiefly against Muscovy. But the world war closes this struggle and reconciles Poland with Muscovy, just as it unites France and England, although those two neighbors likewise carried on age-long contests with each other.

"There has been accomplished the prediction of the Polish poet, Mickiewicz, which, in his 'Ancestors,' he puts in the mouth of the Priest Peter: 'The worst, the most barbarous, of the executioners has become a convert, and God will pardon him.' The Muscovites, since the banishment of the German dynasty of Czars, are renouncing their conquests; they do not want even Constantinople, which their rulers had coveted for centuries. The Muscovite State is splitting up of itself— it is losing Finland, Poland, Ukrainia, and the Caucasus, and it will probably lose Siberia also. So there is no one there with whom the Poles need to fight. Poland will manage herself at home in the Polish way, and the Muscovites will govern their country in their own way.

Shortly it will appear with whom the Ruthenians will hold more closely."

The Poles and Muscovites have struggled for centuries for Ruthenia. A great part of Ruthenia manifested its solidarity with the Polish Nation by its participation in all the Polish revolts against the Czars in 1794, 1830, 1863, and 1905. The natural eastern frontier of Poland is the Dnieper, as that of France is the Rhine. German intrigue has excited the Ruthenians against the Poles, in order to dominate them more easily. However, when the Ruthenians are free they will feel the need of reunion with Poland, with which they have been united for more than 500 years. Then the age-long contest between the Poles and Russians will be terminated, and the Russians will have a vast field of expansion in Asia, where no one will dream of competition with them, except the Japanese.

DOWNFALL OF AUSTRIA

The present war, the writer continues, is also the end of the struggles waged by subjugated nations against the iniquitous rule of the Hapsburgs. The Italians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Croatians, Slovenians, Rumanians, are freeing themselves and are throwing off the yoke. The Hapsburgs are retaining only their German subjects. This is a conflict of the dynastic principle with the principle of the freedom of nations—a definitive retaliation for the crafty seizure of Bohemia and Hungary and for the participation in the partitions of Poland.

"This perverse, cruel dynasty must fall, and every nation oppressed by it will obtain independence," says Professor Lutoslawski in conclusion. "The world war is a war against the Asiatic principle of dynastic rule, which was introduced into Europe by the Germanic peoples, (or Indo-Germans, as they call themselves;) while the Celts, the Slavonians, the Romans, and the Greeks elected their chiefs for themselves. Austria is the work of the oldest and most perverse German dynasty, which has most cruelly oppressed the peoples subject to it, and which, by the seizure of Bohemia and Hungary from the Jagiellons, prepared the downfall of Poland. One of the results of the war must be the downfall of Austria for the security of national liberty in Central Europe."

Regarding the process that changed the original Turanians into "Slavonians," the author says they completed this process toward the end of the eighteenth century by changing their ancient name of Muscovites to that of Russians, so that they could justify their pretensions to Rus, (Ruthenia,) the province of Poland inhabited by the Ruthenians, a Slavonic people. This province, united with Poland since the fourteenth century, comprised—to use the nomenclature introduced into geography by anti-Polish statesmen and historians—Black Russia, [the present Governments of Grodno and Minsk;] White Russia, [the Governments of Mohilev and Vitebsk;] Little Russia, [the Governments of Kiev, Czernichov, Poltava, and Charkov,] all under Russian dominion, and Red Russia, [Galicia, which is under Austrian dominion.] The old truth about the Turanian origin and character of the Muscovites was recalled in the works of Francis Duchinski, a Polish writer, especially in his "Nécessité des reformes dans l'historie des peuples Aryans, Européens et Tourans," Paris, 1864, and by the Frenchman Henry Martin in his "La Russie et l'Europe," Paris, 1867. These works should be read, says Professor Lutoslawski, by all that wish to understand the present situation of Europe and especially the barrenness of the Russian revolution, accomplished mainly by foreign elements.

A characteristic mark of the history of Poland is the situation of the Poles between two denationalized peoples—on the east denationalized Turanians, called Muscovites; on the west denationalized Slavonians, called Prussians. The Prussians are renegade Slavonians—Slavonians that remained in their country between the Elb and the Oder after its subjugation by the Germans and became Germanized and adopted the name of the Lithuanian tribe that was exterminated by the Knights of the Cross; while those Slavonians who did not want to endure the German rule removed to Poland and became Poles.

Serbia's History in the Light of the War

By Woislav M. Petrovitch

Author of "Serbia: Her People, History, and Aspirations," &c., Former Attaché to the Royal Serbian Legation to the Court of St. James's

OUR American friends had hardly learned the name and spelling of "Serbia," as the correct substitute for the superannuated solecism, "Servia," when lo! we brought before them a new appellation, "Jugoslavia." In a footnote of my work, "Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians," I explained the paramount significance of that "b" and the falsehood of the "v," and the suggestion was readily accepted both in Great Britain and this country, while an imperial ukase was necessary for the change of St. Petersburg to Petrograd. And now that we have advanced the name "Jugoslavia," I must explain that this word is combined from "Jug" (meaning in Serbian *South*) and "Slavia," (meaning *Slavdom,*) being a collective appellation of all Serbian-speaking lands, namely, Serbia, Montenegro, the greater part of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Batchka, Banat, Syrmia, Carniola, Carinthia, Croatia, Slavonia, and part of Istria. Owing to the territorial situation and foreign influences there appear three names for one and the same people in those provinces, but all the three groups —Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians (or Slovenes)—speak the same language, with only slight dialectic differences, (what language has not its own?) again largely due to foreign influences. As for religions, the Serbians mostly profess the Eastern Orthodox, while Croatians and Slovenians adhere to the Roman Catholic faith.

The entire history of the Serbians is a tragedy. Before the great migration of peoples the Serbians are supposed to have lived in Galicia, whence, in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, they descended to the shores of the Black Sea and moved westward along the northern bank of the Danube, and, crossing the river, settled mostly in the territories which they inhabit at the present time. The Emperor of Byzantium, Heraclius, (610-641,) unable to oppose an effective resistance, ceded to the Serbians all the provinces thereto inhabited by the Latins, Illyrians, Thracians, Greeks, and Pelasgi.

The pagan and uncultured Serbians came now into constant intercourse with the civilized Byzantines, and gradually were converted to Christianity, especially (during the ninth century) by the so-called Slav apostles, Kyrillus and Methodius. As the Serbians were divided into many tribes, antagonistic to one another, they became, naturally, an easy prey to the repeated attacks of the Byzantines and Fino-Bulgars, though they were never completely subjugated. Several attempts were made by their Zhupans (Counts) to effect a union of the many tribes and to form a powerful State, but it was only in the course of the twelfth century that the Grand Zhupan Stephan Nemanja succeeded in uniting under his sceptre and in freeing from the Byzantine suzerainty all the Serbian lands, Rashka, Zeta, Trebinje, Hum, Scutari, Cattaro, &c., placing Ban Kulin, an ally, upon the throne of Bosnia.

Nemanja strengthened the Orthodox religion in his State by building numerous churches and monasteries (especially Hilendar, or Vilindar, at Mount Athos) and by banishing from his country the heretic Bogumils, who settled in Bosnia. He abdicated (1196) in favor of his able son, Stefan, who was the first crowned King of Serbia. But Nemanja's eldest son, Vukan, as the rightful heir to the throne, fiercely antagonized his brother Stefan by using the influence of Hungary and the Popes, who wished to spread

Catholicism in Serbia and put an end to the Bogumil sect in Bosnia. When the Crusaders vanquished Constantinople, St. Sava, Nemanja's youngest son, succeeded in emancipating the Serbian Church from the influence of the Patriarchate of Constatinople and in securing a complete autonomy, (1219,) becoming himself the first Serbian Archbishop.

King Stefan Prvoventchani (i. e., the first crowned) was succeeded by his worthless son, Radoslav, (1227-1233,) and there followed a century and a half of dynastic wars and general confusion, until the tottering Serbian State was finally overrun, after the memorable battle of Kossovo, (1389,) by the growing power of the Turk. One after the other all the other Balkan provinces fell before the Ottoman invasion, and a horrible epoch of bondage and slavery advened for the Balkan Christians, which lasted for more than four centuries.

THROWING OFF THE TURKISH YOKE

But when the Turkish rule became quite unendurable a Serbian soil-tiller, Kara-George Petrovitch, started a revolution, (in 1804,) at first only with his four armed servants, but in the course of the two following years he succeeded in forming an army of about 80,000, with which he defeated in a series of battles the imperial Ottoman armies and freed the greater part of Serbia along the banks of the Danube and the Morava. However, the Turks profited by the engagement of Europe, and more especially of Russia in the struggle with Napoleon, and sent large armies against Serbia in three different directions. These again conquered the country.

Kara George left Serbia in 1813 to seek aid, first in Austria and later in Russia. In his absence Milosh Obrenovitch, one of Kara George's lieutenants, made a fresh attempt to liberate the Serbian people from the Turkish yoke, and in 1815 he was successful in re-establishing the autonomy of the Pashalik of Belgrade. During the progress of his operations Kara George, who had made an alliance with the Greeks and the Rumanians for joint action against the Turks, returned to Serbia, but was cruelly assassinated at Smederevo (1817) by order of Milosh, who then proclaimed himself hereditary Prince of Serbia and was approved as such by the Sublime Porte. While very wise in home affairs, Milosh openly opposed himself to Russian influence in Serbia and incurred the bitter hostility of that power, which forced him to abdicate in 1839 in favor of his son, Michailo.

This young Prince was a very subtle diplomat with the Turks, from whom he rescued and annexed to his independent State several important Serbian towns without shedding a drop of blood. He was banished in 1842 and was succeeded by Alexander Kara-Georgevitch, (1842-1860,) son of Kara-George Petrovitch. Under the prudent though meek rule of that Prince Serbia obtained a modern Constitution, but an unfortunate foreign policy and the corruption of the Serbian statesmen forced him to abdicate and leave the country. The Skupshtina (National Assembly) restored Milosh in 1860, but he died in that same year and was succeeded again by his son, Michailo, (1860-1868,) who was most cruelly assassinated at Toptchider, near Belgrade. As his only successor, Milan, was not of age, a regency of three (Blaznavatz, Gavrilovitch, and Ristitch) was appointed, and they secured from the Porte an acknowledgment of the young Prince as hereditary ruler and framed (in 1869) a Constitution which gave some satisfaction to the conflicting political parties.

SERBIA WINS INDEPENDENCE

When Prince Milan Obrenovitch attained his majority he ascended the throne in 1872 and soon precipitated a war against the Turks, (1876-1878,) which resulted in annexation to Serbia of a few new districts. The Treaty of Berlin acknowledged Serbian independence, and in 1882 the principality of Serbia was proclaimed a kingdom. The unfortunate war against the Bulgarians, which was instigated by Austria, forced Milan to abdicate in favor of his 12-year-old son, Alexander, during whose minority the executive power was delegated to a regency under the leadership

VISCOUNT KIKUJIRO ISHII

The new Japanese Ambassador to the United States. He visited America in 1917 and concluded the Ishii-Lansing Agreement in regard to China

(Photo Paul Thompson)

VISCOUNT MOTONO

The Japanese Foreign Minister, who, with Premier Terauchi, conducted the negotiations leading to Japan's occupation of Siberia

of Ristitch. At the age of 16 Alexander deposed the regency by a well-premeditated and clever—though not honorable—coup d'état, (1893,) and in the following year he abrogated the Constitution of 1888 and restored that of 1869. In 1900, to the consternation of his friends, he married his former maîtresse, Draga Mashin, under whose influence he entered upon a period of tyranny almost Neronian in type, thus alienating his people and his friends and playing into the hands of his own enemies, who finally murdered him in 1903.

The National Skupshtina immediately elected to the throne Prince Peter Kara-Georgevitch, the grandson of Kara George, who had spent a long life in exile and whose rule will mark the most important epoch in the entire history of Serbia and other Southern Slavonic provinces. Strictly constitutional, he gave carte blanche to his Cabinet, headed most of the time by Nicholas Pashitch, whom Serbia has to thank for averting war with Austria on more than one occasion. With the growth of trade and industry, for which Pashitch established a new and solid basis, Serbia's position of complete economic dependence on the openly hostile or extortionate markets of Austria-Hungary became more and more impossible, and, in order to obtain some relief from this thralldom, Pashitch concluded in 1906 a customs treaty with Bulgaria. To this Austria replied by a war of tariffs, the so-called "Pig War," swine remaining to this day one of the most important items of Serbia's export trade. The resulting economic crisis, which, however, was soon overcome by new routes to Egypt, France, and England, greatly embittered the Serbian peasantry against Austria-Hungary and indirectly led to a closer rapprochement with Russia.

HOSTILITY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Still more hostile was the Dual Monarchy when she clearly saw that her policy of impoverishing her neighbors, for the purpose of crushing them with more ease, proved futile, as Serbia revised the old and concluded new treaties of commerce with almost all European countries and showed herself to be a fully grown member of the family of nations. Profiting by the disorder caused in Turkey by the Young Turks, and bitterly opposed to the just aspirations of the Southern Slavs toward a union, Austria threw a bombshell among the European powers signatory of the Treaty of Berlin by annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina, which provinces of the Ottoman Empire she had administered for thirty years.

Serbia was in no mood to acquiesce, for all the Jugoslav provinces, notably Bosnia-Herzegovina, were conscious of their fundamental unity of race, language, and hopes with the Serbians and were looking to the free Kingdom of Serbia to lead them all toward independence as Piedmont had led the other Italian States in 1860. In the Balplatz the "chastising of Serbia" was even then openly discussed, and the casus belli was found in the forged reports of the notorious Count Forgach, then Austrian Minister in Belgrade. Russia was unprepared for war, and the pacific Pashitch found means to quiet warlike spirits in Serbia. An armed conflict was avoided then, but it was obvious that it was coming.

In the meantime the attention of all the Balkan States was directed to Macedonia, for under the Young Turkish régime things went from bad to worse, and the scandalous manner in which their authorities, aided by the criminal Bulgarian comitadji, were disarming the Christian population, excited Serbia and Greece to the highest degree.

BALKAN LEAGUE FORCES WAR

In July, 1912, the troubles of Turkey, already involved in war with Italy, were increased by a fierce rising of the Albanians. It was then that Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and later Greece, formed a league, known as the Balkan Alliance, and delivered to the Sublime Porte an ultimatum embodying the demand that autonomy should be granted to the European provinces under Ottoman rule. At the same time, on Sept. 30, 1912, they began to mobilize their forces. Turkey replied with similar measures. The powers at once made an ineffective attempt to intervene and urged patience on the Balkan Alliance, while a joint note

was presented to the Porte inviting the immediate discussion of reforms in Macedonia. But the Balkan allies, having determined not to be played with any longer, pushed events beyond the control of diplomacy, and, on Sept. 17, 1912, Turkey declared war on the allies. This event set the first spark to the world's powder magazine.

The Serbian forces totaled 333,000 men and were divided into four armies. While the first three armies were directed toward Skoplje (Uskub) the fourth was detailed to clear the Turks out of the Sanjak of Novibazar and to proceed to the assistance of Montenegro. The dominant battle of the entire campaign, in which the Ottoman forces were utterly crushed and the entire régime demoralized, took place on the field of Kumanovo before Uskub. In Albania the Serbians and the Montenegrins took Ljesh (Alessio) and Dratch, (Durazzo,) and in Macedonia the Serbian troops were successful in every battle, notably in those for Prilip, the birthplace of Serbia's national hero, Kraljevitch Marko, and Bitolj, (Monastir,) while the Bulgarians invested Adrianople, which finally fell into the hands of the allies, thanks to the powerful help (50,000 men and 104 siege guns) rendered by the Serbians, which was beyond the stipulations of the treaty.

UNJUST DIVISION OF TERRITORY

The London conference, hard pressed by the Austro-German menace, improvised, to suit the Teutons, a new political State (which had never in history existed as such) under the name of Albania. The Montenegrins were ordered by the powers of Europe to quit Scutari, and the Serbians to evacuate the dearly bought ports in the Adriatic, allowing to the latter only a commercial route to that sea. The results of the campaign had exceeded all the expectations of the Balkan allies, and the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty, having dealt exclusively with the question of Macedonia, had not foreseen the conquest of Thrace and Albania.

By that treaty the Bulgarians had bound themselves to help Serbia with 200,000 men in case of an Austrian attack, but that aid was not needed or given; on the contrary, it was Serbia who assisted Bulgaria to secure Adrianople and Thrace, and who, in order to preserve the peace of Europe, abandoned Albania and her ports. The necessity for a revision of that treaty, therefore, was strongly felt, but Bulgaria absolutely refused to entertain the suggestion, exacting from Serbia the abandonment of the southern part of Macedonia as far as Monastir and the lakes, which had fallen to the Serbian arms, and demanding possession of Saloniki, which had been conquered by the Greeks. The Bulgarian Government even refused to submit, in accordance with the third article of the Secret Appendix of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance of 1912, the case for a final decision to Russia, but ordered a secret advance in the vile effort to murder in their sleep the Serbian armies on the night of June 29, 1913. But the ingenious Serbian General Putnik utterly routed the Bulgarian forces in the memorable battle of Bregalnitza. The Greeks also defeated the Bulgarian forces at Kilkich and Lahana, and finally the Rumanians made a parade-march, without firing a single shot, into the Bulgarian province of Dobrudja.

By the peace that was concluded in Bucharest, Serbia shared the Sanjak with Montenegro and retained Macedonia north of the Ochrida-Dorian line, with the promise of a railway outlet to the Adriatic. Civil rule and autonomy in local administration were granted to the Macedonian provinces by Pashitch. Having settled this point in a broad and generous spirit, Serbia gladly hung up her sword and prepared for a period of peace and recuperation.

But the defeat of the Sultan's forces in all parts of European Turkey had been a tremendous blow to Austria-Hungary, and still more to Germany, whose officers had reorganized and trained the Turkish Army, and who, for the success of her schemes of expansion in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, depended on her ascendency in Constantinople. The defeat of Bulgaria, the Greek occupation of Saloniki—the possession of which was the ultimate aim of Austria—and the increased power of Serbia, the friend of Russia and the

apostle of South Slavic emancipation, constituted for the Teutons a still greater catastrophe.

GERMAN PLANS FRUSTRATED

Only prompt action could retrieve such a miscarrying of the Austro-German plans, and it is not surprising to hear that *already in the Summer of* 1913 *Austria was bent on declaring war on Serbia, and, massing secretly a huge army along the banks of the Danube and the Save,* she endeavored to secure the support of Italy. As this support was not forthcoming, action was deferred for the moment; but a large army bill was introduced in Germany to redress the balance of power and make ready for any eventuality.

Such was the position when on June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his consort were murdered under mysterious circumstances in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by two fanatic malcontents who were natives of Bosnia and Austrian subjects. Some hold that the perpetrators were in the pay of Belgrade, and others that the plan of the assassination was made in the Imperial Court in Vienna. On July 23 the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade handed to Pashitch a note to which a conciliatory answer was neither expected nor wanted, and which was regarded by the European powers as an impossible ultimatum, charging Serbia with fomenting a revolutionary propaganda within the territory of the Dual Monarchy. It was asserted, though no proof was given, that the Serajevo assassinations were planned, and the murderers even equipped with bombs, in Belgrade.

Among other unacceptable demands the Austro-Hungarian Government called upon the Serbian Government (Paragraph 4) "to remove from the army and the civil service a number of officers and officials guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda, whose names would be communicated by the Austrian Government"; furthermore, (Paragraph 6,) "to institute a judicial inquiry with regard to the accomplices in the plot of June 28, residing in Serbian territory, Austro-Hungarian delegates to take part in this investigation," &c. The French and the British Ambassadors and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires expressed indignation at the form, contents, and time limit (48 hours) of that note, and declared it to be unacceptable by any sovereign State in the world.

The Serbian Government unreservedly accepted all the demands of Austria-Hungary, except Paragraphs 5 and 6, and promised to revise those articles of the Serbian Constitution which stood in the way of these demands; at the same time it declared its readiness to refer any point either to The Hague Tribunal or to the powers that had taken part in the settlement of the controversy concerning the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Refusing the Serbian answer, the Austro-Hungarian Government declared war on Serbia July 28, 1914, and followed the act with a desultory bombardment of the defenseless City of Belgrade.

In spite of the assurances of the German Ambassador in Vienna that Russia, being unprepared, would remain passive, and that the war on Serbia would be a mere "punitive expedition," which would be ended before the powers could intervene, Austria awoke to the startling fact that Russia was beginning to move. On July 31 Vienna consented to eliminate from the ultimatum those demands which involved the violation of the sovereignty of Serbia. It was too late. Germany, having jockeyed Austria into a position from which there was no escape, declared war on Russia the next day.

SERBIA REPELS INVASION

The Serbian Army was entirely unprepared for this war, for little or none of the wastage in the Balkan wars had as yet been made good, and the orders placed abroad for cannon, rifles, munitions, clothes, and stores had not yet been filled. However, not before Aug. 12 did the Austro-Hungarian troops (80,000 strong) make a definite invasion at Loznitza and Leshnitza, but Voivoda Putnik met them in the Tzer Mountains and routed them completely at Belikamen. Aug. 19 was the decisive day of the struggle, and by the 23d the Serbian

armies hurled what was left of the Austrians, after the battle of Jadar, back across the Drina River. As a result of their attempt to "chastise" Serbia the Austrians had lost 8,000 dead, 4,000 prisoners, and about 30,000 wounded.

The cruelties which the Magyars and other Austrians committed on the noncombatant population in Serbia in this and their subsequent retreats are beyond description. Their shameful and vile treatment of the Serbian women can only be hinted at here; the final act of murder was regarded as a crowning mercy. This will undoubtedly form the blackest page of shame in the entire history of mankind.

Having made good their losses, the Austrians advanced again with a fresh army of 250 battalions of infantry and numerous guns, and took Suvobor Mountain by surprise. Retreat on the part of the Serbians was imperative on account of the lack of munitions, for there were whole batteries of guns which were reduced to six rounds apiece. But when the long-expected ammunition arrived, about Dec. 23, the Serbians rapidly retook the line Lazarevatz-Valjevo-Uzhitze, and the enemy was hurled back across the Drina in the greatest disorder. Belgrade, which had been evacuated by the Serbians, soon fell a victim to the violent artillery fire from the surrounding hills. The Austrians left behind in Serbia 40,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns, together with the transports and stores of a vast army.

Almost the whole of the next year passed in comparative quietness. This gave a chance to the Serbians to make good their own losses and to rest for fresh struggles.

THE ENTENTE'S FATAL ERROR

After having sustained such heavy losses without achieving any results, Austria-Hungary stood for a long time pondering a fresh manner of "chastising" Serbia, but she realized that only with an army of close on half a million men could she hope to effect her presumptive plan. The Serbian General Staff was well aware of the fact that Austria would gravely compromise her military operations in Galicia if she were to detach from that front such a considerable force, and, upon the receipt of information from Pashitch to the effect that the Bulgarians were eagerly making preparations for war, kept a watchful eye on the southern frontiers.

The Entente diplomats in Sofia, incredible as it may seem, failed to discover what was going on before their very eyes, and misinformed their respective Governments of certain possibilities for the formation of a new Balkan alliance. But Pashitch knew better. Accordingly, he informed Sir Edward Grey of the great danger of a Bulgarian surprise attack on the Serbian rear, and, so we are informed, a free and timely action of the Serbian forces against the Bulgarians was then urgently demanded. But the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was firmly convinced that the Bulgarians were preparing for a joint action with other Balkan powers against the Teutons, for he did not know that a secret treaty of alliance together with a military convention had been made between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria as early as 1908, on the occasion of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the declaration of Bulgarian independence. Still less did he know that, just at the time when Pashitch informed him of the Bulgarian duplicity, this Austro-Bulgarian treaty was being renewed and amended.

Had Serbia been allowed then to attack Bulgaria single-handed the Balkan situation would today be different from what it is. But Germany, intoxicated with Hindenburg's success in Russia during the Summer of 1915, turned all her attention to the important Balkan front, and, realizing the absolute incompetence of the Austro-Hungarian armies to achieve any results against the tough Serbians, dispatched one of her best Generals, Mackensen, at the head of a huge army, which opened, on Sept. 19, a fierce bombardment of the Serbian front, outranging the Serbian best artillery by several miles.

This was a signal for Bulgaria to stab Serbia in the back. Already in deadly grips on the north and fully realizing now the true objective of the Bulgarian mobili-

SERBIA IN ITS RELATION TO SURROUNDING STATES. THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE SOUTH SLAVIC PEOPLES WHO DESIRE TO UNITE, FORMING THE NEW STATE OF JUGOSLAVIA

zation, the Serbian General Staff saw itself in a dangerous position; for the Bulgar armies were threatening to cut off Serbia's only artery—the Nish-Saloniki railway line. Accordingly Voivoda Putnik decided upon a prompt and energetic drive to the southern front; if not to defeat the well-rested and equipped Bulgarian armies, then at least to hamper and delay their advance until the long-promised relief should come from Britain, France, and Russia. To oppose the combined Austro-German forces, consisting of 164 battalions, Putnik could not afford to concentrate more than 116 battalions, composed partly of the third ban.

After seven days (from Oct. 6 to 13) of bloody battles which took place at Belgrade, Semendria, Obrenovatz, and Ostruzhnitza, and in which the enemy suffered enormous losses, the Bulgarian forces, consisting of 176 battalions of infantry, hurriedly began their favorite tactics of stabbing in the back. In this supreme moment Putnik met on the banks of the River Timok with only seventy-eight battalions the overwhelming Bulgarian forces, and offered such a stubborn resistance that for twelve days (Oct. 13-24 inclusive) the Bulgarians advanced only by steps, paying for each step with the bloodiest losses ever known, so that, at the time when the Germans penetrated quite deeply to the south, and when an immediate evacuation of Negotin, Zayetchar, and Kniazhevatz became absolutely imperative, the Serbians and the Bulgarians had well-nigh equal forces.

THE DEFENDERS OVERWHELMED

Partly because the plans of the Serbian General Staff had been seriously affected by the promised but never forthcoming help from Saloniki and by the betrayal of Serbia's ally, Greece, and partly because the German advance became altogether irresistible, the main Serbian forces began beating a retreat toward Kossovo Polje. A detachment of those armies offered a desperate battle to the Bulgarians at the romantic Pass Katchanik, in which the outnumbering Bulgarian forces were all but crushed. However, the Serbian armies, too, suffered considerable losses and soon were reduced to one against ten. It was on the memorable field of Kossovo (where the Serbians had lost their empire in a bloody battle against the Turks in 1389) that they realized that history was repeating itself and that their doom was once more sealed.

The Serbians had to choose between a shameful separate peace and a monstrous retreat through the almost impenetrable Albanian mountains toward Scutari and Durazzo. They decided for the latter. This, however, could not be called the retreat of an army, but the last act of a tragedy involving a whole nation of honest and brave soil tillers. Heavy pieces of artillery were hurled down precipices from the mountain summits, other war material was destroyed, and the exodus of the people began amid indescribable horrors. There were absolutely no supplies. Only a few Serbians reached the Albanian ports, where British ships, loaded with conserved food, were awaiting them. Those who ate of the food naturally did so in a voracious manner, and, after such opulent meals, exhausted as they were, they went to sleep, but never to wake again. But the Serbian spirit was not crushed. Those who traversed the Adriatic to the Greek island of Corfu held high the national flags and the Serbian honor enveloped in them.

Many thousands of Serbian noncombatants took refuge in Greece; thence they were invited to France, England, and Italy. Serbian boys and girls found open doors of English and French schools in which they are preparing themselves to rebuild their devastated country and thank their hospitable hosts.

THE DECLARATION OF CORFU

The Serbian Government and the Skupshtina settled in Corfu and the Jugoslav Committee, consisting of Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian refugees, transferred its headquarters from Rome to London. On July 20, 1917, Mr. Pashitch, as the Premier of Serbia, and Mr. Trumbitch, as the President of the Jugoslav Committee, signed a document known as the "Declaration of Corfu," which was published in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for September, 1917, and whose first and last paragraphs are as follows:

1. The State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known by the name of Southern Slavs or Jugoslavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with an indivisible territory and unity of power. This State will be a constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary monarchy, with the Kara-Georgevitch dynasty, which has always shared the ideals and feelings of the nation in placing above everything else the national liberty and will, at its head. * * *

13. The Constitution to be established after the conclusion of peace by the Constituent Assembly elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage will serve as a basis for the life of the State. It will be the origin and ultimate end of all the powers and all rights by which the whole national life will be regulated. The Constitution will give the people the opportunity of exercising its particular energies in local autonomies, regulated by natural, social, and economic conditions. The Constitution must be adopted in its entirety by a numerical majority of the Constituent Assembly, and all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly will not come into force until they have been sanctioned by the King. Thus the united nation of Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians will form a State of 12,000,000 inhabitants. This State will be a guarantee of their national independence and of their general national progress and civilization, and a powerful rampart against the pressure of the Germans, and an inseparable ally of all civilized peoples and States. Having proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and of international justice, it will form a worthy part of the new society of nations.

Yet the recent speeches pronounced by Lloyd George and President Wilson differ, alas! diametrically from the above declaration. Serbia's mighty allies would allow the savages in Africa to choose the sovereignty to which they wish to submit, but not the Slavs under Austria's heel!

FIGHTING FOR JUGOSLAVIA

The Jugoslav Committee has its branches in the several capitals of Serbia's allies, and they are acting in agreement with the Serbian legations. Its main purpose is to acquaint the allied Governments and peoples with the just aspirations and hopes of the Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes, who are, in true essence, one and the same people with three names.

The remnants of the Serbian Army, after having been reorganized and equipped at Corfu, went to the Saloniki front toward the end of 1916, and in cooperation with the allied armies there took by storm the City of Bitol (Monastir) and the whole district surrounding

it. This victory cost the Serbians many thousands of lives, but it secured for them a nucleus for their future independent state. The Serbian officers displayed especially a reckless bravery, but many hundreds of them perished—the present writer's brother, Captain Borisav M. Petrovitch, being included in the number.

In the hospitable United States there are about 700,000 Jugoslavs, and many of these have volunteered upon the invitation of Lieut. Col. Milan Pribitchevitch, whom the Serbian Government has sent here for that purpose. Many thousands have already gone to the Serbian training camps, whence they will supply the vacancies of those who fall in an eventual drive on the Balkan front.

Italy's Rescue of the Serbian Army

A Chapter in the War Record of the Italian Navy

[Semi-official narrative, translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the Italian]

MR. BALFOUR said in the House of Commons on Feb. 23, 1916: "The best proof of the success of the maritime operations of the Allies in the Mediterranean is furnished by the transporting of a large army to Saloniki, the carrying of the expeditionary force to the Dardanelles, and the transporting of the Serbian Army. This success is due above all to the energetic efficiency of the Italian Navy." Mr. Balfour's statement was made on the very day of the announcement that the rescue of the shattered Serbian Army had been successfully completed by the naval forces of Italy.

The transformation of Brindisi into a military port of the first order and the creation of the naval base at Valona, on the other side of the Adriatic, afford a fair measure of the strenuous labors of those two years, thanks to which more than 300,000 persons were enabled to cross the Adriatic in safety between December, 1915, and February, 1916, notwithstanding the adverse conditions and the continuous menace of the enemy in the air and under the waves.

A brief official bulletin at that time announced that 300,000 men had been successfully transported together with an equal number of quintals [a quintal is 220 pounds] of war materials and many thousands of animals; it mentioned also a concerted movement of 100 steamships and nineteen attacks by hostile submarines. One must read between the lines to realize the enormous labor of organization and preparation that made it possible for so great an enterprise to be carried out without a single grave accident and without the loss of one Serbian soldier at sea.

BALKAN FOOD CRISIS

It is not generally known that the Italian Navy's great work of assistance to the Serbian Army began when, under the pressure of Mackensen's devastating forces, the last divisions of King Peter in their retreat drove toward the Albanian coast the Austrian prisoners they had captured in happier days; and that even then for many months the Serbo-Montenegrin Army had owed its supplies of food and materials to the ability, tenacity, and enthusiasm of Italian sailors.

By the end of October, 1915, the food crisis in Serbia and Montenegro had become so grave as to cause serious concern to the Entente Powers. France, England, and Italy undertook to supply those countries with a large quantity of foodstuffs, and upon the Italian Navy devolved the whole task of transporting these supplies to the Montenegrin and Albanian coasts.

The Austro-Bulgarian-German campaign against Serbia and the successive invasions of Serbian and Montenegrin territory caused a material change in the military situation in the Adriatic. Effective resistance by the Serbian Army in Albania was seen to be impossible, and it became imperatively neces-

sary to do something to save that army from being surrounded and captured. To France and Great Britain fell the task of preventing the enemy from reaching the Aegean Sea at Saloniki; to Italy that of preventing Austria from seizing Valona, (or Avlona,) the key of the Adriatic. Saloniki and Valona, indeed, were to constitute the two jaws of the pincers that gripped and held the invading Teutonic armies, the two keys to the future safety of the Balkans.

SCENE OF ITALY'S CHIEF NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE ADRIATIC AND ALONG THE ALBANIAN COAST

Italy thus found herself unexpectedly compelled to extend her modest occupation of Valona into a great military movement on the further shore of the Adriatic, engrossing the energies of the greater part of her naval forces.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE TASK

Overseas operations at best are full of risks and difficulties, but these become almost insuperable in a narrow sea shaped as is the Lower Adriatic. It is usually said that the Strait of Otranto is to the Adriatic what the English Channel is to the North Sea; but if England met with difficulties and sacrifices in transporting her army to France, the Italian Navy, in transporting the Italian Army to Valona, encountered still graver obstacles. While the English Channel at its narrowest has only twenty-four miles of comparatively shallow water, the Strait of Otranto has forty miles that must be guarded, with water 3,000 feet deep, in which the methods employed in the English Channel cannot be used. To this must be added the nearness of the Austrian naval base at Cattaro and the menace of the further shore as a lurking place and supply station for enemy submarines. Furthermore, while the British debark in ports and territory prepared for war, where they can find all the facilities necessary for an overseas force, the Italians had to create everything de novo at the place of debarkation.

The first necessity, in fact, was to establish a real naval base at Valona. The world knows little of the incessant and feverish yet orderly labor which the Italian Navy has devoted to that task. * * * In the new whirlpool of life which the war has set in motion at Valona the Albanian population today takes its part, aroused out of its indolence and lethargy. The hygienic regeneration of the country is now almost completed—a marvelous work of Italian betterment, for which much of the credit belongs to the Sanitary Mission of the Italian Navy, which, landing at Valona on Oct. 30, 1914, to aid the refugees who had fled from Epirus to escape massacre at the

hands of Greek bands, was destined later to relieve so much suffering and heal so many wounds during the Serbian tragedy.

THE FIRST UNFORTUNATES

When the navy was still in the midst of its feverish preparations against enemy attacks from sky and sea, suddenly there arrived at the coast, from the interior of Serbia, across the Albanian Mountains, the first columns of Austrian prisoners, conducted in two directions—toward Valona and toward Durazzo. With the agony of that first pitiful vanguard there already hung over the Albanian coast the incubus of an unspeakable tragedy, one of the most frightful that history has known; and the great work of the Italian surgeons and nurses began with the succor given to the wretched enemy prisoners.

For the rescue of this first mass of unfortunates, still bleeding from their atrocious sufferings, as well as for the safety of the troops and of the Serbian refugees who were to follow, it was important that the still temporary defenses of the Bay of Durazzo should immediately be made secure. Therefore, to unify the task of the fleet, Italy undertook to send thither—along with another sanitary mission of the navy—5,000 soldiers intrusted with the protection of the Serbians' retreat.

Thus Durazzo and Valona were the points of concentration where, along with the humanitarian work for the Austrian prisoners, the embarkation of the Serbian Army took place; they were the arteries through which new blood could flow into the veins of thousands and thousands of fighters who, beaten down for the moment by the enemy's aggression, were to rise again to faith and effectiveness. Spread like a flood along the coast, exhausted and hungry, they all begged to be taken away on the Italian ships. But the vessels could not contain so great a cargo of humanity at one time, and many had to camp for days under the open sky, exposed to the cold and rain, living amid confusion of household goods, where costly fur coats and luxurious portmanteaus, now as dilapidated as a peasant's sack, rendered still sadder with their irony the memory of lost comforts. The Italian officers and sailors distributed food and clothing among these people and superintended their embarkation with tireless care, often under airplane attacks; they lighted their first fires, built their first shelters, prepared boats to carry the seriously ill to hospital ships; and from Brindisi went convoys laden with food and medicines to be exchanged later for more precious cargoes of men full of new blood and ready to fight the battles of tomorrow.

HEROIC HOSPITAL WORKERS

But very many, too many, were the sick and wounded who had to be nursed back to life and health by the heroic Italian surgeons and nurses. Owing to the great number of sufferers, the work in that first period had to be limited to their more immediate needs—washing, disinfection, medical treatment—seeking to isolate the infected in order to protect the helpers from epidemic contagion. Dysentery, typhus, and cholera, which had raged among these derelicts during their flight, threatened to spread from the Durazzo coast to Valona and thence to Brindisi.

During January and the first half of February, 1916, most of the Serbian troops gathered at Durazzo, where the Sanitary Mission of the Italian Navy, landing with the troops, attended to the first treatments and disinfection. From there the weakest and most seriously ill were embarked on the smaller hospital ships and steamers, to be carried to Valona; the stronger soldiers went to Valona on foot, making the journey by stages, and leaving those who could not endure the strain at the various rest camps and hospitals along the route, especially at the passage of the Skumbi and Semeni Rivers.

At Valona those who arrived by sea were at once transferred to large steamers, which carried them to Corfu and Biserta; the rest were brought together in the camp at Arta, on a sandy plain north of the city, the best place for isolation, with plenty of water. Here many hospital barracks had already been built, and the whole place was gradually filled with a vast encampment. At the end of

February detachments of Serbians were still arriving at Valona from Durazzo and from Elbassan, where the last rearguard had fought the enemy with its last cartridges, a desperate resistance, in which, with forty-four cannon, a few wagons, mules and horses, and a great number of sick and wounded, it had fairly surpassed itself. It was like the last wave of blood, the largest and worst. At that time there arrived at the Campo d'Arta in a few days more than 12,000 Serbians and as many horses, making the task of assistance still more arduous.

DEFINITE FIGURES

For the transport of the whole Serbian Army and of the refugees and prisoners from Durazzo and San Giovanni di Medua to Valona and to Corfu, a vast movement of steamers of every tonnage —mostly Italian ships—under the protection of cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats, and motor boats of the Italian Navy, was carried on for three successive months, principally on the triangular routes of Brindisi-Durazzo-Valona and Brindisi-Valona-Corfu.

From Dec. 12, 1915, to Feb. 22, 1916, a total of 11,651 Serbian sick, wounded, and refugees were embarked and transported to Brindisi, Lipari, Marseilles, and Biserta; 130,841 Serbian infantry soldiers to Corfu, and 4,100 to Biserta. In this work there were employed six large Italian transatlantic liners, two French auxiliary cruisers, six hospital ships, (five Italian, one French,) two small Italian ambulance ships, thirty-four medium or small sized steamers and auxiliary craft, (fifteen Italian, fifteen French, four English;) in all, twenty-eight Italian, seventeen French, and five English vessels. The voyages from San Giovanni di Medua, Durazzo, and Foci della Vojussa to Valona numbered 216, besides some directly to Corfu and others to Brindisi, Lipari, Marseilles, and Biserta. The Serbian cavalry—13,068 men and 10,153 horses—were transported from Valona to Corfu in March, 1916, by six large steamers, each making seventeen trips.

There were 22,928 Austrian prisoners, (there had been 70,000 when they started from Nish!) and the work of transporting these from Valona to the Asinara lasted from Dec. 16, 1915, to Feb. 12, 1916, and required thirteen trips of a fleet of fourteen steamers. There was a violent outbreak of cholera on the Italian steamships Re Vittorio and Cordova, each of which had on board 5,000 dead, including a large proportion of the ship's own crew.

For the victualing and care of the Serbian refugees and soldiers camped upon the Albanian coast awaiting embarkation from Jan. 19, 1915, to Feb. 22, 1916, there were employed twenty-four steamers, which made seventy-three trips and landed 22,000 tons of food, forage, and medicines.

These figures relate solely to the transport of the Serbians, and have nothing to do with the traffic to supply the navy or with the vast movement of men and materials for the Italian army of occupation in Albania, which was going on at the same time, and through the same ports.

The convoys were planned by the high command of the Italian Navy on the best modern lines. The successful transporting of the Serbians across the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, the waters most infested by Austrian submarines and German mines, was the first practical demonstration of the effectiveness of convoys against submarine attacks; this was confirmed later by the transport of the rehabilitated Serbian Army from Corfu to Saloniki, whence it went north to resume its place on the fighting front in Macedonia. The Austrian submarines made nineteen attacks in all against the convoyed fleet that carried the Serbians to Corfu, but in every case the torpedo missed its mark, and the escorting squadron of Italian warships, by going in swift pursuit with shells and bombs, prevented a renewal of the attack.

THE JERUSALEM CAMPAIGN

General Allenby's Official Account of Operations That Led to the Capture of the Holy City

General E. H. H. Allenby, commander of the Egyptian expeditionary force, submitted to the British War Secretary (Lord Derby) a dispatch published Jan. 25, 1918, *in which he described in official detail the operations which had culminated in the surrender of Jerusalem on Dec.* 9, 1917. *In the appended text, here presented in full, General Allenby describes the picturesque and brilliant campaign that crowned the two years' labors of the Egyptian column with success.*

Siege of Gaza to Fall of Jerusalem

General Headquarters,
Egyptian Expeditionary Force,
Dec. 16, 1917.

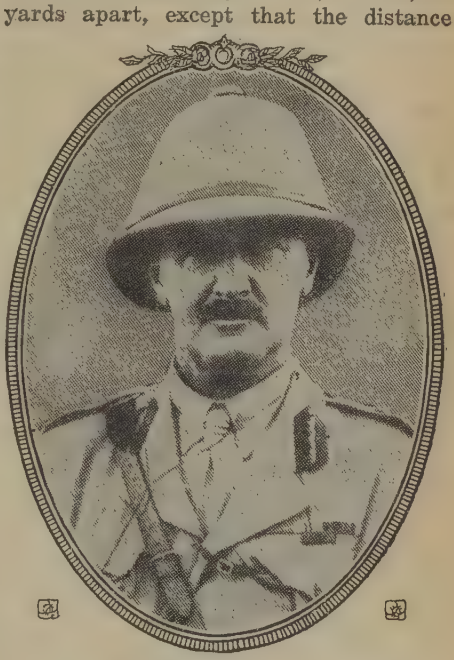
MY LORD: I have the honor to submit a report on the operations of the force serving in Egypt and Palestine since June 28, 1917, the date on which I assumed command.

1. When I took over the command of the Egyptian expeditionary force at the end of June, 1917, I had received instructions to report on the conditions in which offensive operations against the Turkish Army on the Palestine front might be undertaken in the Autumn or Winter of 1917.

After visiting the front and consulting with the commander of the eastern force, I submitted my appreciation and proposals in a telegram dispatched in the second week of July.

2. The main features of the situation on the Palestine front were then as follows:

The Turkish Army in Southern Palestine held a strong position extending from the sea at Gaza, roughly along the main Gaza-Beersheba road to Beersheba. Gaza had been made into a strong modern fortress, heavily intrenched and wired, offering every facility for protracted defense. The remainder of the enemy's line consisted of a series of strong localities, viz., the Sihan group of works, the Atawineh group, the Baha group, the Abu Hareira-Arab el Teeaha trench system, and, finally, the works covering Beersheba. These groups of works were generally from 1,500 to 2,000 yards apart, except that the distance from the Hareira group to Beersheba was about four and a half miles.



GEN. SIR EDMUND H. H. ALLENBY

The enemy's force was on a wide front, the distance from Gaza to Beersheba being about thirty miles; but his lateral communications were good, and any threatened point of the line could be very quickly reinforced.

My force was extended on a front of twenty-two miles, from the sea, opposite Gaza, to Gamli.

Owing to lack of water I was unable, without preparations which would require some considerable time, to approach within striking distance of the enemy, except in the small sector near the seacoast opposite Gaza.

Preparatory Measures

3. My proposals received the approval of the War Cabinet, and preparations were undertaken to enable the plan I had formed to be put into execution.

I had decided to strike the main blow against the left flank of the main Turkish position, Hareira and Sheria. The capture of Beersheba was a necessary preliminary to this operation, in order to secure the water supplies at that place and to give room for the deployment of the attacking force on the high ground to the north and northwest of Beersheba, from which direction I intended to atack the Hareira-Sheria line.

This front of attack was chosen for the following reasons: The enemy's works in this sector were less formidable than elsewhere, and they were easier of approach than other parts of the enemy's defenses. When Beersheba was in our hands we should have an open flank against which to operate, and I could make full use of our superiority in mounted troops; and a success here offered prospects of pursuing our advantage and forcing the enemy to abandon the rest of his fortified positions, which no other line of attack would afford.

It was important, in order to keep the enemy in doubt up to the last moment as to the real point of attack, that an attack should also be made on the enemy's right at Gaza in conjunction with the main operations. One of my commanders was therefore ordered to prepare a scheme for operations against Gaza on as large a scale as the force at his disposal would permit. I also asked the Senior Naval Officer, Egypt, Rear Admiral T. Jackson, C. B., M. V. O., to afford me naval co-operation by bombarding the Gaza defenses and the enemy's railway stations and depots north of Gaza. Rear Admiral Jackson afforded me cordial assistance, and during the period of preparation naval officers worked in the closest co-operation with my staff at General Headquarters and the staff of the G. O. C. troops operating in that region.

Difficulties to be Overcome

4. The difficulties to be overcome in the operations against Beersheba and the Sheria-Hareira line were considerable, and careful preparations and training were necessary. The chief difficulties were those of water and transport, and arrangements had to be made to insure that the troops could be kept supplied with water while operating at considerable distances from their original water base for a period which might amount to a week or more; for, though it was known that an ample supply of water existed at Beersheba, it was uncertain how quickly it could be developed or to what extent the enemy would have damaged the wells before we succeeded in occupying the town. Except at Beersheba, no large supply of water would be found till Sheria and Hareira had been captured.

The transport problem was no less difficult; there were no good roads south of the line Gaza-Beersheba, and no reliance could therefore be placed on the use of motor transport. Owing to the steep banks of many of the wadis which intersected the area of operations, the routes passable by wheeled transport were limited, and the going was heavy and difficult in many places. Practically the whole of the transport available in the force, including 30,000 pack camels, had to be allotted to one portion of the eastern force to enable it to be kept supplied with food, water, and ammunition at a distance of fifteen to twenty miles in advance of railhead. Arrangements were also made for railhead to be pushed forward as rapidly as possible toward Karm, and for a line to be laid from Gamli toward Beersheba for the transport of ammunition.

A railway line was also laid from Deir el Belah to the Wadi Ghuzze, close behind the sector held by another portion of the eastern force.

Considerable strain was thrown on the military railway from Kantara to the front during the period of preparation. In addition to the normal requirements of the force, a number of siege and heavy batteries, besides other artillery and units, had to be moved to the front, and large depots of supplies, ammunition, and other stores accumulated at the various railheads. Preparations had also to be made and the necessary material accumulated to push forward the lines from Deir el Belah and Shellal.

Enemy's Strong Position

5. During the period from July to October the enemy's force on the Palestine front had been increased. It was evident, from the arrival of these reinforcements and the construction of railway extensions from El Tine, on the Ramleh-Beersheba railway, to Deir Sineid and Beit Hanun, north of Gaza, and from Deir Sineid to Huj, and from reports of the transport of large supplies of ammunition and other stores to the Palestine front, that the enemy was determined to make every effort to maintain his position on the Gaza-Beersheba line. He had considerably strengthened his defenses on this line, and the strong localities mentioned in Paragraph 2 had, by the end of October, been joined up to form a practically continuous line from the sea to a point south of Sheria, except for a gap between Ali Muntar and the Sihan group. The defensive works round

REGION OF PALESTINE TAKEN BY GENERAL ALLENBY'S FORCES IN THE MARCH FROM GAZA TO JERUSALEM AND BEYOND

Beersheba remained a detached system, but had been improved and extended.

6. The date of the attack on Beersheba, which was to commence the operations, was fixed as Oct. 31. Work had been begun on the railway from Shellal toward Karm, and on the line from Gamli to El Buggar. The development of water at Ecani, Khalasa, and Asluj proceeded satisfactorily. These last two places were to be the starting point for the mounted force detailed to make a wide flanking movement and attack Beersheba from the east and northeast.

On the morning of Oct. 27 the Turks made a strong reconnoissance toward Karm from the direction of Kauwukah, two regiments of cavalry and two or three thousand infantry, with guns, being employed. They attacked a line of outposts near El Girheir, held by some yeomanry, covering railway construction. One small post was rushed and cut up, but not before inflicting heavy loss on the enemy; another post, though surrounded, held out all day, and also caused the enemy heavy loss. The gallant resistance made by the yeomanry enabled the 53d (Welsh) Division to come up in time, and on their advance the Turks withdrew.

The bombardment of the Gaza defenses commenced on Oct. 27, and on Oct. 30 warships of the royal navy, assisted by a French battleship, began co-operating in this bombardment.

Beersheba Captured

7. On the evening of Oct. 30 the portion of the eastern force which was to make the attack on Beersheba was concentrated in positions of readiness for the night march to its positions of deployment.

8. The night march to the positions of deployment was successfully carried out, all

units reaching their appointed positions up to time.

The plan was to attack the hostile works between the Khalasa road and the Wadi Saba with two divisions, masking the works north of the Wadi Saba with the Imperial Camel Corps and some infantry, while a portion of the 53d (Welsh) Division further north covered the left of the corps. The right of the attack was covered by a cavalry regiment. Further east, mounted troops took up a line opposite the southern defenses of Beersheba.

As a preliminary to the main attack, in order to enable field guns to be brought within effective range for wire cutting, the enemy's advanced works at 1,070 were to be taken. This was successfully accomplished at 8:45 A. M., after a short preliminary bombardment, by London troops, with small loss, ninety prisoners being taken. The cutting of the wire on the main line then proceeded satisfactorily, though pauses had to be made to allow the dust to clear; and the final assault was ordered for 12:15 P. M. It was successful all along the front attacked, and by about 1 P. M. the whole of the works between the Khalasa road and the Wadi Saba were in our hands.

Some delay occurred in ascertaining whether the enemy still occupied the works north of the road; it was decided, as they were still held by small parties, to attack them from the south. After a preliminary bombardment the works were occupied with little opposition by about 7:30 P. M.

The casualties were light, considering the strength of the works attacked; a large proportion occurred during the advance toward the positions previous to the assault, the hostile guns being very accurate and very difficult to locate.

Meanwhile, the mounted troops, after a night march, for part of the force of twenty-five and for the remainder of thirty-five miles, arrived early in the morning of the 31st about Khasim Zanna, in the hills some five miles east of Beersheba. From the hills the advance into Beersheba from the east and northeast lies over an open and almost flat plain, commanded by the rising ground north of the town and flanked by an underfeature in the Wadi Saba called Tel el Saba.

A force was sent north to secure Bir es Sakaty, on the Hebron road, and protect the right flank. This force met with some opposition and was engaged with hostile cavalry at Bir es Sakaty and to the north during the day. Tel el Saba was found strongly held by the enemy and was not captured till late in the afternoon.

Meanwhile, attempts to advance in small parties across the plain toward the town made slow progress. In the evening, however, a mounted attack by Australian light horse, who rode straight at the town from the east, proved completely successful. They galloped over two deep trenches held by the enemy just outside the town and entered the town at about 7 P. M., capturing numerous prisoners.

The Turks at Beersheba were undoubtedly taken completely by surprise, a surprise from which the dash of London troops and yeomanary, finely supported by their artillery, never gave them time to recover. The charge of the Australian light horse completed their defeat.

A very strong position was thus taken with slight loss, and the Turkish detachment at Beersheba almost completely put out of action. About 2,000 prisoners and thirteen guns were taken, and some 500 Turkish corpses were buried on the battlefield. This success laid open the left flank of the main Turkish position for a decisive blow.

Hard Fighting at Gaza

9. The actual date of the attack at Gaza had been left open till the result of the attack at Beersheba was known, as it was intended that the former attack, which was designed to draw hostile reserves toward the Gaza sector, should take place twenty-four to forty-eight hours previous to the attack on the Sheria position. After the complete success of the Beersheba operations, and as the early reports indicated that an ample supply of water would be available at that place, it was hoped that it would be possible to attack Sheria by Nov. 3 or 4. The attack on Gaza was accordingly ordered to take place on the morning of Nov. 2. Later reports showed that the water situation was less favorable than had been hoped, but it was decided not to postpone the attack.

The objectives of this attack were the hostile works from Umbrella Hill (2,000 yards southwest of the town) to Sheikh Hasan, on the sea, (about 2,500 yards northweast of the town.) The front of the attack was about 6,000 yards, and Sheikh Hasan, the furthest objective, was over 3,000 yards from our front line. The ground over which the attack took place consisted of sand dunes, rising in places up to 150 feet in height. This sand is very deep and heavy going. The enemy's defenses consisted of several lines of strongly built trenches and redoubts.

As Umbrella Hill flanked the advance against the Turkisn works further west, it was decided to capture it by a preliminary operation, to take place four hours previous to the main attack. It was accordingly attacked and captured at 11 P. M. on Nov. 1 by a portion of the 52d (Lowland) Division. This attack drew a heavy bombardment of Umbrella Hill itself and our front lines, which lasted for two hours, but ceased in time to allow the main attack, which was timed for 3 A. M., to form up without interference.

It had been decided to make the attack before daylight, owing to the distance to be covered between our front trenches and the enemy's position.

Turks Suffer Heavy Losses

The attack was successful in reaching all objectives, except for a section of trench on the left and some of the final objectives in the centre. Four hundred and fifty prisoners were taken and many Turks killed. The enemy also suffered heavily from the preliminary bombardment, and subsequent reports from prisoners stated that one of the divisions holding the Gaza sector was withdrawn after losing 33 per cent. of its effectives, one of the divisions in general reserve being drawn into the Gaza sector to replace it. The attack thus succeeded in its primary object, which was to prevent any units being drawn from the Gaza defenses to meet the threat to the Turkish left flank, and to draw into Gaza as large a proportion as possible of the available Turkish reserves. Further, the capture of Sheik Hasan and the southwestern defenses constituted a very distinct threat to the whole of the Gaza position, which could be developed on any sign of a withdrawal on the part of the enemy.

Our losses, though considerable, were not in any way disproportionate to the result obtained.

10. Meanwhile, on our right flank the water and transport difficulties were found to be greater than anticipated, and the preparations for the second phase of the attack were somewhat delayed in consequence.

In the early morning of Nov. 1 the 53d (Welsh) Division, with the Imperial Camel Corps on its right, had moved out into the hills north of Beersheba, with the object of securing the flank of the attack on Sheria. Mounted troops were also sent north along the Hebron road to secure Dhaheriyeh if possible, as it was hoped that a good supply of water would be found in this area and that a motor road which the Turks were reported to have constructed from Dhaheriyeh to Sheria could be secured for our use.

The 53d (Welsh) Division, after a long march, took up a position from Towal Abu Jerwal (six miles north of Beersheba) to Muweileh, (four miles northeast of Abu Irgeig.) Irish troops occupied Abu Irgeig the same day.

On Nov. 3 we advanced north on Ain Kohleh and Tel Khuweilfeh, near which place the mounted troops had engaged considerable enemy forces on the previous day. This advance was strongly opposed, but was pushed on through difficult hill country to within a short distance of Ain Kohleh and Khuweilfeh. At these places the enemy was found holding a strong position with considerable and increasing forces. He was obviously determined not only to bar any further progress in this direction, but, if possible, to drive our flank guard back on Beersheba. During the 4th and 5th he made several determined attacks on the mounted troops. These attacks were repulsed.

By the evening of Nov. 5 the 19th Turkish Division, the remains of the 27th, and certain units of the 16th Division had been indentified in the fighting round Tel el Khuweilfeh, and it was also fairly clear that the greater part of the hostile cavalry, supported apparently by some infantry ("depot" troops) from Hebron, were engaged between Khuweilfeh and the Hebron road.

Enemy's Counterstroke Defeated

The action of the enemy in thus employing the whole of his available reserves in an immediate counterstroke so far to the east was apparently a bold effort to induce me to make essential alterations in my offensive plan, thereby gaining time and disorganizing my arrangements. The country north of Beersheba was exceedingly rough and hilly, and very little water was to be found there. Had the enemy succeeded in drawing considerable forces against him in that area the result might easily have been an indecisive fight (for the terrain was very suitable to his methods of defense) and my own main striking force would probably have been made too weak effectively to break the enemy's centre in the neighborhood of Sheria-Hareira. This might have resulted in our gaining Beersheba, but failing to do more—in which case Beersheba would only have been an incubus of a most inconvenient kind. However, the enemy's action was not allowed to make any essential modification to the original plan, which it had been decided to carry out at dawn on Nov. 6.

By the evening of Nov. 5 all preparations had been made to attack the Kauwukah and Rushdi systems and to make every effort to reach Sheria before nightfall.

The mounted troops were to be prepared in the event of a success by the main force to collect, as they were somewhat widely scattered owing to water difficulties, and push north in pursuit of the enemy. Tel el Khuweilfeh was to be attacked at dawn on the 6th, and the troops were to endeavor to reach line Tel el Khuweilfeh-Rijm el Dhib.

11. At dawn on the 6th the attacking force had taken up positions of readiness to the southeast of the Kauwukah system of trenches. The attack was to be commenced by an assault on the group of works forming the extreme left of the enemy's defensive system, followed by an advance due west up the railway, capturing the line of detached works which lay east of the railway. During this attack London and Irish troops were to advance toward the Kauwukah system, bringing forward their guns to within wire-cutting range. They were to assault the southeastern face of the Kauwukah system as soon as the bombardment had proved effective, and thence take the remainder of the system in enfilade.

The attack progressed rapidly, the yeomanry storming the works on the enemy's extreme left with great dash; and soon after

noon the London and Irish troops commenced their attack. It was completely successful in capturing all its objectives, and the whole of the Rushdi system in addition. Sheria station was also captured before dark. The yeomanry reached the line of the Wadi Sheria to Wadi Union; and the troops on the left were close to Hareira redoubt, which was still occupied by the enemy. This attack was a fine performance, the troops advancing eight or nine miles during the day and capturing a series of very strong works covering a front of about seven miles, the greater part of which had been held and strengthened by the enemy for over six months. Some 600 prisoners were taken and some guns and machine guns captured. Our casualties were comparatively slight. The greatest opposition was encountered by the yeomanry in the early morning, the works covering the left of the enemy's line being strong and stubbornly defended.

During the afternoon, as soon as it was seen that the attack had succeeded, mounted troops were ordered to take up the pursuit and to occupy Huj and Jemmamah.

The 53d (Welsh) Division had again had very severe fighting on the 6th. Their attack at dawn on Tel el Khuweilfeh was successful, and, though they were driven off a hill by a counterattack, they retook it and captured another hill, which much improved their position. The Turkish losses in this area were very heavy indeed, and the stubborn fighting of the 53d (Welsh) Division, Imperial Camel Corps, and part of the mounted troops during Nov. 2 to 6 drew in and exhausted the Turkish reserves and paved the way for the success of the attack on Sheria. The 53d (Welsh) Division took several hundred prisoners and some guns during this fighting.

12. The bombardment of Gaza had meanwhile continued, and another attack was ordered to take place on the night of the 6th-7th.

The objectives were, on the right, Outpost Hill and Middlesex Hill, (to be attacked at 11:30 P. M. on the 6th,) and on the left the line Belah Trench-Turtle Hill, (to be attacked at dawn on the 7th.)

During the 6th a certain amount of movement on the roads north of Gaza was observed by our airmen and fired on by our heavy artillery, but nothing indicating a general retirement from Gaza.

Gaza Evacuated by Turks

The attack on Outpost Hill and Middlesex Hill met with little opposition, and as soon, after they had been taken, as patrols could be pushed forward, the enemy was found to be gone. East Anglian troops on the left also found at dawn that the enemy had retired during the night, and early in the morning the main force occupied the northern and eastern defenses of Gaza. Rearguards were still occupying Beit Hanun and the Atawinch and Tank systems, whence Turkish artillery continued to fire on Gaza and Ali Muntar till dusk.

As soon as it was seen that the Turks had evacuated Gaza a part of the force pushed along the coast to the mouth of the Wadi Hesi, so as to turn the Wadi Hesi line and prevent the enemy making any stand there. Cavalry had already pushed on round the north of Gaza, and became engaged with an enemy rearguard at Beit Hanun, wich maintained its position till nightfall. The force advancing along the coast reached the Wadi Hesi by evening, and succeeded in establishing itself on the north bank in the face of considerable opposition, a Turkish rearguard making several determined counterattacks.

On our extreme right the situation remained practically unchanged during the 7th; the enemy made no further attempt to counterattack, but maintained his positions opposite our right flank guard.

In the centre the Hareira Tepar redoubt was captured at dawn; some prisoners and guns were taken. The London troops, after a severe engagement at Tel el Sheria, which they captured by a bayonet charge at 4 A. M. on the 7th, subsequently repulsing several counterattacks, pushed forward their line about a mile to the north of Tel el Sheria; the mounted troops on the right moved toward Jemmamah and Huj, but met with considerable opposition from hostile rearguards.

13. During the 8th the advance was continued, and interest was chiefly centred in an attempt to cut off, if possible, the Turkish rearguard which had held the Tank and Atawineh systems. The enemy had, however, retreated during the night 7th-8th, and though considerable captures of prisoners, guns, ammunition, and other stores were made during the day, chiefly in the vicinity of Huj, no large formed body of the enemy was cut off. The Turkish rearguards fought stubbornly and offered considerable opposition. Near Huj a fine charge by some squadrons of the Worcester and Warwick yeomanry captured twelve guns and broke the resistance of a hostile rearguard. It soon became obvious from the reports of the Royal Flying Corps, who throughout the 7th and 8th attacked the retreating columns with bombs and machine-gun fire, and from other evidence, that the enemy was retiring in considerable disorganization, and could offer no very serious resistance if pressed with determination.

Advancing Toward Hebron

Instructions were accordingly issued on the morning of the 9th to the mounted troops, directing them on the line El Tine-Beit Duras, with orders to press the enemy relentlessly. They were to be supported by a portion of the force, which was ordered to push forward to Julis and Mejdel.

The enemy opposite our right flank guard had commenced to retreat toward Hebron

on the morning of the 8th. He was pursued for a short distance by the yeomanry, and some prisoners and camels were captured, but the yeomanry were then recalled to rejoin the main body of the mounted troops for the more important task of the pursuit of the enemy's main body.

By the 9th, therefore, operations had reached the stage of a direct pursuit by as many troops as could be supplied so far in front of railhead. The problem, in fact, became one of supply rather than manoeuvre. The question of water and forage was a very difficult one. Even where water was found in sufficient quantities, it was usually in wells and not on the surface, and consequently if the machinery for working the wells was damaged, or a sufficient supply of troughs was not available, the process of watering a large quanity of animals was slow and difficuilt.

Stronger Resistance

14. On the evening of Nov. 9 there were indications that the enemy was organizing a counterattack toward Arak el Menshive by all available units of the force which had retire toward Hebron, with the object of taking pressure off the main force, which was retiring along the coastal plain. It was obvious that the Hebron force, which was believed to be short of transport and ammunition, to have lost heavily and to be in a generally disorganized state, could make no effective diversion, and that this threat could practically be disregarded. Other information showed the seriousness of the enemy's losses and the disorganization of his forces.

Orders were accordingly isued to press the pursuit and to reach the Junction Station as early as possible, thus cutting off the Jerusalem army, while the Imperial Camel Corps was ordered to move to the neighborhood of Tel el Nejile, where it would be on the flank of any counterstroke from the hills.

Operations on the 10th and 11th showed a stiffening of the enemy's resistance on the general line of the Wadi Sukereir, with centre about El Kustineh; the Hebron group, after an ineffective demonstration in the direction of Arak el Menshiye on the 10th, retired northeast and prolonged the enemy's line toward Beit Jibrin. Royal Flying Corps reports indicated the total hostile forces opposed to us on this line at about 15,000, and this increased resistance, coupled with the capture of prisoners from almost every unit of the Turkish force, tended to show that we were no longer opposed to rearguards, but that all the remainder of the Turkish Army which could be induced to fight was making a last effort to arrest our pursuit south of the important Junction Station.

In these circumstances our progress on the 10th and 11th was slow; the troops suffered considerably from thirst, (a hot, exhausting wind blew during these two days,) and our supply difficulties were great, but by the evening of the 11th favorable positions had been reached for a combined attack.

The 12th was spent in preparations for the attack, which was ordered to begin early on the morning of the 13th, on the enemy's position covering Junction Station. Our forces were now operating at a distance of some thirty-five miles in advance of their railhead, and the bringing up and distribution of supplies and ammunition formed a difficult problem. The routes north of the Wadi Hesi were found to be hard and good going, though there were some difficult wadi crossings, but the main road through Gaza and as far as Beit Hanun was sandy and difficult. The supply of water in the area of operations, though good and plentiful in most of the villages, lies mainly in wells 100 feet or more below the surface, and in these circumstances a rapid supply and distribution was almost impossible. Great credit is due to all concerned that these difficulties were overcome and that it was found possible not only to supply the troops already in the line, but to bring up two heavy batteries to support the attack.

15. The situation on the morning of Nov. 13 was that the enemy had strung out his force (amounting probably to no more than 20,000 rifles in all) on a front of twenty miles, from El Kubeibeh on the north to about Beit Jibrin to the south. The right half of his line ran roughly parallel to and only about five miles in front of the Ramleh-Junction Station railway, his main line of supply from the north, and his right flank was already almost turned. This position had been dictated to him by the rapidity of our movement along the coast and the determination with which his rearguards on this flank had been pressed.

The advanced guard of the 52d (Lowland) Division had forced its way almost to Burkah on the 11th, on which day also some mounted troops pushed across the Nahr Suhereir at Jisr Esdud, where they held a bridgehead. During the 12th the yeomanry pushed north up the left bank of the Nahr Suhereir, and eventually seized Tel-el-Murreh on the right bank near the mouth.

Enemy Forces Cut in Two

The hostile commander may have hoped to exercise some moral effect on our plans by the presence of the southern portion of his forces on the flank of our advance; if so, he was mistaken. The Australian mounted troops, extended over a wide front, not only secured this flank but pressed forward on the 12th toward Balin, Berkusie, and Tel-es-Safi. Their advanced troops were counter-attacked and driven back a short distance, but the enemy made no effort to press further forward. Arrangements were then made to attack on the 13th.

The country over which the attack took place is open and rolling, dotted with small villages surrounded by mud walls, with

plantations of trees outside the walls. The most prominent feature is the line of heights on which are the villages of Katrah and El Mughar, standing out above the low flat ground which separates them from the rising ground to the west, on which stands the village of Beshshit, about 2,000 yards distant. This Katrah-El Mughar line forms a very strong position, and it was here that the enemy made his most determined resistance against the turning movement directed against his right flank. The capture of this position by the 52d (Lowland) Division, assisted by a most dashing charge of mounted troops, who galloped across the plain under heavy fire and turned the enemy's position from the north, was a fine feat of arms. Some 1,100 prisoners, 3 guns, and many machine guns were taken here. After this the enemy resistance weakened, and by the evening his forces were retiring east and north.

The infantry, who were sent forward about dusk to occupy Junction Station, met with some resistance and halted for the night, not much more than a mile west of the station. Early next morning (Nov. 14) they occupied the station.

The enemy's army had now been broken into two separate parts, which retired north and east respectively, and were reported to consist of small scattered groups rather than formed bodies of any size.

Advance of Sixty Miles

In fifteen days our force had advanced sixty miles on its right and about forty on its left. It had driven a Turkish army of nine infantry divisions and one cavalry division out of a position in which it had been intrenched for six months, and had pursued it, giving battle whenever it attempted to stand and inflicting on it losses amounting probably to nearly two-thirds of the enemy's original effectives. Over 9,000 prisoners, about 80 guns, more than 100 machine guns, and very large quantities of ammunition and other stores had been captured.

16. After the capture of Junction Station on the morning of the 14th, our troops secured a position covering the station, while the Australian mounted troops reached Kezaze that same evening.

The mounted troops pressed on toward Ramleh and Ludd. On the right Naaneh was attacked and captured in the morning, while on the left the New Zealand Mounted Rifles had a smart engagement at Ayun Kara, (six miles south of Jaffa.) Here the Turks made a determined counterattack and got to within fifteen yards of our line. A bayonet attack drove them back with heavy loss.

Flanking the advance along the railway to Ramleh and covering the main road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, a ridge stands up prominently out of the low foothills surrounding it. This is the site of the ancient Gezer, near which the village of Abu Shusheh now stands. A hostile rearguard had established itself on this feature. It was captured on the morning of the 15th in a brilliant attack by mounted troops, who galloped up the ridge from the south. A gun and 360 prisoners were taken in this affair.

By the evening of the 15th the mounted troops had occupied Ramleh and Ludd, and had pushed patrols to within a short distance of Jaffa. At Ludd 300 prisoners were taken, and five destroyed airplanes and a quantity of abandoned war material were found at Ramleh and Ludd.

Jaffa was occupied without opposition on the evening of the 16th.

17. The situation was now as follows:

The enemy's army, cut in two by our capture of Junction Station, had retired partly east into the mountains toward Jerusalem and partly north along the plain. The nearest line on which these two portions could reunite was the line Tul Keram-Nablus. Reports from the Royal Flying Corps indicated that it was the probable intention of the enemy to evacuate Jerusalem and withdraw to reorganize on this line.

On our side the mounted troops had been marching and fighting continuously since Oct. 31, and had advanced a distance of seventy-five miles, measured in a straight line from Asluj to Jaffa. The troops, after their heavy fighting at Gaza, had advanced in nine days a distance of about forty miles, with two severe engagements and continual advanced guard fighting. The 52d (Lowland) Division had covered sixty-nine miles in this period.

The railway was being pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and every opportunity was taken of landing stores at points along the coast. The landing of stores was dependent on a continuance of favorable weather, and might at any moment be stopped for several days together.

A pause was therefore necessary to await the progress of railway construction, but before our position in the plain could be considered secure it was essential to obtain a hold of the one good road which traverses the Judaean range from north to south, from Nablus to Jerusalem.

Through the Judaean Hills

18. The west side of the Judaean range consists of a series of spurs running east and west, and separated from one another by narrow valleys. These spurs are steep, bare, and stony for the most part, and in places precipitous. Between the foot of the spur of the main range and the coastal plain is the low range known as the Shephelah.

On our intended line of advance only one good road, the main Jaffa-Jerusalem road, traversed the hills from east to west. For nearly four miles, between Bab el Wad (two and one half miles east of Latron) and Saris, this road passes through a narrow

defile, and it had been damaged by the Turks in several places. The other roads were mere tracks on the side of the hill or up the stony beds of wadis, and were impracticable for wheeled transport without improvement. Throughout these hills the water supply was scanty without development.

On Nov. 17 the yeomanry had commenced to move from Ramleh through the hills direct on Bireh by Annabeh, Berfilya, and Beit ur el Tahta, (Lower Bethhoron.) By the evening of Nov. 18 one portion of the yeomanry had reached the last-named place, while another portion had occupied Shilta. The route had been found impossible for wheels beyond Annabeh.

On the 19th the infantry commenced its advance. One portion was to advance up the main road as far as Kuryet el Enab, with its right flank protected by Australian mounted troops. From that place, in order to avoid any fighting in the close vicinity of the Holy City, it was to strike north toward Bireh by a track leading through Biddu. The remainder of the infantry was to advance through Berfilya to Beit Likia and Beit Dukka, and thence support the movement of the other portion.

After capturing Latron and Amnas on the morning of the 19th, the remainder of the day was spent in clearing the defile up to Saris, which was defended by hostile rearguards.

On the 20th Kuryet el Enab was captured with the bayonet in the face of organized opposition, while Beit Dukka was also captured. On the same day the yeomanry got to within four miles of the Nabius-Jerusalem road, but were stopped by strong opposition about Beitunia.

On the 21st a body of infantry moved northeast by a track from Kuryet el Enab through Biddu and Kulundia toward Bireh. The track was found impassable for wheels, and was under hostile shellfire. Progress was slow, but by evening the ridge on which stands Neby Samwil was secured. A further body of troops was left at Kuryet el Enab to cover the flank and demonstrate along the main Jerusalem road. It drove hostile parties from Kustul, two and a half miles east of Kuryet el Enab, and secured this ridge.

By the afternoon of the 21st advance parties of yeomanry were within two miles of the road and an attack was being delivered on Beitunia by other mounted troops.

Temporary Reverse Overcome

19. The positions reached on the evening of the 21st practically marked the limit of progress in this first attempt to gain the Nablus-Jerusalem road. The yeomanry were heavily counterattacked and fell back, after bitter fighting, on Beit ur el Foka, (Upper Bethoron.) During the 22d the enemy made two counterattacks on the Neby Samwil Ridge, which were repulsed. Determined and gallant attacks were made on the 23d and on the 24th on the strong positions to the west of the road held by the enemy, who had brought up reinforcements and numerous machine guns, and could support his infantry by artillery fire from guns placed in positions along the main road. Our artillery, from lack of roads, could not be brought up to give adequate support to our infantry. Both attacks failed, and it was evident that a period of preparation and organization would be necessary before an attack could be delivered in sufficient strength to drive the enemy from his positions west of the road.

Orders were accordingly issued to consolidate the positions gained and prepare for relief.

Though these troops had failed to reach their final objectives, they had achieved invaluable results. The narrow passes from the plain to the plateau of the Judaean Range have seldom been forced and have been fatal to many invading armies. Had the attempt not been made at once, or had it been pressed with less determination, the enemy would have had time to reorganize his defenses in the passes lower down, and the conquest of the plateau would then have been slow, costly, and precarious. As it was, positions had been won from which the final attack could be prepared and delivered with good prospects of success.

20. By Dec. 4 all reliefs were complete, and a line was held from Kustul by the Neby Samwil Ridge, Beit Izza, and Beit Dukka, to Beit ur el Tahta.

During this period attacks by the enemy along the whole line led to severe local fighting. On Nov. 25 our advanced posts north of the River Auja were driven back across the river. From the 27th to the 30th the enemy delivered a series of attacks directed especially against the high ground north and northeast of Jaffa, the left flank of our position in the hills from Beit ur el Foka to El Burj and the Neby Samwil Ridge. An attack on the night of the 29th succeeded in penetrating our outpost line northeast of Jaffa, but next morning the whole hostile detachment, numbering 150, was surrounded and captured by Australian light horse. On the 30th a similar fate befell a battalion which attacked near El Burj; a counterattack by Australian light horse took 200 prisoners and practically destroyed the attacking battalion. There was particularly heavy fighting between El Burj and Beit ur el Foka, but the yeomanry and Scottish troops successfully resisted all attacks and inflicted severe losses on the enemy. At Beit ur el Foka one company took 300 prisoners. All efforts by the enemy to drive us off the Neby Samwil Ridge were completely repulsed. These attacks cost the Turks very dearly. We took 750 prisoners between Nov. 27 and 30, and the enemy's losses in killed and wounded were undoubtedly heavy. His attacks in no way affected our positions nor impeded the progress of our preparations.

Closing In on Jerusalem

21. Favored by a continuance of fine weather, preparations for a fresh advance against the Turkish positions west and south of Jerusalem proceeded rapidly. Existing roads and tracks were improved and new ones constructed to enable heavy and field artillery to be placed in position and ammunition and supplies brought up. The water supply was also developed.

The date for the attack was fixed as Dec. 8. Welsh troops, with a cavalry regiment attached, had advanced from their positions north of Beersheba up the Hebron-Jerusalem road on the 4th. No opposition was met, and by the evening of the 6th the head of this column was ten miles north of Hebron. The infantry were directed to reach the Bethlehem-Beit Jala area by the 7th, and the line Surbahir-Sherafat (about three miles south of Jerusalem) by dawn on the 8th, and no troops were to enter Jerusalem during this operation.

It was recognized that the troops on the extreme right might be delayed on the 7th and fail to reach the positions assigned to them by dawn on the 8th. Arrangements were therefore made to protect the right flank west of Jerusalem, in case such delay occured.

22. On the 7th the weather broke, and for three days rain was almost continuous. The hills were covered with mist at frequent intervals, rendering observation from the air and visual signaling impossible. A more serious effect of the rain was to jeopardize the supply arrangements by rendering the roads almost impassable—quite impassable, indeed, for mechanical transport and camels in many places.

The troops moved into positions of assembly by night, and, assaulting at dawn on the 8th, soon carried their first objectives. They then pressed steadily forward. The mere physical difficulty of climbing the steep and rocky hillsides and crossing the deep valleys would have sufficed to render progress slow, and the opposition encountered was considerable. Artillery support was soon difficult, owing to the length of the advance and the difficulty of moving guns forward. But by about noon London troops had already advanced over two miles, and were swinging northeast to gain the Nablus-Jerusalem road, while the yeomanry had captured the Beit Iksa spur, and were preparing for a further advance.

Jerusalem Forced to Surrender

As the right column had been delayed and was still some distance south of Jerusalem, it was necessary for the London troops to throw back their right and form a defensive flank facing east toward Jerusalem, from the western outskirts of which considerable rifle and artillery fire was being experienced. This delayed the advance, and early in the afternoon it was decided to consolidate the line gained and resume the advance next day, when the right column would be in a position to exert its pressure. By nightfall our line ran from Neby Samwil to the east of Beit Iksa, through Lifta to a point about one and a half miles west of Jerusalem, whence it was thrown back facing east. All the enemy's prepared defenses west and northwest of Jerusalem had been captured, and our troops were within a short distance of the Nablus-Jerusalem road.

The London troops and yeomanry had displayed great endurance in difficult conditions. The London troops especially, after a night march in heavy rain to reach their positions of deployment, had made an advance of three to four miles in difficult hills in the face of stubborn opposition.

During the day about 300 prisoners were taken and many Turks killed. Our own casualties were light.

23. Next morning the advance was resumed. The Turks had withdrawn during the night, and the London troops and yeomanry, driving back rearguards, occupied a line across the Nablus-Jerusalem road four miles north of Jerusalem, while Welsh troops occupied a position east of Jerusalem across the Jericho road. These operations isolated Jerusalem, and at about noon the enemy sent out a *parlementaire* and surrendered the city.

At noon on the 11th I made my official entry into Jerusalem.

24. In the operations from Oct. 31 to Dec. 9 over 12,000 prisoners were taken. The total captures of material have not yet been fully counted, owing to the large area covered by these operations; but are known to include about 100 guns of various calibres, many machine guns, more than 20,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, and 250,000 rounds of gun ammunition. More than twenty airplanes were destroyed by our airmen or burned by the enemy to avoid capture.

Special Services

25. My thanks are due to the cordial assistance which I have received from his Excellency the High Commissioner, General Sir Francis Wingate, G. C. B., G. C. V. O., K. C. M. G., D. S. O., who has always given me the greatest assistance.

26. During the whole period Rear Admiral T. Jackson, C. B., M. V. O., has given me most loyal support, and has co-operated with me in a manner which has materially contributed to our success.

27. Brig. Gen. Sir G. Macauley, K. C. M. G., C. B., Director of Railway Transport, has given invaluable help in the organization of my railways.

28. All ranks and services in the force under my command have acquitted themselves in a manner beyond praise. Fatigue, thirst, heat, and cold have been endured uncomplainingly. The co-operation of all arms has been admirable, and has enabled success in battle

to be consummated by irresistible and victorious pursuit.

Leaders and staffs have all done well, and in particular I bring to your Lordship's notice the names of the following officers:

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O.

My plan of operations was based on his appreciation of the situation and on the scheme which he put forward to me on my arrival in Egypt last Summer. To his strategical foresight and tactical skill the success of the campaign is largely due.

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) E. S. Bulfin, C. B., C. V. O.

Has shown great ability as an organizer and leader in high command. To his determination in attack, and his dash and drive in pursuit, is due the swift advance to Jerusalem.

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) Sir Henry Chauvel, K. C. M. G., C. B.

Has commanded my mounted troops with invariable success in attack and pursuit. His co-operation with other arms has always been ready and loyal, and has contributed greatly to the victory won.

Major Gen. L. J. Bols, C. B., D. S. O., Chief of the General Staff, has done brilliant work. He is a General Staff officer of the first rank.

Major Gen. J. Adye, C. B., Deputy Adjutant General, has rendered invaluable service.

Major Gen. Sir Walter Campbell, K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O., Deputy Quartermaster General, has had a difficult task which he has carried out with complete success.

Brevet Lieut. Col. (temporary Brig. Gen.) G. P. Dawnay, D. S. O., M. V. O., Reserve of Officers, Brigadier General, General Staff, has proved himself a strategist and tactician of unusual merit. His work has been of the highest value.

I have the honor to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
E. H. H. ALLENBY,
General.
Commanding in Chief,
Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

The Delivery of Jerusalem

The Narrative of an Eyewitness

[See Map on Page 155]

The peculiar interest of this article from the pen of a correspondent of The London Times is that it presents an inside view of what happened within the Holy City during the approach of General Allenby's forces. With General Allenby's official report of the campaign, which will be found elsewhere in this issue, it affords new light upon the historic event.

IT was whispered in Jerusalem on Nov. 9 that the British were at Huj, behind the centre of the Gaza-Beersheba line, and that Tel-el-Sheria and Gaza had fallen. The Germans and Austrians were even now preparing to evacuate the Holy City. Rumor for once was true. During the next few days lame or exhausted Turks, wounded and stragglers, whom the German motor-lorry drivers refused to pick up, and Turkish officers shaken into truthfulness by the extent of their defeat, brought news of the victory. Turkish officials at once began to leave the city with their families. The German depots were hurriedly emptied of unessential supplies, such as sugar, which were sold for a song. Munitions and essential stores were then sent north to Shechem, or east to Jericho. From the high towers of the city and from the Mount of Olives one could see a great double wall of dust along every road each day, and on a clear day one could see lorries, carts, and pack animals streaming up and down. Owners of the few horse carriages left asked for and obtained £10 a seat from fugitives who were making for Shechem.

FALKENHAYN'S MOVEMENTS

The great commanders hastened to Jerusalem. Enver, who had hurried from the imperial headquarters at Constantinople to harangue his defeated Generals, departed as suddenly and silently as he had come. Falkenhayn came from the City of Aleppo to reorganize the beaten army. Meanwhile the British troops had pushed up the passes into the highlands

of Judea. Their guns were faintly heard at Jerusalem as they fought their way up the valley of Sorek, and thenceforward the sound of battle grew louder day by day.

Falkenhayn himself departed for Shechem on Nov. 16, and on the 19th Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Coptic patriarchs, with the principal ecclesiastics from the churches, left for the same place; so also went certain Jewish notables suspected of Zionism.

Then came a sudden change in the temper of the Turks; the British were held up at Neby Samwil, in sight of Shechem, by reason of difficulties of transport. The Turks had received the command to stand from their German masters, who had preached the uselessness of attempting to hold Jerusalem once the Gaza line had gone, but their pride forbade them to surrender one of the holiest cities of the Turkish Caliphate without a struggle.

Falkenhayn having gone, the control of policy reverted to Turkish hands, and Ali Fuad Pasha, commander of the Turkish forces in Jerusalem, issued two proclamations to the people of the city. He first warned all civilians that street fighting was to be expected, and when it began they were to keep indoors and assist the troops in the impending house-to-house conflict under pain of severe penalties. The second proclamation stated that the Turks had held Jerusalem for 1,300 years (an exaggeration of only nine centuries) and would not abandon it. The inhabitants were ordered to have complete confidence in the good behavior of the troops detailed to defend the city to the last. Dismayed by threats and informed by Turkish officers that the British advance had spent itself, and that a new period of trench warfare was at hand, the people despaired. Arrests and confiscations multiplied, and the innate spitefulness of the Young Turk official manifested itself in many ways.

On Dec. 6 and 7 the fighting on the hills west of Jerusalem and the rapid advance of a British force from Hebron began to revive the hope of a decision. On the morning of Dec. 8 large numbers of the inhabitants, with the remaining religious chiefs, were personally warned by the police to be ready to leave at once. The extent to which the Turks were prepared to clear the city is shown by the fact that out of the Armenian community of 1,400 souls 300 received this notice. The tyrannical Djemal Pasha, when warned that vehicles were unavailable for the transport of the unhappy exiles to Shechem or Jericho, telegraphed curtly that they and theirs must walk. The fate of countless Armenians and many Greeks has shown that a population of all ages suddenly turned out to walk indefinite distances under Turkish escort is exposed to outrage and hardship which prove fatal to most of them; but the delay in telegraphing had saved the population, and the sun had risen for the last time on the Ottoman domination of Jerusalem, and the Turks' power to destroy faded with the day.

Toward dusk the British troops were reported to have passed Lifta, and to be within sight of the city. On this news being received, a sudden panic fell on the Turks west and southwest of the town, and at 5 in the afternoon civilians were surprised to see a Turkish transport column galloping furiously cityward along the Jaffa road. In passing they alarmed all units within sight or hearing, and the wearied infantry arose and fled, bootless and without rifles, never pausing to think or to fight. Some were flogged from behind by officers and were compelled to pick up their arms; others staggered on through the mud, augmenting the confusion of the retreat.

After four centuries of conquest the Turk was ridding the land of his presence in the bitterness of defeat, and a great enthusiasm arose among the Jews. There was a running to and fro; daughters called to their fathers and brothers concealed in outhouses, cellars, and attics from the police, who sought them for arrest and deportation. "The Turks are running," they called; "the day of deliverance is come." The nightmare was fast passing away, but the Turk still lingered. In the evening he fired his

guns continuously, perhaps comforting himself with the loud noise that heartens the soul of a barbarian, perhaps to cover the sound of his own retreat. Whatever the intention was, the roar of the gunfire persuaded most citizens to remain indoors, and there were few to witness the last act of Osmanli authority.

DEPARTURE OF TURKS

Toward midnight the Governor, Izzet Bey, went personally to the telegraph office, discharged the staff, and himself smashed the instruments with a hammer. At 2 A. M. on Sunday tired Turks began to troop through the Jaffa gate from the west and southwest, and anxious watchers, peering out through the windows of the grand new hotel to learn the meaning of the tramping, were cheered by the sullen remark of an officer, "Gitmaya mejbooruz," ("We've got to go,") and from 2 till 7 that morning the Turks streamed through and out of the city, which echoed for the last time their shuffling tramp. On this same day 2,082 years before, another race of conquerors, equally detested, were looking their last on the city which they could not hold, and inasmuch as the liberation of Jerusalem in 1917 will probably ameliorate the lot of the Jews more than that of any other community in Palestine, it was fitting that the flight of the Turks should have coincided with the national festival of the Hanookah, which commemorates the recapture of the Temple from the heathen Seleusids by Judas Maccabeus in 165 B. C.

The Governor was the last civil official to depart. He left in a cart belonging to Mr. Vester, an American resident, from whom he had "borrowed" an unrequisitioned cart and team. Before the dawn he hastened down the Jericho Road, leaving behind him a letter of surrender, which the Mayor as the sun rose set forth to deliver to the British commander accompanied by a few frightened policemen holding two tremulous white flags. He walked toward the Lifta Hill and met the first armed deliverers on a spot which may be marked in the future with a white stone as the site of a historic episode.

The last Turkish soldier is said to have left Jerusalem at about 7 o'clock by the east gate of the city, which is named after St. Stephen, but even later, when the British patrols had entered the town to keep order, armed stragglers were still trickling along the road just outside the north wall, requisitioning food and water at the point of the bayonet. This is no grievous crime on the part of defeated troops, uncertain of their next meal, but is recorded as the last kick of the dying Ottoman authority in a city where it had been supreme for four centuries.

As the Turkish flood finally ebbed away into the shadowy depths of the Valley of Jehoshaphat the townsfolk roused themselves from the lethargy into which hunger and the Turkish police had plunged them and fell upon a variety of buildings, official or requisitioned for official purposes, and looted them, even stripping roofs, doors, and floors from the Ottoman barracks next to the Tower of David for firewood.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL ALLENBY

It must be admitted that, as the Government had furnished and maintained itself almost entirely by uncompensated requisitions, the mob was only trying to indemnify itself. But this disorder ceased as suddenly as it had arisen on the appearance of the British infantry. The outbreak, however, had at least the effect of thawing the people from the state of cowed humility into which they had been beaten and dragooned by their foreign masters, for it is well to remember that the Turk is as much a foreigner to Jerusalem as his British conqueror.

Looting was done chiefly by small parties working in half furtive haste, and at no time was there any notable throng of people in any street; but when the time came for the great and simple act of the solemn entry of General Allenby into Jerusalem, and the Arab prophecy was fulfilled that when the Nile had flowed into Palestine the prophet (Al Neb) from the west should drive the Turk from Jerusalem, then the inhabitants mustered courage to gather in a great crowd. They were

themselves amazed, for during more than three years an assembly of more than three persons in one place was discouraged by the police by blows, fines, imprisonment, and even exile. Eyewitnesses of all three events state that the crowd gathered at the Jaffa gate to greet the General was larger than that which met the Emperor William when on his fantastic political pilgrimage in 1898, and denser than the gathering which greeted the revival of the Constitution when it was proclaimed ten years later at the Damascus gate, where there is more space. Many wept for joy, priests were seen to embrace one another, but there were no theatricalities such as the hollow reconciliations which made the triumph of the Young Turk in 1908 memorable, and which sickened the memories of those who know the horrors and calamities which that triumph, alas! was doomed to bring. The General entered the city on foot, and left it on foot, and no pageantry profaned the solemnity of the moment.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

A proclamation announcing that order would be maintained in all the hallowed sites of the three great religions, which were to be guarded and preserved, and no impediment to be placed in the way of worshippers therein, was read in English, French, Italian, and Arabic from the parapet of the citadel below the Tower of David. When this was done General Allenby went to the small square behind the citadel, where the chief notables and ecclesiastics of the different communities who had remained were presented to him. After this brief ceremony the General left the City of David by the Jaffa gate.

The Turk, who had been thrust from Jerusalem despite his utmost endeavor, by steady tactical pressure, soon rallied and tried desperately to regain the Holy City three weeks after he had lost it. Pious regard for the sanctity of the holy places had induced the British General to drive out the Turks by manoeuvre rather than bombardment and assault, for he did not wish to shed blood within the threshold of the sanctuary of three faiths. But when the Turks sought to recover by force what they had lost, the lion leaped on them, on the hills to the north and east of the city, and tore them.

Then at last the people understood that Jerusalem was free.

[Official]

British Victories in Mesopotamia

General Maude's Last Dispatch

A DISPATCH from Lieut. Gen. Sir Stanley Maude giving an account of the work of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force from April 1 to Sept. 30, 1917, was made public by the British War Office on Jan. 10, 1918. The dispatch is dated Oct. 15, 1917, five weeks before Sir Stanley Maude's death from cholera. It describes the fighting last April in which Turkish attacks on the Dialah front and the Shatt el Adhaim were defeated, the victory at Istabulat, which led to the capture of Samarra, and the later engagements on the Euphrates, where the Turkish force at Ramadie was compelled to surrender. The references to the co-operation of Russian forces near the Persian border have fresh interest in view of Russia's recent military collapse, which leaves the British in Mesopotamia unsupported on the northeast and north.

Bagdad was entered by the British troops on March 11, and the first part of the dispatch deals with operations on the Tigris and the Dialah fronts, the second part narrates events on the Euphrates front, and the dispatch closes with an appreciation of the various services.

To provide for the security of Bagdad,

an open city devoid of means of defense, operations were continued against the shattered but reinforced columns of the 18th Turkish Corps, while careful watch was kept on the 13th Turkish Corps, which was falling back from Western Persia before the advance of the Russians. On April 2 a junction was effected with General Baratoff's troops, who had come down from Khanikin, about Kizil Robat—20 miles in a direct line from the British post at Shahraban. "As soon as these [the Russians] were well established on the line of the Dialah," says the report, "our column in this vicinity—having served the double purpose of harassing the retreat of the Turks and joining hands with the Russians—was withdrawn."

FIGHTING ON THE TIGRIS

This enabled General Maude to resume operations along both banks of the Tigris. His report continues:

On April 6 our cavalry moved forward to the vicinity of Deli Abbas, [north of the Dialah by Shahraban,] with instructions to cover our right flank, and by delaying action to draw on gradually any movement initiated by the 13th Turkish Corps toward the [left bank of the] Tigris. On the right bank of the Tigris the enemy's force was estimated at 4,000 rifles, with 200 sabres and 16 guns, and these were holding Harbe [forty-eight miles above Bagdad] with advanced troops about Beled Station, [on the railway from Bagdad to Samarra.] On the 8th our troops moved forward to attack the enemy's position covering Beled Station, and good progress was made until they came under close machine-gun and rifle fire from some rising ground in that vicinity. The 51st Sikhs were ordered to secure this point, and, making good use of the broken ground and well supported by artillery, they established themselves there without difficulty and pressed forward beyond. The enemy holding the station now found his position untenable, and soon his whole line was in retreat. Our losses were slight. On the 9th Harbe was occupied, and here a pause was ordered in order to allow for further operations on the left bank of the Tigris.

Our troops on the left bank had driven several parties of the enemy across the Shatt El Adhaim [north of the Dialah] on the 7th, and on the following day a close reconnoissance of this river was carried out with a view to bridging it. It now became evident, however, that the 13th Turkish Corps from Jebel Hamrin and the 52d Division of the 18th Turkish Corps on the line of the Shatt el Adhaim were contemplating a converging movement against our troops on the left bank of the Tigris. The 2d and 14th Turkish Divisions, some 6,000 rifles strong, with 250 sabres and 32 guns, moving down the right bank of the Nahr Khalis Canal toward Deltawa, had by the evening of the 9th reached a point some seven miles southwest of Deli Abbas. * * * On the 10th the enemy was reported to be intrenching, but on the 11th he continued his advance, moving in dense columns, with his left on the Nahr Khalis.

To meet this movement and to support our cavalry we had detached troops from Deltawa up the right bank of the Nahr Khalis Canal toward Deli Abbas, while another column, leaving sufficient troops to contain the enemy on the Shatt el Adhaim, fell upon his right flank after a night march from Dogameh. This attack, resolutely pressed by two Welsh battalions and the Wiltshires, was a complete surprise, and before the enemy could recover himself heavy casualties were inflicted on his columns by our well-handled artillery and by rifle fire. Low visibility owing to mirage, heat, and the absence of water hindered our operations, but the enemy was soon in retreat.

At midday on April 12 the British cavalry located the enemy six miles from Deli Abbas, covered by an intrenched rearguard. The Turks here fought a stubborn rearguard action throughout the next two days, but by the morning of the 15th they had retreated to Kifri, and at noon the British troops entered Deli Abbas. The 18th Turkish Corps, holding the Shatt el Adhaim, still had to be dealt with. Early on April 18 British troops were thrown across that river, and, despite a narrow channel full of quicksands, the Adhaim was bridged before noon, and by 2 o'clock the infantry had cleared the loop of the river. This brigade, despite heat and thirst, pressed on until it had turned the enemy's defeat into a rout. Only a small fraction of the enemy troops encountered that day escaped.

BATTLE OF ISTABULAT

Opposition on the left bank of the Tigris having been overcome, a further advance was ordered on the right bank. Sir Stanley Maude continues:

The Turks were holding a position about Istabulat, [twelve miles south of Sa-

marra,] facing southeast, with their left resting on the river and extending over a frontage of about two and a half miles across the Dujail Canal to the Bagdad-Samarra railway. * * * The position was held by some 6,700 rifles, with 200 sabres and 31 guns, while in the vicinity of Samarra were reserves consisting of some 4,000 rifles, with 500 sabres and 15 guns.

At 5 A. M. on the 21st his position on the north side of the canal was resolutely attacked by the Black Watch and 8th Gurkhas, under a creeping barrage, and both battalions made steady progress. In spite of a hot rifle and machine-gun fire from the main position the redoubt near the river was captured and the garrison made prisoner. The other redoubt on this side of the canal was assaulted, recaptured by the enemy, and finally secured by us, thus giving our troops a good foothold in this part of the enemy's defenses. At 6:30 A. M. an attack by the Seaforths and 28th and 92d Punjabis was launched south of the canal. This advance was carried out with fine dash and gallantry across 2,000 yards of ground devoid of cover, and by 7:25 A. M. the enemy's front line, some 700 yards long, was in our hands. Consolidation proceeded, and in spite of several counter-attacks all gains were held.

The remainder of the day and night was devoted to consolidation and preparation for a simultaneous attack on both sides of the canal, to be carried out next morning.

Early on the 22d our patrols reported that the enemy opposite our right was beginning to withdraw, and by 4:30 A. M. the whole of the position had been evacuated, and was then occupied by us. The natural and artificial strength of the position now became apparent, and the number of enemy dead testified to the tenacity with which it had been held. Our troops moved forward in pursuit at daybreak and were in contact with the enemy's main body in the vicinity of Istabulat Police Post by noon, where his defensive system consisted of detached groups of trenches partially completed.

The heat was great and the attack was postponed till the evening, when the assault, aided by concentrated artillery fire, was delivered in dashing style by the Leicesters, supported by the 51st Sikhs and 56th Rifles, and the defense was easily penetrated. The attacking troops pressed on relentlessly and rapidly some 1,200 yards further, and the enemy's guns were withdrawn only just in time to avoid capture. The Turks rallied and put in a series of counterattacks, with which our supporting troops dealt, but the enemy maintained a heavy fire until 8 P. M., when he retreated on Samarra. During the day a regiment of Indian Lancers made a spirited attempt to break through the line of trenches, and, supported by artillery fire, it captured the front Turkish trench, but its advance was finally checked by fire from other trenches in the rear.

At 10 A. M. on the 23d Samarra Station was secured, the enemy offering no further resistance and retreating on Tekrit, and on the 24th Samarra Town, on the left bank, was occupied and a post established there.

ONE MONTH'S PROGRESS

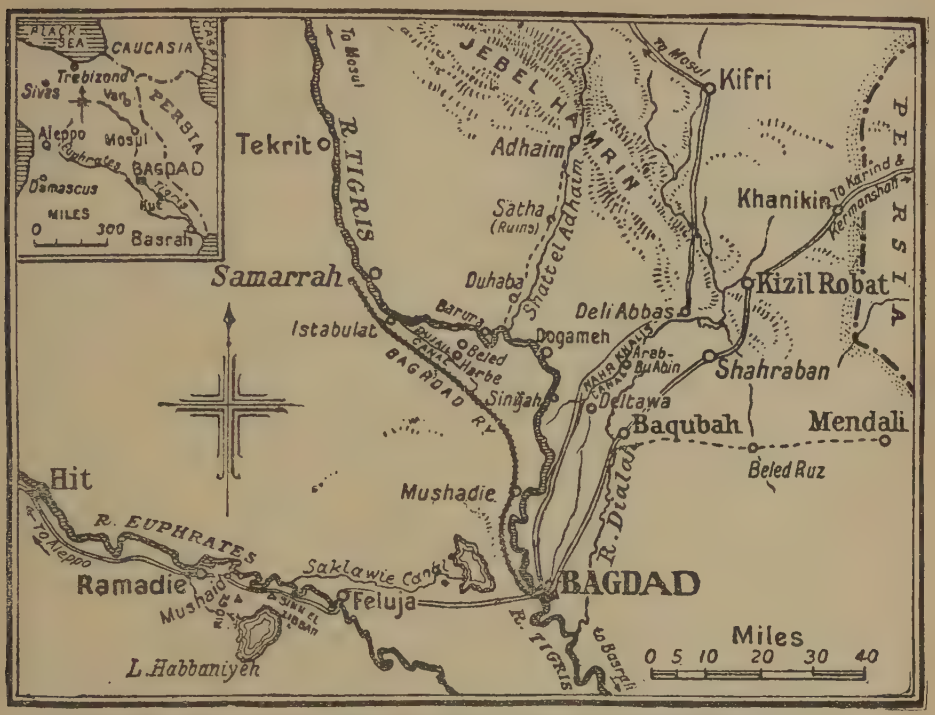
After describing his operations on the right bank of the Tigris, Sir Stanley Maude sums up the month's work in these words:

As a result of the fighting during the month of April the enemy's 13th and 18th Corps had been driven back on divergent lines, the former into the Jebel Hamrin and the latter to Tekrit. The 13th Corps had twice taken the offensive, with results disastrous to itself, and the 18th Corps had been defeated and driven from its selected positions on four occasions. Our total captures for the month amounted to some 3,000 prisoners and 17 guns, besides a considerable quantity of rolling stock and booty of all kinds. The objectives which we had set out to reach had been secured and the spirit of the enemy's troops was broken.

[Increasing heat put an end to major operations during the Summer months and a proportion of the troops were sent to India on leave.]

Early in June a communication was received from our Russian allies to the effect that in consequence of the increasing heat they had found it necessary to evacuate the line of the Dialah River, and they subsequently withdrew beyond Karind toward Kermanshah. This rendered the occupation of Beled Ruz by us necessary, and this was carried out on the 23d.

To increase his hold on the Euphrates line Sir Stanley Maude, on July 8, occupied Sinn el Zibban, some commanding ground on the right bank of the Euphrates about twelve miles upstream from Feluja, which dominates the left bank of that river at its junction with the Saklawie Canal. This advance brought the British within striking distance of Ramadie, and a column to attack Ramadie was concentrated at Sinn el Zibban on July 10, motor vans and lorries being



SCENE OF GENERAL MAUDE'S LAST OPERATIONS IN MESOPOTAMIA

allotted to carry a proportion of the troops and thus minimize the amount of marching in view of the heat then existing. Special provision was also made for water and for ice.

After a night march the column was in touch with the Turks east of Ramadie by 4 A. M. on the 11th, and by 8:15 A. M. the British had driven in the enemy's advanced troops and were preparing for the final assault against his main position. But a blinding duststorm sprang up, and the attack was postponed.

RAMADIE CAPTURED

It was Sept. 26 before a column of adequate size could again be concentrated within striking distance of Ramadie, the garrison of which place had been reinforced since July. General Maude's account of the taking of Ramadie is as follows:

The enemy held an advanced position four miles east of Ramadie, on Mushaid Ridge, which runs north and south and rises some sixty feet above the plain. To the north of the ridge lies the Euphrates River, and to the south the salt Habbaniyeh Lake. The Turkish main position was semicircular in outline, and was sited about one mile to the east and to the south of Ramadie. The eastern front ran along but behind the Euphrates Valley Canal and the southern front across bare sandy downs extending from the Euphrates Valley Canal to the Aziziyeh Canal, which leaves the Euphrates one mile west of Ramadie and flows southward. The plan of operations was to turn the southern flank of the Mushaid Ridge, secure a crossing over the Euphrates Valley Canal, and attack Ramadie from the south with the bulk of the column, while the cavalry operating west of the Aziziyeh Canal threw themselves across the enemy's communications with Hit by blocking the Aleppo Road. Steps were taken to induce the enemy to expect the main attack against his left on the Euphrates, and with this intent the river was bridged at Madhij.

At 6 P. M. on the 27th two infantry columns with the cavalry moved from Madhij to the position of assembly some five miles in front of our outposts, and the infantry subsequently made a night advance some two miles in a westerly direction to a position of deployment, whence an attack on Mushaid could be delivered at dawn. An infantry detachment also skirted the northern edge of Lake Hab-

baniyeh, and before daybreak on the 28th had secured important tactical features on and behind the southern flank of the Mushaid position, including a dam across the Euphrates Valley Canal, passable by all arms.

This action compelled the enemy to withdraw from Mushaid Ridge, which he shelled heavily subsequently in expectation of its occupation by our troops, but in this he was disappointed, as our infantry moved south of the ridge and crossed the dam. At 7 A. M. the cavalry were transferred from our right to our left flank, their march being screened from the enemy by Mushaid Ridge. They crossed the Euphrates Valley Canal by the dam and pushed westward across the Aziziyeh Canal to a position astride the Aleppo Road, so as to cut off the enemy's retreat. Meanwhile, to the west of the Euphrates Valley Canal, our left infantry column advanced against the enemy's southern front and occupied and consolidated a position under considerable opposition. In this attack the Dorsets and 5th Gurkhas especially distinguished themselves. Under cover of the attack our right infantry column was withdrawn, and, passing in rear of the left column, was subsequently launched to an attack which secured a firm footing on Aziziyeh Ridge. Thus by nightfall the enemy was hemmed in on the southeast and south by our infantry and on the west by the cavalry, while to the north ran the River Euphrates.

At 3 A. M. on the 29th the enemy made a determined effort to break through our cavalry and retreat by the Aleppo Road, but after an action lasting for one and a half hours they were driven back into Ramadie, the Hussars and part of a regiment of Indian cavalry, with some horse artillery and Hotchkiss guns, being mainly instrumental in heading the enemy off. At 6:15 A. M. the infantry attack was renewed from the southeast and south, and our left infantry column captured succesive positions along Aziziyeh Ridge. The 39th Garhwalis seized the bridge where the Aleppo Road crosses the canal and captured three guns and many prisoners by 7:30 A. M., while the 90th Punjabis pushed eastward through Ramadie and secured the Turkish commander (Ahmed Bey) at his headquarters near the eastern front of the position. Both these units displayed commendable dash and initiative, and by 11 A. M. the whole of the Turkish force had surrendered.

A salient factor in these successful operations was the part played by the cavalry. First by their rapid movement around the enemy's rear and subsequently by the tactical disposition of their machine guns they prevented the enemy's columns from breaking out and so drove them back into the arms of the infantry.

The dispatch ends with a paragraph of high commendation for various special services and for officers deemed deserving of reward.

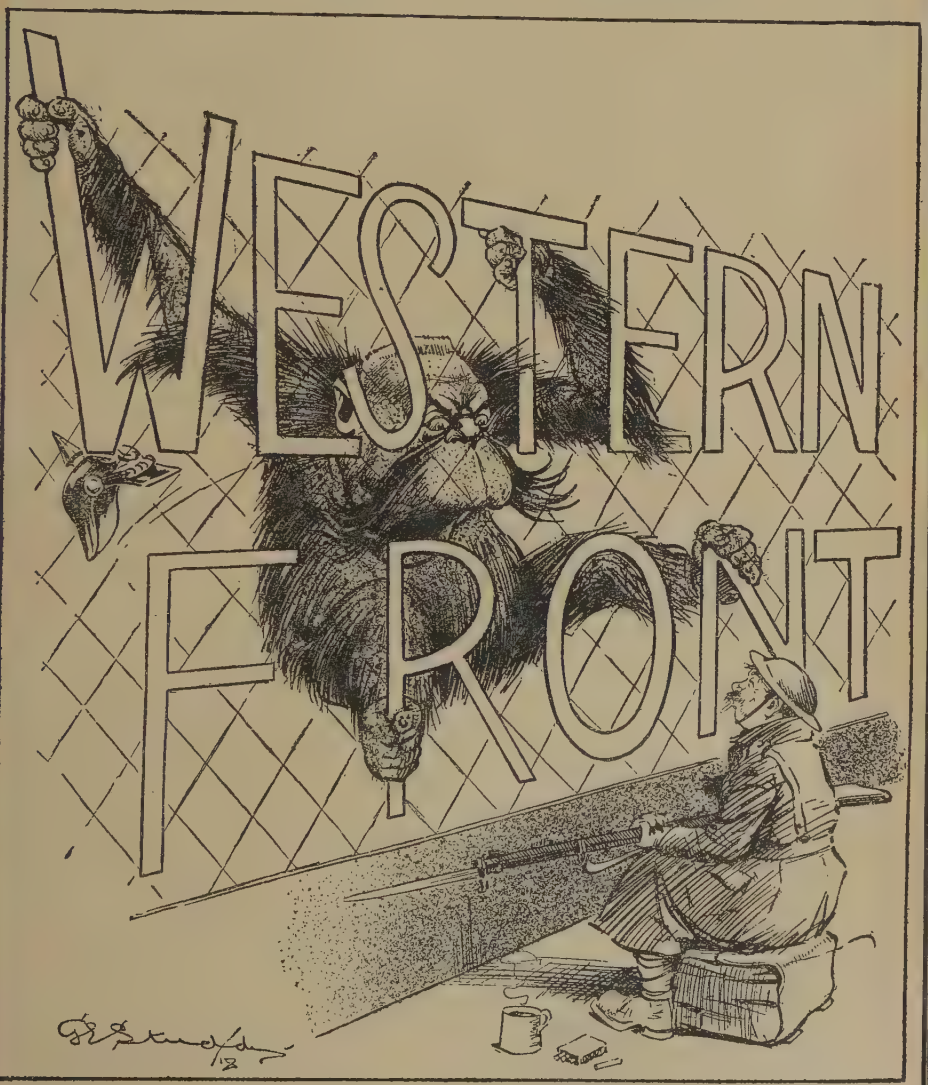
Pigeons as Life Savers

British soldiers and sailors are making frequent use of carrier pigeons as emergency messengers from the firing line and from sinking vessels far out at sea. Many a man has been saved from death by the speed of the homing pigeon. Captain Thomas Crisp, who had won the Victoria Cross and who died at the wheel under fire from a German submarine, lived long enough to dispatch a message by pigeon. The bird sped away with his last request for help for his son and crew, and they were saved—but only through the timely arrival of their pigeon messenger. On another occasion a flying boat (a boat with airplane wings) and a hydroaeroplane (an airplane with floats in place of landing wheels) both got into difficulties in stormy weather and it seemed that all lives must be lost. A message for help was sent out by pigeon. In the teeth of a fierce wind the gallant bird fought its way home, only to die from exhaustion on arrival. But its message had been delivered, assistance was sent with all speed, and the lives of both crews were saved.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

He Can't Get Through

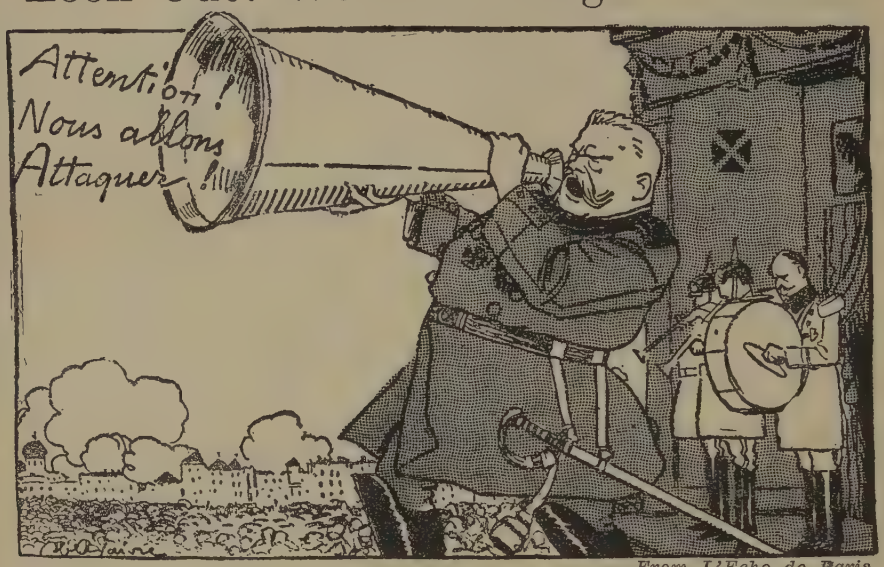


—From The Passing Show, London.

TOMMY: "No missing link here, old sport!"

[French Cartoon]

"Look Out! We Are Going to Attack!"



—From L'Echo de Paris.

A French view of the much-heralded German offensive in the west.

[Dutch Cartoon]

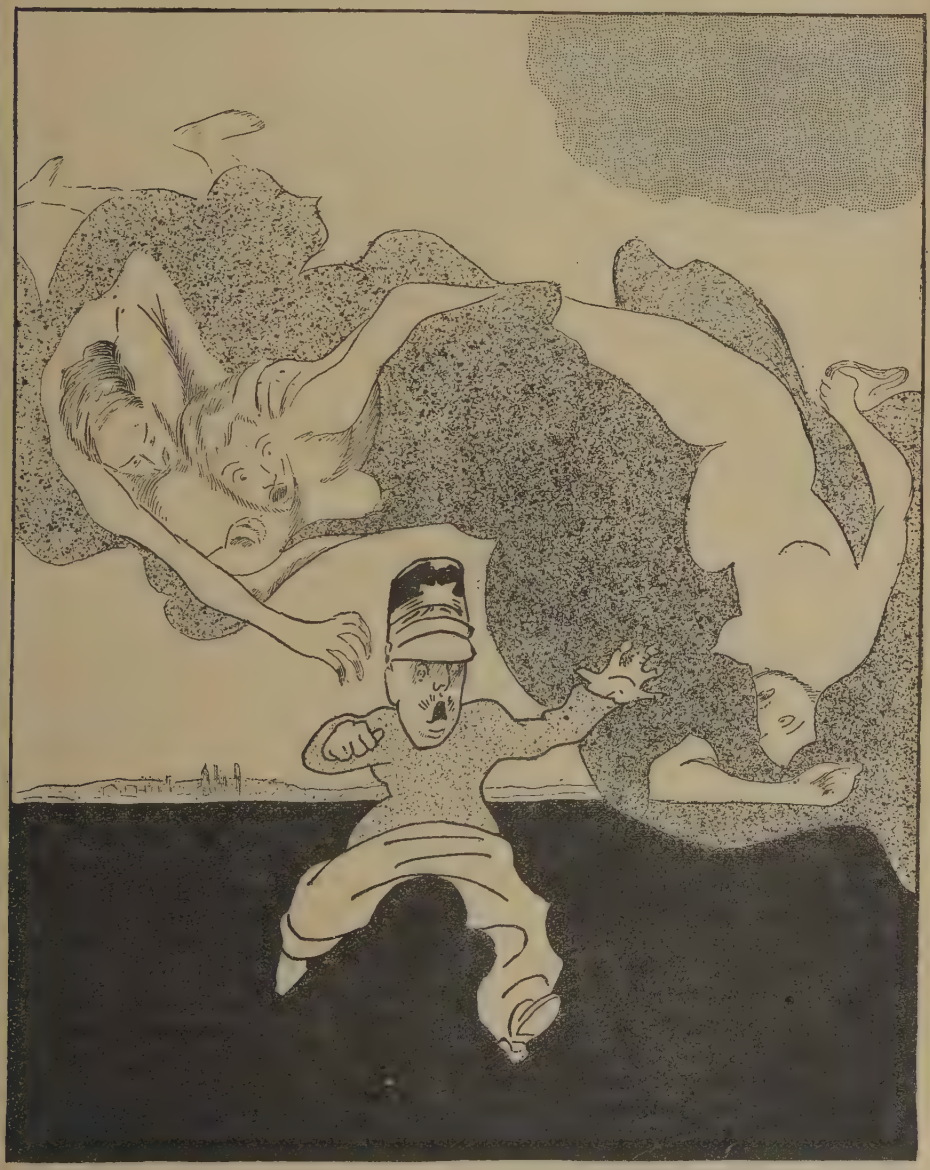
Plight of the Dutch People

—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

The vampire—the war embargo—is sucking the nation's lifeblood.

[German Cartoon]

Italy's Punishment



—From Simplicissimus, Munich.

[After the German invasion of Italy this cartoon appeared in Munich with the bitter caption: "Victor Emmanuel the Perjurer: all guilt is avenged on this earth."]

[English Cartoon]

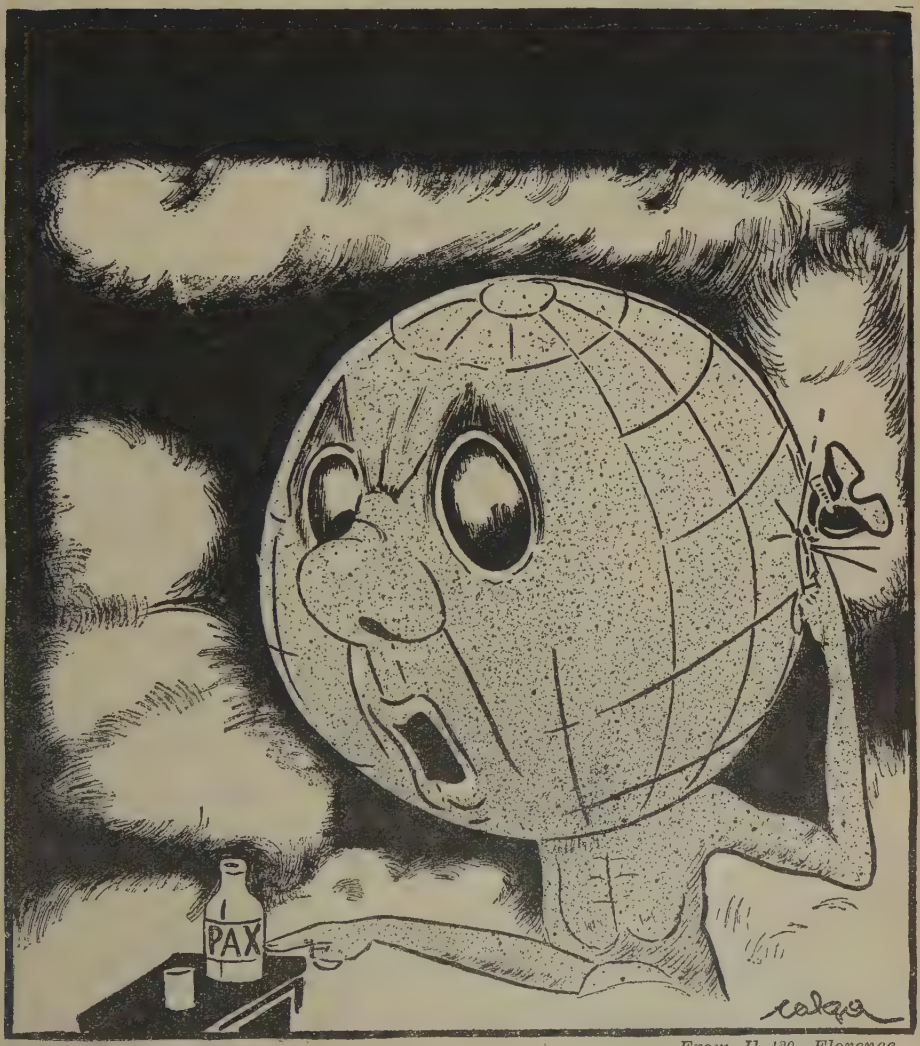
The Austrian Ferment

—From London Opinion.

KAISER BILL: "Shove like mad, Carl! Remember Nicky! We mustn't let our skeleton get out of the cupboard, as Russia did."

[Italian Cartoon]

Radical Surgery Needed



—*From Il 420, Florence.*

EARTH: "This peace medicine may be all right as a sedative, but if I don't extirpate that malignant tumor I shall never get the infection out of my blood."

[American Cartoon]

The Quack

"I don't want you! Look what you did to your last patient!"

—New York Times.

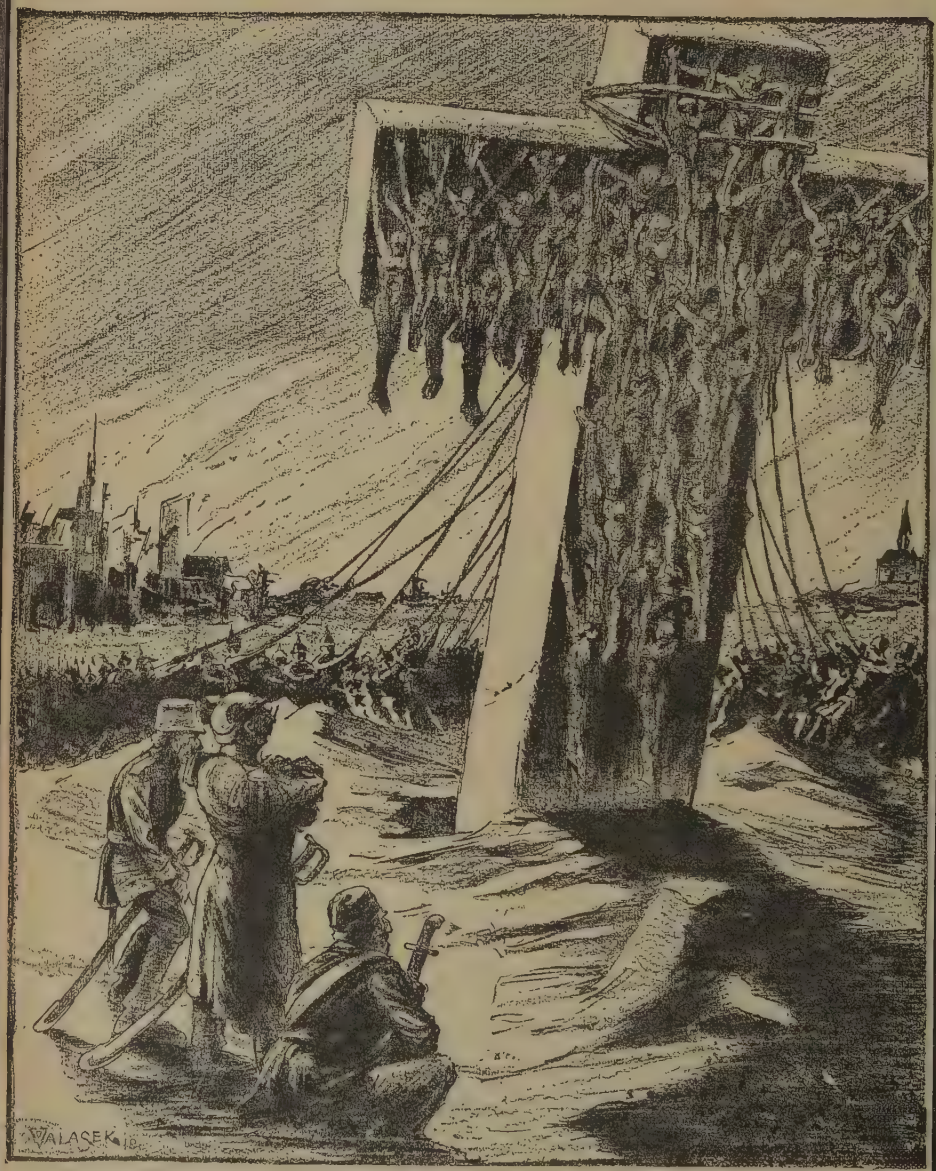
[American Cartoon]

History will say: "Deserted and robbed by his traducers, alienated from his friends, all his moral courage dissipated through his own excesses, they found the one-time giant of nations dead * * *"

—Birmingham Age-Herald.

[American Cartoon]

Raising Their Monument



—From The Chicago Herald.

[American Cartoon]

The German-Russian Alliance

—From The Chicago Herald.

Puzzle: Where is Russia?

[American Cartoon]

Russia

—From The Brooklyn Daily Eagle.

[American Cartoon]

It Is to Laugh!

—*From The New York Evening Post.*

[Swiss Cartoon]

The Practical Lohengrin

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

Thank Heaven for you, dear swan!

[English Cartoon]

"Theirs Not to Make Reply!"

—From The Passing Show, London.

CORPORAL (drilling troops out for a "rest" in a muddy rest camp): "Now, when I says 'Mark time!' I wants to 'ear all yer feet come dahn together on the ground with a click!"

[American Cartoon]

Our War Aims

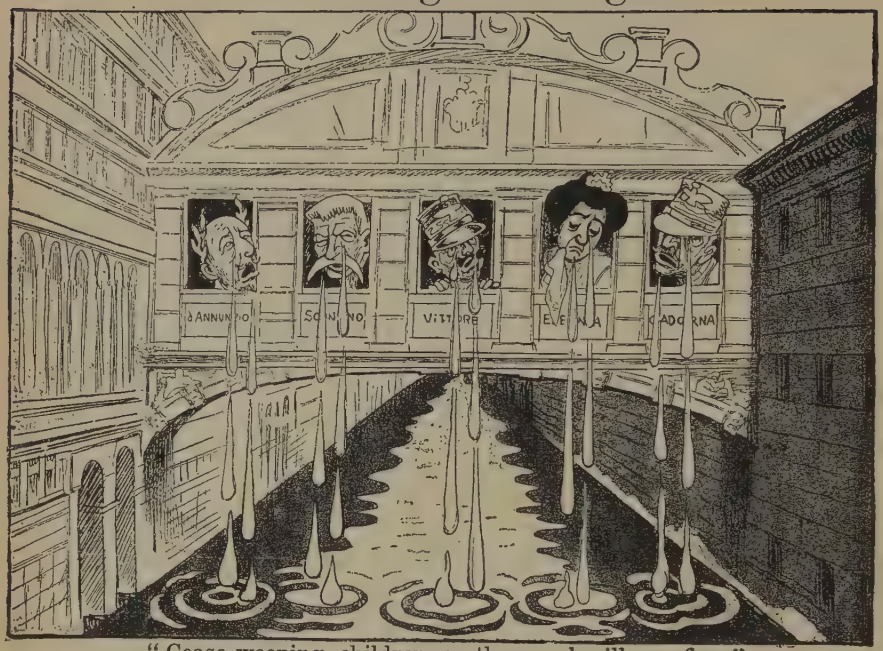
U.S.
THAT THE WORLD BE MADE FIT AND SAFE FOR PEOPLE TO LIVE IN; THAT IT BE MADE SAFE FOR EVERY PEACE-LOVING NATION, WHICH, LIKE OUR OWN, WISHES TO LIVE ITS OWN LIFE.
PRESIDENT WILSON
EUROPE
ROBERT CARTER

—*Carter in Philadelphia Press.* (Mr. Carter died March 1, 1918.)

That's What I'm Here For!

[German Cartoon]

The Bridge of Sighs



"Cease weeping, children, or the canal will overflow."

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Invalids

—*From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.*

MARS: "Well, how are you?"
PEACE: "Not at all well. And you?"
MARS: "Rotten, but I can still hold out."

[American Cartoon]

The Prussian Toreador

—Bushnell, for Central Press Association.

[American Cartoon]

It's Filling

—From The Manchester Union.

[Italian Cartoon]

The German God

—From L'Asino, Rome.

"Forward with God!"

Labor Throws the Hammer

—*New York Herald.*

The Bridge to France

—*New York Tribune.*

The Operation Was Successful, but—

—*St. Louis Republic.*

Sold!

—*New York World.*

The Autocrats at the Breakfast Table

—Dallas News.

German Thoroughness

—Dallas News.

You're Out of Shtep!

—Baltimore American.

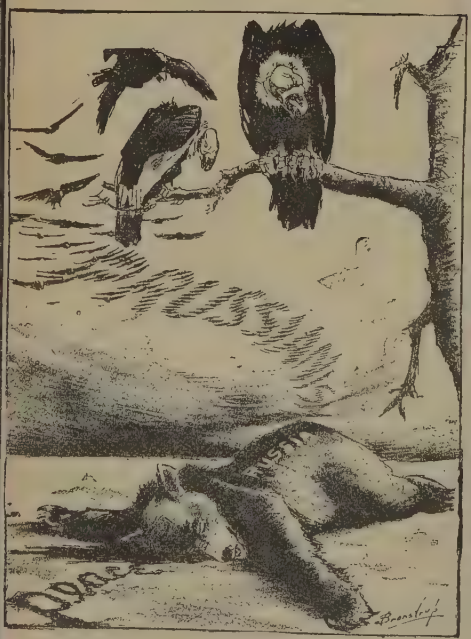
But When She Gets There

—Baltimore American.

Indigestible Food

The Dance of Death

Now for the Feast



The New Hindenburg Line

—*From The San Francisco Chronicle.*

LICHNOWSKY'S MEMORANDUM

Full Text of the Suppressed Document in Which the Former German Ambassador at London Reveals Germany's Guilt in Starting the War

The full text of the memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky, who was German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the war, was obtained in this country in installments, which had appeared in various European newspapers, chiefly the Politiken of Stockholm, the Vorwaerts of Berlin, and the Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten. The earlier installments to reach America were translated and summarized in the regular pages of this issue of Current History Magazine, beginning on Page 314. After the issue had gone to press the complete text became procurable. In order to give its readers the immediate benefit of this opportunity, Current History Magazine herewith presents the entire document—one of the most important of the war—in the form of a special supplement, despite the fact that some parts of it are duplicated in the abridged version on Page 314.

Prince Lichnowsky's now famous memorandum bears the title "My London Mission, 1912-1914," and is dated "Kuchelna, (his country seat,) 16 August, 1916." It became public in March, 1918, and created a profound sensation in Germany as well as in the Entente countries.

Kuchelna, 16 August, 1916.

BARON MARSCHALL died in September, 1912, having held his post in London for a few months only. His appointment, which was due mainly to his age and the plotting of a younger man to get to London, was one of the many mistakes made by our Foreign Office. In spite of his imposing personality and great reputation, he was too old and tired to be able to adapt himself to a purely foreign and Anglo-Saxon milieu. He was more of a bureaucrat and a lawyer than a diplomat or statesman. He set to work to convince Englishmen of the harmless character of our fleet, and naturally succeeded in strengthening an entirely opposite impression.

To my great surprise I was offered the post in October. After many years' work I had withdrawn to the country, as no suitable post had been found for me, and I spent my time on my farm and in my garden, on horseback and in the fields, but I read industriously and published occasional political articles. Thus eight years passed, and thirteen since I had left Vienna as Ambassador. That was actually my last political employment. I do not know to whom my appointment in London was due. At all events, not to his Majesty, as I did not belong to his immediate set, although he was always gracious to me. I know by experience that his candidates were frequently successfully opposed. As a matter of fact, Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter wanted to send Baron von Stumm to London. He met me at once with undisguised ill-will, and tried to frighten me by rudeness. Her von Bethmann Hollweg was amiable to me, and had visited me shortly before at Grätz. I am, therefore, inclined to think that they settled on me, as no other candidate was available. Had Baron von Marschall not

died, it is unlikely that I should have been dug out any more than in previous years. The moment was obviously favorable for an attempt to come to a better understanding with England.

THE MOROCCO QUESTION

Our obscure policy in Morocco had repeatedly caused distrust of our peaceful intention, or, at least, had raised doubts as to whether we knew what we wanted or whether our intention was to keep Europe in a state of suspense and, on occasion, to humiliate the French. An Austrian colleague, who was a long time in Paris, said to me: "The French had begun to forget la revanche. You have regularly reminded them of it by tramping on their toes." After we had declined Delcassé's offer to come to an agreement regarding Morocco, and then solemnly declared that we had no political interest there—an attitude which agreed with Bismarckian political conditions—we suddenly discovered in Abdul Aziz a Kruger Number Two. To him also, as to the Boers, we promised the protection of the mighty German Empire, and with the same result. Both manifestations concluded, as they were bound to conclude, with a retraction, if we were not prepared to start a world war. The pitiable conference of Algeciras could alter nothing, and still less cause Delcassé's fall. Our attitude furthered the Russo-Japanese and Russo-British rapprochement. In face of "the German peril" all other considerations faded into the background. The possibility of another Franco-German war had been patent, and, as had not been the case in 1870, such a war could not leave out Russia or England.

WORTHLESS AGREEMENTS

The valuelessness of the Triple Alliance had already been demonstrated at Algeciras, and, immediately afterward, the equal worthlessness of the agreements made there when the Sultanate fell to pieces, which was, of course, unavoidable. Meanwhile, the belief was spreading among the Russian people that our foreign policy was weak and was breaking down under "encirclement," and that cowardly surrender followed on haughty gestures. It is to the credit of von Kiderlen-Wächter, though otherwise overrated as a statesman, that he cleared up the Moroccan situation and adapted himself to circumstances which could not be altered. Whether the world had to be upset by the Agadir coup is a question I do not touch. This event was hailed with joy in Germany, but in England caused all the more uneasiness in that the British Government waited in vain for three weeks for a statement of our intentions. Mr. Lloyd George's Mansion House speech, intended to warn us, was a consequence. Before Delcassé's fall and before the Algeciras conference we could have obtained harbors and bases on the West Coast, but that was no longer possible.

When I came to London in November, 1912, people had become easier about the question of Morocco, especially since an agreement had been reached with France and Berlin. Lord Haldane's mission had failed, it is true, as we demanded promises of neutrality instead of contenting ourselves with a treaty which would insure us against a British attack or any attack with British support. Sir Edward Grey had not, meanwhile, given up the idea of coming to an understanding with us, and made such an attempt first on economic and colonial grounds. Through the agency of that qualified and expert Councilor of Embassy, von Kühlmann, an exchange of opinions had taken place with regard to the renewal of the Portuguese colonial treaty and the Bagdad Railway, which thus carried out the unexpected aim of dividing into spheres of interest both the above-mentioned colonies and Asia Minor. The British statesman, old points in dispute both with France and Russia having been settled, wished to come to a similar agreement with us. His intention was not to isolate us but to make us in so far as possible partners in a working concern. Just as he had succeeded in bridging Franco-British and Russo-British difficulties, so he wished as far as possible to remove German-British difficulties, and by a network of treaties—which would finally include an agreement on the miserable fleet question—to secure the peace of the world,

as our earlier policy had lent itself to a co-operation with the Entente, which contained a mutual assurance against the danger of war.

GREY'S DESIRES

This was Sir Edward Grey's program in his own words: "Without infringing on the existing friendly relations with France and Russia, which in themselves contained no aggressive elements, and no binding obligations for England; to seek to achieve a more friendly rapprochement with Germany, and to bring the two groups nearer together."

In England, as with us, there were two opinions, that of the optimists, who believed in an understanding, and that of the pessimists, who considered war inevitable sooner or later. Among the former were Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and most of the Ministers in the Radical Cabinet, as well as leading Liberal organs, such as The Westminster Gazette, The Manchester Guardian, and The Daily Chronicle. To the pessimists belong especially Conservative politicians like Mr. Balfour, who repeatedly made his meaning clear to me; leading soldiers such as Lord Roberts, who insisted on the necessity of conscription, and on "the writing on the wall," and, further, the Northcliffe press, and that leading English journalist, Mr. Garvin of The Observer. During my term of office they abstained from all attacks and took up, personally and politically, a friendly attitude. Our naval policy and our attitude in the years 1905, 1908, and 1911 had, nevertheless, caused them to think that it might one day come to war. Just as with us, the former are now dubbed shortsighted and simple-minded, while the latter are regarded as the true prophets.

BALKAN QUESTIONS

The first Balkan war led to the collapse of Turkey and with it the defeat of our policy, which had been identified with Turkey for many years. Since the salvation of Turkey in Europe was no longer feasible, only two possibilities for settling the question remained. Either we declared we had no longer any interest in the definition of boundaries in the Balkan Peninsula, and left the settlement of the question to the Balkan peoples themselves, or we supported our allies and carried out a Triple Alliance policy in the East, thereby giving up the rôle of mediator.

I urged the former course from the beginning, but the German Foreign Office very much preferred the latter. The chief question was Albania. Our allies desired the establishment of an independent State of Albania, as Austria would not allow Serbia to reach the Adriatic, and Italy did not wish the Greeks to reach Valona or even the territory north of Corfu. On the other hand, Russia, as is known, favored Serbian, and France Greek, desires. My advice was now to consider the question as outside the alliance, and to support, neither Austrian nor Italian wishes. Without our support the establishment of Albania, whose incapability of existence might have been foreseen, was an impossibility. Serbia would have pushed forward to the coast; then the present world war would have been avoided. France and Italy would have remained definitely divided as to Greece, and the Italians, had they not wished to fight France, alone, would have been obliged to consent to the expansion of Greece to the district north of Durazzo. The greater part of civilized Albania is Greek. The southern towns are entirely Greek, and, at the time of the conference of Ambassadors, deputations from the larger towns came to London to carry through the annexation to Greece.

In Greece today whole groups are Albanian, and the so-called Greek national dress is of Albanian origin. The amalgamation of the preponderating Orthodox and Islamic Albanians with the Greek State was, therefore, the best solution and the most natural, if one leaves out of account Scutari and the northern part of Serbia and Montenegro. His Majesty was also in favor of this solution on dynastic grounds. When I encouraged the monarch by letter to this effect, I received violent reproaches from the Chancellor for supporting Austria's opponents, and he forbade all such interference in the future, and even direct

correspondence. We had eventually, however, to abandon the tradition of carrying out the Triple Alliance policy in the East and to acknowledge our mistake, which consisted in identifying ourselves with the Turks in the south and the Austro-Magyars in the north; for the continuance of that policy, which we began at the Congress in Berlin and subsequently carried on zealously, was bound in time, should the necessary skill in conducting it fail, to lead to a collision with Russia and a world war.

TURKEY, RUSSIA, ITALY

Instead of uniting with Russia on the basis of the independence of the Sultan, whom the Russians also did not wish to drive out of Constantinople, and confining ourselves to economic interests in the East, while at the same time refraining from all military and political interference and being satisfied with a division of Asia Minor into spheres of interest, the goal of our political ambition was to dominate in the Bosporus. In Russia, therefore, the opinion arose that the way to Constantinople and to the Mediterranean lay through Berlin. Instead of encouraging a powerful development in the Balkan States, which were once free and are very different from the Russians, of which fact we have already had experience, we placed ourselves on the side of the Turkish and Magyar oppressors. The dire mistake of our Triple Alliance and our Eastern policies, which drove Russia—our natural friend and best neighbor—into the arms of France and England, and kept her from her policy of Asiatic expansion, was the more evident, as a Franco-Russian attack, the only hypothesis justifying a Triple Alliance policy, had to be eliminated from our calculations.

As to the value of the alliance with Italy, one word only. Italy needs our money and our tourists after the war, with or without our alliance. That our alliance would go by the board in the event of war was to be foreseen. The alliance, consequently, was worthless.

Austria, however, needed our protection both in war and peace, and had no other point d'appui. This dependence on us is based on political, national, and economic grounds, and is all the greater in proportion to the intimacy of our relations with Russia. This was proved in the Bosnian crisis. Since Count Beust, no Vienna Minister had been so self-conscious with us as Count Aehrenthal was during the last years of his life. Under the influence of a properly conducted German policy which would keep us in touch with Russia, Austria-Hungary is our vassal, and is tied to us even without an alliance and without reciprocal services; under the influence of a misguided policy, however, we are tied to Austria-Hungary. An alliance would therefore be purposeless.

I know Austria far too well not to know that a return to the policy of Count Felix Schwarzenberg or to that of Count Moritz Esterhazy was unthinkable. Little as the Slavs living there love us, they wish just as little for a return to the German Kaiserdom, even with a Hapsburg-Lorraine at its head. They are striving for an internal Austrian federation on a national basis, a condition which is even less likely of realization within the German Empire than under the Double Eagle. Austro-Germans look on Berlin as the centre of German power and Kultur, and they know that Austria can never be a leading power. They desire as close a connection as possible with the empire, but not to the extent of an anti-German policy.

BALKAN QUARRELS

Since the seventies the conditions have changed fundamentally in Austria, and also, perhaps, in Bavaria. Just as here a return to Pan-German particularism and the old Bavarian policy is not to be feared, so there a revival of the policy of Prince Kaunitz and Prince Schwarzenberg is not to be contemplated. But by a constitutional union with Austria, which even without Galicia and Dalmatia is inhabited at least to the extent of one-half by non-Germans, our interests would suffer; while, on the other hand, by the subordination of our policy to the point of view of Vienna and Budapest, we should have to "epouser les querelles de l'Autriche."

We, therefore, had no need to heed the desires of our allies. They were not only unnecessary but dangerous, inasmuch as they would lead to a collision with Russia if we looked at Eastern questions through Austrian eyes. The transformation of our alliance with its single original purpose into a complete alliance, involving a complexity of common interests, was calculated to call forth the very state of things which the constitutional negotiations were designed to prevent, namely, war. Such a policy of alliances would, moreover, entail the loss of the sympathies of the young, strong, and growing communities in the Balkan Peninsula, which were ready to turn to us and open their market to us. The contrast between dynastic and democratic ideas had to be given clear expression, and, as usual, we stood on the wrong side. King Carol told one of our representatives that he had made an alliance with us on condition that we retained control of affairs, but that if that control passed to Austria it would entirely change the basis of affairs, and under those conditions he could no longer participate. Matters stood in the same position in Serbia, where against our own economic interests we were supporting an Austrian policy of strangulation.

BACKED WRONG HORSES

We had always backed horses which, it was evident, would lose, such as Kruger, Abdul Aziz, Abdul Hamid, Wilhelm of Wied, and finally—and this was the most miserable mistake of all—Count Berchtold.

Shortly after my arrival in London, in 1912, Sir Edward Grey proposed an informal exchange of views in order to prevent a European war developing out of the Balkan war, since, at the outbreak of that war, we had unfortunately declined the proposal of the French Government to join in a declaration of disinterestedness and impartiality on the part of the powers. The British statesman maintained from the beginning that England had no interest in Albania, and would, therefore, not go to war on the subject. In his rôle of "honest broker" and an attempt to smooth away difficulties between the two groups. He, therefore, by no means placed himself on the he would confine his efforts to mediation side of the Entente Powers, and during the negotiations, which lasted about eight months, he lent his good-will and powerful influence toward the establishment of an understanding. Instead of adopting the English point of view, we accepted that dictated to us by Vienna. Count Mensdorff led the Triple Alliance in London and I was his second.

GREY ALWAYS CONCILIATORY

My duty was to support his proposals. The clever and experienced Count Szogyenyi was at the helm in Berlin. His refrain was "casus foederis," and when once I dared to doubt the justice of this phrase I was seriously warned against Austrophobism. Referring to my father, it was even said that I had inherited it. On every point, including Albania, the Serbian harbors in the Adriatic, Scutari, and in the definition of the Albanian frontiers, we were on the side of Austria and Italy, while Sir Edward Grey hardly ever took the French or Russian point of view. On the contrary, he nearly always took our part in order to give no pretext for war—which was afterward brought about by a dead Archduke. It was with his help that King Nicholas was induced to leave Scutari. Otherwise there would have been war over this matter, as we should never have dared to ask "our allies" to make concessions.

Sir Edward Grey conducted the negotiations with care, calm, and tact. When a question threatened to become involved he proposed a formula which met the case and always secured consent. He acquired the full confidence of all the representatives.

AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA

Once again we had successfully withstood one of the many threats against the strength characterizing our policy. Russia had been obliged to give way to us all along the line, as she never got an opportunity to advance Serbian wishes. Albania was set up as an Austrian vassal

State, and Serbia was driven away from the sea. The conference was thus a fresh humiliation for Russia.

As in 1878 and 1908, we had opposed the Russian program without German interests being brought into play. Bismarck had to minimize the mistake of the Congress by a secret treaty, and his attitude in the Battenberg question—the downward incline being taken by us in the Bosnian question—was followed up in London, and was not given up, with the result that it led to the abyss.

The dissatisfaction then prevalent in Russia was given vent to during the London Conference by an attack in the Russian press on my Russian colleague and on Russian diplomacy.

His German origin and Catholic faith, his reputation as a friend of Germany, and the accident that he was related both to Count Mensdorff and to myself were all made use of by dissatisfied parties. Although not a particularly important personality, Count Benckendorff possessed many qualities of a good diplomat —tact, worldly knowledge, experience, an agreeable personality, and a natural eye for men and things. He sought always to avoid provocative attitudes, and was supported by the attitude of England and France.

I once said: "The feeling in Russia is very anti-German." He replied: "There are also many strong influential pro-German circles there. But the people generally are anti-Austrian."

It only remains to be added that our exaggerated Austrophilism is not exactly likely to break up the Entente and turn Russia's attention to her Asiatic interests.

PRE-WAR DIPLOMACY

[The next passages, which had formerly been suppressed by the Swedish Government, appeared in the Politiken of Stockholm on March 26:]

At the same time (1913) the Balkan Conference met in London, and I had the opportunity of meeting the leading men of the Balkan States. The most important personage among them was M. Venizelos. He was anything but anti-German, and particularly prized the Order of the Red Eagle, which he even wore at the French Embassy. With his winning amiability and savoir faire he could always win sympathy.

Next to him a great rôle was played by Daneff, the then Bulgarian Prime Minister and Count Berchtold's confidant. He gave the impression of being a capable and energetic man, and even the influence of his friends at Vienna and Budapest, at which he sometimes laughed, was attributable to the fact that he had let himself be drawn into the second Balkan war and had declined Russian intervention.

M. Take Jonescu was often in London, too, and visited me regularly. I had known him since the time when I was Secretary at Bucharest. He was also one of Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter's friends. His aim in London was to secure concessions for Rumania by negotiations with M. Daneff. In this he was supported by the most capable Rumanian Minister, M. Misu. That these negotiations were stranded by the Bulgarian opposition is known. Count Berchtold—and naturally we with him—was entirely on the side of Bulgaria; otherwise we should have succeeded by pressure on M. Daneff in obtaining the desired satisfaction for the Rumanians and have bound Rumania to us, as she was by Austria's attitude in the second Balkan war, while afterward she was estranged from the Central Powers.

AUSTRIA'S PRESTIGE INJURED

Bulgaria's defeat in the second Balkan war and Serbia's victory, as well as the Rumanian advance, naturally constituted a reproach to Austria. The idea of equalizing this by military intervention in Serbia seems to have gained ground rapidly in Vienna. This is proved by the Italian disclosure, and it may be presumed that the Marquis di San Giuliano, who described the plan as a "pericolossissima adventura," (an extremely risky adventure,) saved us from a European war as far back as the Summer of 1912. Intimate as Russo-Italian relations were, the aspiration of Vienna must have been known in St. Petersburg. In any event, M. Take Jonescu told me that M. Sazonoff had said in Constanza that

an attack on Serbia on the part of Austria meant war with Russia.

In the Spring of 1914 one of my Secretaries, on returning from leave in Vienna, said that Herr von Tschirsohky (German Ambassador in Vienna) had declared that war must soon come. But as I was always kept in the dark regarding important things, I considered his pessimism unfounded.

Ever since the peace of Bucharest it seems to have been the opinion in Vienna that the revision of this treaty should be undertaken independently, and only a favorable opportunity was awaited. The statesmen in Vienna and Bucharest could naturally count upon our support. This they knew, for already they had been reproached several times for their slackness. Berlin even insisted on the "rehabilitation" of Austria.

ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS

When I returned to London in December, 1913, after a long holiday, the Liman von Sanders question had led to our relations with Russia becoming acute. Sir Edward Grey called my attention with some uneasiness to the consequent unrest in St. Petersburg, saying: "I have never seen them so excited." Berlin instructed me to beg the Minister to urge calm in St. Petersburg and help to solve the difficulty. Sir Edward was quite willing, and his intervention contributed not inconsiderably to smoothing matters over. My good relations with Sir Edward and his great influence in St. Petersburg served in a like manner on several occasions when it was a question of carrying through something of which our representative there was completely incapable.

During the critical days of July, 1914, Sir Edward said to me: "If ever you want something done in St. Petersburg you come to me regularly, but if ever I appeal for your influence in Vienna you refuse your support." The good and dependable relations I was fortunate in making not only in society and among influential people, such as Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith, but also with others at public dinners, had brought about a noticeable improvement in our relations with England. Sir Edward devoted himself honestly to further this rapprochement, and his intentions were especially noticeable in two questions—the Colonial Treaty and the treaty regarding the Bagdad Railway.

THE AFRICAN AGREEMENT

[This portion is translated from the Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten.]

In the year 1898 a secret treaty had been signed by Count Hatzfeldt [then German Ambassador in London] and Mr. Balfour, which divided the Portuguese colonies in Africa into economic-political spheres of interest between us and England. As the Portuguese Government possessed neither the power nor the means to open up or adequately to administer its extensive possessions, the Portuguese Government had already at an earlier date thought of selling these possessions and thereby putting their finances in order.

Between us and England an agreement had been reached which defined the interests of the two parties and which was of all the greater value because Portugal, as is well known, is completely dependent upon England. This treaty was no doubt to secure outwardly the integrity and independence of the Portuguese Empire, and it only expressed the intention of giving financial and economic assistance to the Portuguese. Consequently it did not, according to the text, conflict with the old Anglo-Portuguese alliance, dating from the fifteenth century, which was last renewed under Charles II. and which guaranteed the territories of the two parties. Nevertheless, at the instance of the Marquis Soveral, who presumably was not ignorant of the Anglo-German agreement, a new treaty—the so-called Windsor treaty — which confirmed the old agreements, was concluded in 1899 between England and Portugal.

ENGLAND'S GENEROUS ATTITUDE

The object of the negotiations between us and England, which had begun before by arrival, was to alter and amend our treaty of 1898, which contained many impossible features—for example, with regard to the geographical delimitation.

Thanks to the conciliatory attitude of the British Government, I succeeded in giving to the new treaty a form which entirely accorded with our wishes and interests. All Angola, as far as the 20th degree of longitude, was allotted to us, so that we reached the Congo territory from the south. Moreover, the valuable islands or San Thomé and Principe, which lie north of the equator, and therefore really belonged to the French sphere of interest, were allotted to us—a fact which caused my French colleague to make lively, although vain, representations. Further, we obtained the northern part of Mozambique; the frontier was formed by the Likungo.

The British Government showed the utmost readiness to meet out interests and wishes. Sir Edward Grey intended to prove his good-will to us, but he also desired to promote our colonial development, because England hoped to divert Germany's development of strength from the North Sea and Western Europe to the world-sea and Africa. "We don't want to grudge Germany her colonial development," a member of the Cabinet said to me.

THE CONGO STATE

Originally, at the British suggestion, the Congo State was to be included in the treaty, which would have given us a right of pre-emption and a possibility of economic penetration in the Congo State. But we refused this offer, out of alleged respect for Belgian sensibilities! Perhaps the idea was to economize our successes? With regard also to the practical realization of the real but unexpressed object of the treaty—the actual partition at a later date of the Portuguese colonial possessions—the new formulation showed considerable advantages and progress as compared with the old. Thus the treaty contemplated circumstances which would enable us to enter the territories ascribed to us, for the protection of our interests.

These conditional clauses were so wide that it was really left to us to decide when really "vital" interests were concerned, so that, in view of the complete dependence of Portugal upon England we merely needed to go on cultivating our relations with England in order, later on, with English assent, to realize our mutual intentions.

The sincerity of the English Government in its effort to respect our rights was proved by the fact that Sir Edward Grey, before ever the treaty was completed or signed, called our attention to English men of business who were seeking opportunities to invest capital in the territories allotted to us by the new treaty, and who desired British support. In doing so he remarked that the undertakings in question belonged to our sphere of interest.

WILHELMSTRASSE INTRIGUES

The treaty was practically complete at the time of the King's visit to Berlin in May, 1913. A conversation then took place in Berlin under the Presidency of the Imperial Chancellor, (Herr von Bethmann Hollweg,) in which I took part, and at which special wishes were laid down. On my return to London I succeeded, with the help of my Counselor of Embassy, von Kühlmann, who was working upon the details of the treaty with Mr. Parker, in putting through our last proposals also. It was possible for the whole treaty to be initialed by Sir Edward Grey and myself in August, 1913, before I went on leave. Now, however, new difficulties were to arise, which prevented the signature, and it was only a year later, shortly before the outbreak of war, that I was able to obtain authorization for the final settlement. Signature, however, never took place.

Sir Edward Grey was willing to sign only if the treaty was published, together with the two treaties of 1898 and 1899; England has no other secret treaties, and it is contrary to her existing principles that she should conceal binding agreements. He said, however, that he was ready to take account of our wishes concerning the time and manner of publication, provided that publication took place within one year, at latest, after the signature. In the [Berlin] Foreign Office, however, where my London successes aroused increasing dissatisfaction, and where an influential personage, [the

reference is apparently to Herr von Stumm,] who played the part of Herr von Holstein, was claiming the London Embassy for himself, it was stated that the publication would imperil our interests in the colonies, because the Portuguese would show their gratitude by giving us no more concessions. The accuracy of this excuse is illuminated by the fact that the old treaty was most probably just as much long known to the Portuguese as our new agreements must have been, in view of the intimacy of relations between Portugal and England; it was illuminated also by the fact that, in view of the influence which England possesses at Lisbon, the Portuguese Government is completely powerless in face of an Anglo-German understanding.

WRECKING THE TREATY

Consequently, it was necessary to find another excuse for wrecking the treaty. It was said that the publication of the Windsor Treaty, which was concluded in the time of Prince Hohenlohe, and which was merely a renewal of the treaty of Charles II., which had never lapsed, might imperil the position of Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, as being a proof of British hypocrisy and perfidy! On this I pointed out that the preamble to our treaties said exactly the same thing as the Windsor Treaty and other similar treaties—namely, that we desired to protect the sovereign rights of Portugal and the integrity of its possessions!

In spite of repeated conversations with Sir Edward Grey, in which the Minister made ever fresh proposals concerning publication, the [Berlin] Foreign Office remained obstinate, and finally agreed with Sir Edward Goschen [British Ambassador in Berlin] that everything should remain as it was before. So the treaty, which gave us extraordinary advantages, the result of more than one year's work, had collapsed because it would have been a public success for me.

When in the Spring of 1914 I happened, at a dinner in the embassy, at which Mr. Harcourt [then Colonial Secretary] was present, to mention the matter, the Colonial Secretary said that he was embarrassed and did not know how to behave. He said that the present state of affairs was intolerable, because he [Mr. Harcourt] wanted to respect our rights, but, on the other hand, was in doubt as to whether he should follow the old treaty or the new. He said that it was therefore extremely desirable to clear matters up, and to bring to a conclusion an affair which had been hanging on for so long.

"A DISASTROUS MISTAKE"

When I reported to this effect I received a rude and excited order, telling me to refrain from any further interference in the matter.

I now regret that I did not go to Berlin in order to offer his Majesty my resignation, and that I still did not lose my belief in the possibility of an agreement between me and the leading [German] personages. That was a disastrous mistake, which was to be tragically avenged some months later.

Slight though was the extent to which I then still possessed the good-will of the Imperial Chancellor—because he feared that I was aiming at his office—I must do him the justice to say that at the end of June, 1914, in our last conversation before the outbreak of war, he gave his consent to the signature and publication. Nevertheless, it required further repeated suggestions on my part, which were supported by Dr. Solf, [German Colonial Secretary,] in order at last to obtain official consent at the end of July. Then the Serbian crisis was already threatening the peace of Europe, and so the completion of the treaty had to be postponed. The treaty is now one of the victims of the war.

BAGDAD RAILWAY TREATY

[This portion is translated from the Stockholm Politiken of March 26.]

At the same time, while the African agreement was under discussion, I was negotiating, with the effective co-operation of Herr von Kühlmann, the so-called Bagdad Railway Treaty. This aimed, in fact, at the division of Asia Minor into spheres of interest, although this expression was carefully avoided in consideration of the Sultan's rights. Sir Edward

Grey declared repeatedly that there was no agreement between England and France aiming at a division of Asia Minor.

In the presence of the Turkish representative, Hakki Pasha, all economic questions in connection with the German treaty were settled mainly in accordance with the wishes of the Ottoman Bank. The greatest concession Sir Edward Grey made me personally was the continuation of the line to Basra. We had not insisted on this terminus in order to establish connection with Alexandretta. Hitherto Bagdad had been the terminus of the line. The shipping on the Shatt el Arab was to be in the hands of an international commission. We also obtained a share in the harbor works at Basra, and even acquired shipping rights on the Tigris, hitherto the monopoly of the firm of Lynch.

By this treaty the whole of Mesopotamia up to Basra became our zone of interest, whereby the whole British rights, the question of shipping on the Tigris, and the Wilcox establishments were left untouched, as well as all the district of Bagdad and the Anatolian railways.

The British economic territories included the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Smyrna-Aidin railway, the French Syria, and the Russian Armenia. Had both treaties been concluded and published, an agreement would have been reached with England which would have finally ended all doubt of the possibility of an Anglo-German co-operation.

GERMAN NAVAL DEVELOPMENT

Most difficult of all, there remained the question of the fleet. It was never quite rightly judged. The creation of a mighty fleet on the other shore of the North Sea and the simultaneous development of the Continent's most important military power into its most important naval power had at least to be recognized by England as uncomfortable. This presumably cannot be doubted. To maintain the necessary lead and not to become dependent, to preserve the supremacy of the sea, which Britain must have in order not to go down, she had to undertake preparations and expenses which weighed heavily on the taxpayer. A threat against the British world position was made in that our policy allowed the possibility of warlike development to appear. This possibility was obviously near during the Morocco crisis and the Bosnian question.

People had become reconciled to our fleet in its definite strength. Obviously it was not welcome to the British and onstituted one of the motives, but neither the only nor the most important motive, for England's joining hands with Russia and France. On account of our fleet alone, however, England would have drawn the sword as little as on account of our trade, which it is pretended called forth her jealousy and ultimately brought about war.

From the beginning I adopted the standpoint that in spite of the fleet it would be possible to come to a friendly understanding and reapprochement if we did not propose new votes of credit, and, above all, if we carried out an indisputable peace policy. I also avoided all mention of the fleet, and between me and Sir Edward Grey the word was never uttered. Sir Edward Grey declared on one occasion at a Cabinet meeting: "The present German Ambassador has never mentioned the fleet to me."

UNDERSTANDING POSSIBLE.

During my term of office the then First Lord, Mr. Churchill, raised the question of a so-called naval holiday, and proposed, for financial reasons as much as on account of the pacifist inclinations of his party, a one year's pause in armaments. Officially the suggestion was not supported by Sir Edward Grey. He never spoke of it to me, but Mr. Churchill spoke to me on repeated occasions.

I am convinced that his initiative was honest; cunning in general not being part of the Englishman's constitution. It would have been a great success for Mr. Churchill to secure economies for the country and to lighten the burder of armament, which was weighing heavily on the people.

I maintain that it would have been difficult to support his intention. How about the workmen employed for this purpose? How about the technical personnel? Our naval program was settled, and it would be difficult to alter it. Nor, on the other hand, did we intend exceeding it. But he pointed out that the means spent on portentous armaments could equally be used for other purposes. I maintain that such expenditure would have benefited home industries.

NO TRADE JEALOUSY

I also succeeded, in conversation with Sir William Tyrrell, Eir Edward Grey's private secretary, in keeping away that subject without raising suspicion, although it came up in Parliament, and preventing the Government's proposal from being made. But it was Mr. Churchill's and the Government's favorite idea that by supporting his initiative in the matter of large ships we should give proof of our good-will and considerably strengthen and increase the tendency on the part of the Government to get in closer contact with us. But, as I have said, it was possible in spite of our fleet and without naval holidays to come to an understanding.

In that spirit I had carried out my mission from the beginning, and had even succeeded in realizing my program when the war broke out and destroyed everything.

Trade jealousy, so much talked about among us, rests on faulty judgment of circumstances. It is a fact that Germany's progress as a trading country after the war of 1870 and during the following decades threatened the interests of British trade circles, constituting a form of monopoly with its industry and export houses. But the growing interchange of merchandise with Germany, which was first on the list of all European exporting countries, a fact I always referred to in my public speeches, had allowed the desire to mature to preserve good relations with England's best client and business friend, and had gradually suppressed all other thoughts and motives. The Englishman, as a matter of fact, adapts himself to circumstances and does not tilt against windmills. In commercial circles I found the greatest good-will and desire to further our common economic interests.

AMIABLY RECEIVED

In other circles I had a most amiable reception, and enjoyed the cordial goodwill of the Court, society, and the Government. No one there interested himself in the Russian, Italian, Austrian, or even the French representative, in spite of the imposing personality and political success of the last named. Only the German and American Ambassadors attracted public attention.

In order to get in touch with the most important business circles I accepted invitations from the United Chambers of Commerce, the London and Bradford Chambers, and those of the great cities of Newcastle and Liverpool. I had a hearty reception everywhere. Glasgow and Edinburgh had also invited me, and I promised them visits. People who did not understand English conditions and did not appreciate the value of public dinners, and others who disliked my success, reproached me with having done harm by my speeches. I, on the contrary, believe that my public appearances and my discussion of common economic interests contributed considerably toward the improvement of conditions, apart from the fact that it would have been impolitic and impolite to refuse invitations.

In other circles I had a most amiable reception and enjoyed the cordial goodwill of the Court, society, and the Government.

INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN

The King, very amiable and well meaning and possessed of sound understanding and common sense, was invariably well disposed toward me and desired honestly to facilitate my mission. In spite of the small amount of power which the British Constitution gives the Crown, the King can, by virtue of his position, greatly influence the tone both of society and the Government. The Crown is the apex of society from which the

tone emanates. Society, which is overwhelmingly Unionist, is largely occupied by ladies connected with politics. It is represented in the Lords and the Commons, consequently also in the Cabinet.

The Englishman either belongs to society or ought to belong to it. His aim is, and always will be, to be a distinguished man and a gentleman, and even men of modest origin, such as Mr. Asquith, prefer to be in society, with its elegant women.

British gentlemen of both parties enjoy the same education, go to the same colleges and university, and engage in the same sports—golf, cricket, lawn tennis, and polo. All have played cricket and football in their youth, all have the same habits, and all spend the week-end in the country. No social cleavage divides the parties, only political cleavage. To some extent of late years the politicians in the two camps have avoided one another in society. Not even on the ground of a neutral mission could the two camps be amalgamated, for since the Home Rule and Veto bills the Unionists have despised the Radicals. A few months after my arrival the King and Queen dined with me, and Lord Londonderry left the house after dinner in order not to be together with Sir Edward Grey. But there is no opposition from difference in caste and education as in France. There are not two worlds, but the same world, and their opinion of a foreigner is common and not without influence on his political standing, whether a Lansdowne or an Asquith is at the helm.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

The difference of caste no longer exists in England since the time of the Stuarts and since the Whig oligarchy (in contradistinction to the Tory county families) allowed the bourgeoisie in the towns to rise in society. There is greater difference in political opinions on constitutional or Church questions than on financial or political questions. Aristocrats who have joined the popular party, Radicals such as Grey, Churchill, Harcourt, and Crewe, are most hated by the Unionist aristocracy. None of these gentlemen have I ever met in great aristocratic houses, only in the houses of party friends.

We were received in London with open arms and both parties outdid one another in amiability.

It would be a mistake to undervalue social connections in view of the close connection in England between society and politics, even though the majority of the upper ten thousand are in opposition to the Government. Between an Asquith and a Devonshire there is no such deep cleft as between a Briand and a Duc de Doudeauville, for example. In times of political tension they do not foregather. They belong to two separate social groups, but are part of the same society, if on different levels, the centre of which is the Court. They have friends and habits in common, they are often related or connected. A phenomenon like Lloyd George, a man of the people, a small solicitor and a self-made man, is an exception. Even John Burns, a Socialist Labor leader and a self-taught man, seeks society relations. On the ground of a general striving to be considered gentlemen of social weight and position such men must not be undervalued.

In no place, consequently, is an envoy's social circle of greater consequence than in England. A hospitable house with friendly guests is worth more than the profoundest scientific knowledge, and a learned man of insignificant appearance and too small means would, in spite of all his learning, acquire no influence. The Briton hates a bore and a pedant. He loves a good fellow.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S SOCIALISM

Sir Edward Grey's influence in all questions of foreign policy was almost unlimited. True, he used to say on important occasions: "I must lay that before the Cabinet"; but it is equally true that the latter invariably took his view. Although he did not know foreign countries and, with the exception of one short visit to Paris, had never left England, he was closely informed on all important questions, owing to many years' Parliamentary experience and natural grasp. He understood French without speaking it. Elected at an early age to Parlia-

ment, he began immediately to occupy himself with foreign affairs. Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Foreign Office under Lord Rosebery, he became in 1906 Secretary of State under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and filled the post for ten years.

Sprung from an old North of England family of landowners, from whom the statesman, Earl Grey, is also descended, he joined the left wing of his party and sympathized with the Socialists and pacifists. He can be called a Socialist in the ideal sense, for he applied his theories even in private life, which is characterized by great simplicity and unpretentiousness, although he is possessed of considerable means. All display is foreign to him. He had a small residence in London and never gave dinners, except officially, at the Foreign Office on the King's birthday.

SIMPLE MODE OF LIFE

If, exceptionally, he asked a few guests to his house, it was to a simple dinner or luncheon in a small circle with parlor maids for service. The week-ends he spent regularly in the country, like his colleagues, but not at large country house parties. He lives mostly in his cottage in the New Forest, taking long walks, and is passionately fond of nature and ornithology. Or he journeyed to his property in the north and tamed squirrels. In his youth he was a noted cricket and tennis player. His chief sport is now salmon and trout fishing in the Scotch lakes with Lord Glenconner, Mr. Asquith's brother-in-law. Once, when spending his week-ends with Lord Glenconner, he came thirty miles on a bicycle and returned in the same way. His simple, upright manner insured him the esteem even of his opponents, who were more easily to be found in home than in foreign political circles.

Lies and intrigue were foreign to his nature. His wife, whom he loved and from whom he was never separated, died as the result of an accident to the carriage driven by him. As is known, one brother was killed by a lion.

Wordsworth was his favorite poet, and he could quote him by the hour. His British calm did not lack a sense of humor. When breakfasting with us and the children and he heard their German conversation, he would say, "I cannot help admiring the way they talk German," and laughed at his joke. This is the man who was called "the Liar Grey" and the "originator of the world war."

ASQUITH AND HIS FAMILY

Asquith is a man of quite different mold. A jovial, sociable fellow, a friend of the ladies, especially young and beautiful ones, he loves cheery surroundings and a good cook, and is supported by a cheery young wife. He was formerly a well-known lawyer, with a large income and many years' Parliamentary experience. Later he was known as a Minister under Gladstone, a pacifist like his friend Grey, and friendly to an understanding with Germany. He treated all questions with an experienced business man's calm and certainty, and enjoyed good health and excellent nerves, steeled by assiduous golf.

His daughters went to a German boarding school and speak fluent German. We quickly became good friends with him and his family, and were guests at his little house on the Thames.

He only rarely occupied himself with foreign affairs. When important questions cropped up, with him lay the ultimate decision. During the critical days of July Asquith often came to warn us, and he was ultimately in despair over the tragic turn of events. On Aug. 2, when I saw Asquith in order to make a final attempt, he was completely broken, and, although quite calm, tears ran down his face.

NICOLSON AND TYRRELL

Sir Arthur Nicolson and Sir William Tyrrell had the greatest influence in the Foreign Office. The former was not our friend, but his attitude toward me was consistently correct and obliging. Our personal relations were of the best. Neither did he wish for war, but when we [moved?] against France he undoubtedly worked for immediate intervention. He was the confidant of my French colleague, and was in constant

touch with him, and was destined to succeed Lord Bertie in Paris. As is known, Sir Arthur was formerly Ambassador in St. Petersburg, and had concluded the treaty of 1907 which enabled Russia to turn again to the West and the Near East.

Sir Edward Grey's private secretary, Sir William Tyrrell, had far greater influence than the Permanent Under Secretary of State. This unusually intelligent man had been at a school in Germany, and had then entered the Diplomatic Service, but he was abroad only a short time. At first he belonged to the modern anti-German school of young English diplomats, but later he became a determined supporter of an understanding. To this aim and object he even influenced Sir Edward Grey, with whom he was very intimate. After the outbreak of war he left the department, and went to the Home Office, probably in consequence of criticism of him for his Germanophile leanings.

CABALS AGAINST LICHNOWSKY

The rage of certain gentlemen over my success in London and the position I had achieved was indescribable. Schemes were set on foot to impede my carrying out my duties, I was left in complete ignorance of most important things, and had to confine myself to sending in unimportant and dull reports. Secret reports from agents about things of which I could know nothing without spies and necessary funds were never available for me, and it was only in the last days of July, 1914, that I heard accidentally from the Naval Attaché of the secret Anglo-French agreement for joint action of the two fleets in case of war. Soon after my arrival I became convinced that in no circumstances need we fear a British attack or British support of a foreign attack, but that under all conditions England would protect France. I advanced this opinion in repeated reports with detailed reasoning and insistence, but without gaining credence, although Lord Haldane's refusing of the formula of neutrality and England's attitude during the Morocco crisis were clear indications. In addition, the above-mentioned secret agreements were known to the department. I repeatedly urged that England, as a commercial State, would suffer greatly in any war between the European great powers, and would therefore prevent such a war by all available means; but, on the other hand, in the interest of the European balance of power, and to prevent Germany's overlordship, would never tolerate the weakening or destruction of France. Lord Haldane told me this shortly after my arrival. All influential people spoke in the same way.

THE ARCHDUKE'S DEATH

At the end of June I went to Kiel by the royal orders a few weeks after I had received the honorary degree of Doctor at Oxford, an honor no German Ambassador since Herr von Bunsen had received. On board the Meteor we received the news of the death of the Archduke, the heir to the throne. His Majesty complained that his attempts to win the noble Archduke over to his ideas were thereby rendered fruitless. How far plans for an active policy against Serbia had already been made at Konopischt I am not in a position to judge. As I was not informed about intentions and events in Vienna I attached no further importance to the matter. I could only observe that the feeling of relief outweighed the other feelings of the Austrian aristocrats. One of the guests on board the Meteor was the Austrian Count Felix Thun. In spite of glorious weather seasickness had kept him to his cabin. After receiving the news he became well. Shock or joy had cured him.

On reaching Berlin I visited the Chancellor, and said I considered the situation of our foreign policy very satisfactory, as we were on better terms with England than we had been for a long time. In France a pacifist Government was at the helm. Herr von Bethmann Hollweg did not seem to share my optimism, and complained of the Russian armaments. I tried to calm him, and pointed out especially that Russia had absolutely no interest in attacking us, and that such an attack would not receive Anglo-French support, as both countries, England and France, desired

peace. Then I called on Dr. Zimmermann, who represented von Jagow, and learned from him that Russia was about to mobilize 900,000 new troops. From his manner of speaking he was evidently annoyed with Russia, who was everywhere in our way. There was also the question of the difficulties of commercial politics. Of course, I was not told that General von Moltke was working eagerly for war. But I learned that Herr von Tschirschky had received a rebuff for having reported that he had advised moderation in Vienna toward Serbia.

AUSTRIA'S WAR PLOT

On my return journey from Silesia I only remained a few hours in Berlin, but I heard there that Austria intended to take steps against Serbia to put an end to this intolerable situation. Unfortunately I undervalued the importance of the information. I thought nothing would come of it, and that it would be easy to settle the matter if Russia threatened. I now regret that I did not stop in Berlin, and at once declare that I could not agree to such a policy.

I have since learned that the inquiries and appeals from Vienna won unconditional assent from all the influential men at a decisive consultation at Potsdam on July 5, with the addition that it would not matter if war with Russia resulted. This is what was stated, anyhow, in the Austrian protocal which Count Mensdorff received in London. Shortly afterward Herr von Jagow arrived in Vienna to discuss the whole question with Count Berchtold.

Subsequently, I received instructions to work to obtain a friendly attitude on the part of the English press, if Austria dealt Serbia a deathblow, and by my influence to prevent so far as possible public opinion from becoming opposed to Austria. Remembering England's attitude during the annexation crisis, when public opinion sympathized with Serbian rights to Bosnia and her kindly favoring of national movements in the time of Lord Byron and that of Garibaldi, one thing and another indicated so strongly the improbability of British support of the proposed punitive expedition against the Archduke's murderers, that I felt bound to issue a serious warning. I also sent a warning against the whole project, which I characterized as adventurous and dangerous, and advised moderation being urged on the Austrians, as I did not believe in the localization of the conflict.

JAGOW'S MISTAKEN BLUFF

Herr von Jagow answered that Russia was not ready, that there would be some fuss, but that the more firmly we held to Austria the sooner would Russia give way. Austria, he said, had already accused us of flabbiness, (flaumacherei,) and so we must not get into a mess. Opinion in Russia, he added, was becoming more and more pro-German, so we must just take the risks. In view of this attitude, which, as I subsequently found out, was the result of Count Pourtalès's reports that Russia would in no circumstances move, and caused us to urge Count Berchtold to the greatest possible energy, I hoped for salvation in English intervention, as I knew Sir Edward Grey's influence with St. Petersburg in the direction of peace could prevail. I availed myself, therefore, of my good relations with the British Foreign Minister to beg him confidentially to advise moderation on the part of Russia in case Austria, as appeared probable, should demand satisfaction from the Serbians.

In the beginning the attitude of the English press toward the Austrians was quiet and friendly, as the murder was condemned. Little by little, however, voices increased in number insisting that, however necessary the punishment of a crime might be, no elaboration of it for a political purpose could be justified. Austria was urgently called upon to act with moderation. The whole world outside Berlin and Vienna understood that it meant war, and world war. The British fleet, which happened to be assembled for review, was not demobilized.

GERMANY FORCES WAR

The Serbian answer corresponded with British efforts, for actually M. Pashitch had accepted all but two points, about which he was prepared to negotiate. Had England and Russia wanted war in order

to fall upon us, a hint to Belgrade would have been given, and the unspeakable note would have remained unanswered. Sir Edward Grey went through the Serbian answer with me, and pointed out the conciliatory attitude of the Belgrade Government. We even discussed his proposal for intervention, which should insure an interpretation of these two points acceptable to both parties. With Sir Edward Grey presiding, M. Cambon, the Marquis Imperiali, and I were to meet, and it would have been easy to find an acceptable form for the points under discussion, which were mainly concerned with the part to be taken by Austrian officials in the inquiries at Belgrade. With good-will all could have been cleared up in two or three sittings, and a simple acknowledgment of the British proposal would have brought about a détente and further improved our relations with England. I therefore urged it forcibly, as otherwise a world war stood at our gates.

In vain. It would be, I was told, wounding to Austria's dignity, nor would me mix ourselves up in that Serbian matter. We left it to our allies. I was to work for the localization of the conflict. It naturally only needed a hint from Berlin to induce Count Berchtold to content himself with a diplomatic success and put up with the Serbian reply. But this hint was not given. On the contrary, we pressed for war. What a fine success it would have been!

INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS

After our refusal Sir Edward asked us to come forward with a proposal of our own. We insisted upon war. I could get no other answer [from Berlin] than that it was an enormous " concession " on the part of Austria to contemplate no annexation of territory.

Thereupon Sir Edward justly pointed out that even without annexations of territory a country can be humiliated and subjected, and that Russia would regard this as a humiliation which she would not stand.

The impression became ever stronger that we desired war in all circumstances. Otherwise our attitude in a question which, after all, did not directly concern us was unintelligible. The urgent appeals and definite declarations of M. Sazonoff, [Russian Foreign Minister,] later on the positively humble telegrams of the Czar, the repeated proposals of Sir Edward, the warnings of San Giuliano [Italian Foreign Minister] and of Bollati, [Italian Ambassador in Berlin,] my urgent advice—it was all of no use, for Berlin went on insisting that Serbia must be massacred.

The more I pressed, the less willing they were to alter their course, if only because I was not to have the success of saving peace in the company of Sir Edward Grey.

So Grey on July 29 resolved upon his well-known warning. I replied that I had always reported that we should have to reckon upon English hostility if it came to war with France. The Minister said to me repeatedly: " If war breaks out it will be the greatest catastrophe the world has ever seen."

GREY STILL SOUGHT PEACE

After that events moved rapidly. When Count Berchtold, who hitherto had played the strong man on instructions from Berlin, at last decided to change his course, we answered the Russian mobilization—after Russia had for a whole week negotiated and waited in vain—with our ultimatum and declaration of war.

Sir Edward Grey still looked for new ways of escape. In the morning of Aug. 1, Sir W. Tyrrell came to me to say that his chief still hoped to find a way out. Should we remain neutral if France did the same? I understood him to mean that we should then be ready to spare France, but his meaning was that we should remain absolutely neutral—neutral therefore even toward Russia. That was the well-known misunderstanding. Sir Edward had given me an appointment for the afternoon, but as he was then at a meeting of the Cabinet, he called me up on the telephone, after Sir W. Tyrrell had hurried straight to him. But in the afternoon he spoke no longer of anything but Belgian neutrality, and of the possibility that we and France

should face one another armed, without attacking one another.

Thus there was no proposal whatever, but a question without any obligation, because our conversation, as I have already explained, was to take place soon afterward. In Berlin, however—without waiting for the conversation—this news was used as the foundation for a far-reaching act. Then came Poincaré's letter, Bonar Law's letter, and the telegram from the King of the Belgians. The hesitating members of the Cabinet were converted, with the exception of three members, who resigned.

PEACE HOPES DESTROYED

Up to the last moment I had hoped for a waiting attitude on the part of England. My French colleague also felt himself by no means secure, as I learned from a private source. As late as Aug. 1 the King replied evasively to the French President. But in the telegram from Berlin, which announced the threatening danger of war, England was already mentioned as an opponent. In Berlin, therefore, one already reckoned upon war with England.

Before my departure Sir Edward Grey received me on Aug. 5 at his house. I had gone there at his desire. He was deeply moved. He said to me that he would always be ready to mediate, and, "We don't want to crush Germany." Unfortunately, this confidential conversation was published. Thereby Herr von Bethmann Hollweg destroyed the last possibility of reaching peace via England.

Our departure was thoroughly dignified and calm. Before we left, the King had sent his equerry, Sir E. Ponsonby, to me, to express his regret at my departure and that he could not see me personally. Princess Louise wrote to me that the whole family lamented our going. Mrs. Asquith and other friends came to the embassy to say good-bye.

A special train took us to Harwich, where a guard of honor was drawn up for me. I was treated like a departing sovereign. Thus ended my London mission. It was wrecked, not by the perfidy of the British, but by the perfidy of our policy.

At the railway station in London Count Mensdorff [Austrian Ambassador] appeared with his staff. He was cheerful, and gave me to understand that perhaps he would remain in London. But to the English he said that it was not Austria, but we, who had wanted the war.

A BITTER RETROSPECT

When now, after two years, I realize everything in retrospect, I say to myself that I realized too late that there was no place for me in a system which for years has lived only on tradition and routine, and which tolerates only representatives who report what one wants to read. Absence of prejudice and an independent judgment are combated, want of ability and of character are extolled and esteemed, but successes arouse hostility and uneasiness.

I had abandoned opposition to our mad Triple Alliance policy, because I saw that it was useless and that my warnings were represented as Austrophobia and an idée fixe. In a policy which is not mere gymnastics, or playing with documents, but the conduct of the business of the firm, there is no such thing as likes and dislikes; there is nothing but the interest of the community; but a policy which is based merely upon Austrians, Magyars, and Turks must end in hostility to Russia, and ultimately lead to a catastrophe.

In spite of former aberrations, everything was still possible in July, 1914. Agreement with England had been reached. We should have had to send to Petersburg a representative who, at any rate, reached the average standard of political ability, and we should have had to give Russia the certainty that we desired neither to dominate the Starits nor to throttle the Serbs. M. Sazonoff was saying to us: "Lâchez l'Autriche et nous lâcherons les Français," and M. Cambon [French Ambassador in Berlin] said to Herr von Jagow: "Vous n'avez [pas] besoin de suivre l'Autriche partout."

We needed neither alliances nor wars, but merely treaties which would protect us and others, and which would guarantee us an economic development for which

there had been no precedent in history. And if Russia had been relieved of trouble in the west, she would have been able to turn again to the east, and then the Anglo-Russian antagonism would have arisen automatically without our interference—and the Russo-Japanese antagonism no less than the Anglo-Russian.

We could also have approached the question of limitation of armaments, and should have had no further need to bother about the confusions of Austria. Austria-Hungary would then become the vassal of the German Empire—without an alliance, and, above all, without sentimental services on our part, leading ultimately to war for the liberation of Poland and the destruction of Serbia, although German interests demanded exactly the contrary.

I had to support in London a policy which I knew to be fallacious. I was punished for it, for it was a sin against the Holy Ghost.

ARRIVAL AT BERLIN

On my arrival in Berlin I saw at once that I was to be made the scapegoat for the catastrophe of which our Government had made itself guilty in opposition to my advice and my warnings.

The report was persistently circulated by official quarters that I had let myself be deceived by Sir Edward Grey, because if he had not wanted war Russia would not have mobilized. Count Pourtalès, whose reports could be relied upon, was to be spared, if only because of his family connections. He was said to have behaved "splendidly," and he was enthusiastically praised, while I was all the more sharply blamed.

"What has Russia got to do with Serbia?" this statesman said to me after eight years of official activity in Petersburg. It was made out that the whole business was a perfidious British trick which I had not understood. In the Foreign Office I was told that in 1916 it would in any case have come to war. But then Russia would have been "ready," and so it was better now.

As appears from all official publications, without the facts being controverted by our own White Book, which, owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:

1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved, and the danger of a world war must have been known to us —whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.

2. In the days between July 23 and July 30, 1914, when M. Sazonoff emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack upon Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.

3. On July 30, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere mobilization by sending an ultimatum to Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world outside Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the world war.

GERMANY'S WAR SPIRIT

Is it not intelligible that our enemies declare that they will not rest until a system is destroyed which constitutes a permanent threatening of our neighbors? Must they not otherwise fear that in a few years they will again have to take up arms, and again see their provinces overrun and their towns and villages destroyed? Were these people not right who prophesied that the spirit of Treitschke and Bernhardi dominated the German people—the spirit which glorifies war as an aim in itself and does not abhor it as an evil; that among us it is still the feudal knights and Junkers and the caste of warriors who rule and who fix our ideals and our values—not

the civilian gentleman; that the love of dueling, which inspires our youth at the universities, lives on in those who guide the fortunes of the people? Had not the events at Zabern and the Parliamentary debates on that case shown foreign countries how civil rights and freedoms are valued among us, when questions of military power are on the other side?

Cramb, a historian who has since died, an admirer of Germany, put the German point of view into the words of Euphorion:

> Träumt Ihr den Friedenstag?
> Träume, wer träumen mag!
> Krieg ist das Losungswort!
> Sieg, und so klingt es fort.

Militarism, really a school for the nation and an instrument of policy, makes policy into the instrument of military power, if the patriarchal absolutism of a soldier-kingdom renders possible an attitude which would not be permitted by a democracy which had disengaged itself from military-junker influences.

That is what our enemies think, and that is what they are bound to think, when they see that, in spite of capitalistic industrialization, and in spite of socialistic organization, the living, as Friedrich Nietzsche says, are still governed by the dead. The principal war aim of our enemies, the democratization of Germany, will be achieved.

JEOPARDIZING THE FUTURE

Today, after two years of the war, there can be no further doubt that we cannot hope for an unconditional victory over Russians, English, French, Italians, Rumanians, and Americans, and that we cannot reckon upon the overthrow of our enemies. But we can reach a compromised peace only upon the basis of the evacuation of the occupied territories, the possession of which in any case signifies for us a burden and weakness and the peril of new wars. Consequently, everything should be avoided which hinders a change of course on the part of those enemy groups which might perhaps still be won over to the idea of compromise—the British Radicals and the Russian Reactionaries. Even from this point of view our Polish project is just as objectionable as any interference with Belgian rights, or the execution of British citizens—to say nothing of the mad submarine war scheme.

Our future lies upon the water. True, but it therefore does not lie in Poland and Belgium, in France and Serbia. That is a reversion to the Holy Roman Empire, to the aberrations of the Hohenstaufens and Hapsburgs. It is the policy of the Plantagenets, not the policy of Drake and Raleigh, Nelson and Rhodes.

Triple Alliance policy is a relapse into the past, a revolt from the future, from imperialism, from world policy. Central Europe is mediaevalism; Berlin-Bagdad is a cul de sac, and not a road into the open, to unlimited possibilities, and to the world mission of the German people.

I am no enemy of Austria, or Hungary, or Italy, or Serbia, or any other State; I am only an enemy of the Triple Alliance policy, which was bound to divert us from our aims, and to bring us on to the sloping plane of Continental policy. It was not German policy, but Austrian dynastic policy. The Austrians had accustomed themselves to regard the alliance as a shield, under whose protection they could make excursions at pleasure into the East.

RUINOUS RESULTS

And what result have we to expect from the struggle of peoples? The United States of Africa will be British, like the United States of America, of Australia, and of Oceania, and the Latin States of Europe, as I said years ago, will fall into the same relationship to the United Kingdom as the Latin sisters of America to the United States. They will be dominated by the Anglo-Saxon; France, exhausted by the war, will link herself still more closely to Great Britain. In the long run, Spain also will not resist.

In Asia, the Russian and Japanese will expand their borders and their customs, and the south will remain to the British.

The world will belong to the Anglo-Saxon, the Russian, and the Japanese, and the German will remain alone with Austria and Hungary. His sphere of power will be that of thought and of

trade, not that of the bureaucrats and the soldiers. The German appeared too late, and the world war has destroyed the last possibility of catching up the lost ground, of founding a colonial empire.

For we shall not supplant the sons of Japheth; the program of the great Rhodes, who saw the salvation of mankind in British expansion and British imperialism, will be realized.

Tu regere imperio populos Romano, memento.
Hae tibi erunt artes: pacisquqe imponere morem.
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

Krupp Director Confirms Prince Lichnowsky's Indictment

COINCIDENT with the publication in Germany of the famous memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky squarely putting the blame for the outbreak of the world war upon the Kaiser and the German militarists, there also appeared in circular form in Germany a letter written by a certain Dr. Mühlon, a former member of the Krupp Directorate now living in Switzerland, corroborating the charges made by the Prince. The Mühlon letter was briefly referred to in an official dispatch from Switzerland received in Washington on March 29 as having produced an animated discussion throughout the empire.

A copy of the Leipziger Volkszeitung of March 20 tells how, in a discussion of the Lichnowsky and Mühlon memoranda before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on March 16, Vice Chancellor von Payer tried to minimize the value of Dr. Mühlon's statements by asserting that the former Krupp Director was a sick, nervous man who no doubt did not intend to injure his country's cause, but who was hardly responsible for his actions because of his many nervous breakdowns. Later, the Berliner Tageblatt printed the text of Dr. Mühlon's letter, which was evidently written before the resignation of Dr. Karl Helfferich as Vice Chancellor last November. As translated by The London Times, Dr. Mühlon's memorandum reads:

TALK WITH HELFFERICH

"In the middle of July, 1914, I had, as I frequently had, a conversation with Dr. Helfferich, then Director of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, and now Vice Chancellor. The Deutsche Bank had adopted a negative attitude toward certain large transactions in Bulgaria and Turkey, in which the firm of Krupp, for business reasons—delivery of war material—had a lively interest. As one of the reasons to justify the attitude of the Deutsche Bank, Dr. Helfferich finally gave me the following reason:

> "The political situation has become very menacing. The Deutsche Bank must in any case wait before entering into any further engagements abroad. The Austrians have just been with the Kaiser. In a week's time Vienna will send a very severe ultimatum to Serbia, with a very short interval for the answer. The ultimatum will contain demands such as punishment of a number of officers, dissolution of political associations, criminal investigation in Serbia by Austrian officials, and, in fact, a whole series of definite satisfactions will be demanded at once; otherwise Austria-Hungary will declare war on Serbia.

"Dr. Helfferich added that the Kaiser had expressed his decided approval of this procedure on the part of Austria-Hungary. He had said that he regarded a conflict with Serbia as an internal affair between these two countries, in which he would permit no other State to interfere. If Russia mobilized, he would mobilize also. But in his case mobilization meant immediate war. This time there would be no oscillation. Helfferich said that the Austrians were extremely well satisfied at this determined attitude on the part of the Kaiser.

"When I thereupon said to Dr. Helfferich that this uncanny communication converted my fears of a world war, which were already strong, into abso-

lute certainty, he replied that it certainly looked like that. But perhaps France and Russia would reconsider the matter. In any case, the Serbs deserved a lesson which they would remember. This was the first intimation that I had received about the Kaiser's discussions with our allies. I knew Dr. Helfferich's particularly intimate relations with the personages who were sure to be initiated, and I knew that his communication was trustworthy.

KAISER FOR WAR

"After my return from Berlin I informed Herr Krupp von Böhlen and Halbach, one of whose Directors I then was at Essen. Dr. Helfferich had given me permission and at that time the intention was to make him a Director of Krupps. Herr von Böhlen seemed disturbed that Dr. Helfferich was in possession of such information, and he made a remark to the effect that the Government people can never keep their mouths shut. He then told me the following. He said that he had himself been with the Kaiser in the last few days. The Kaiser had spoken to him also of his conversation with the Austrians, and of its result; but he had described the matter as so secret that he [Krupp] would not even have dared to inform his own Directors. As, however, I already knew, he could tell me that Helfferich's statements were accurate. Indeed, Helfferich seemed to know more details than he did. He said that the situation was really very serious. The Kaiser had told him that he would declare war immediately if Russia mobilized, and that this time people would see that he did not turn about. The Kaiser's repeated insistence that this time nobody would be able to accuse him of indecision had, he said, been almost comic in its effect.

GERMAN DUPLICITY

"On the very day indicated to me by Helfferich the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia appeared. At this time I was again in Berlin, and I told Helfferich that I regarded the tone and contents of the ultimatum as simply monstrous. Dr. Helfferich, however, said that the note only had that ring in the German translation. He had seen the ultimatum in French, and in French it really could not be regarded as overdone. On this occasion Helfferich also said to me that the Kaiser had gone on his northern cruise only as a 'blind'; he had not arranged the cruise on the usual extensive scale, but was remaining close at hand and keeping in constant touch. Now one must simply wait and see what would happen. The Austrians, who, of course, did not expect the ultimatum to be accepted, were really acting rapidly before the other powers could find time to interfere. The Deutsche Bank had already made its arrangements, so as to be prepared for all eventualities. For example, it was no longer paying out the gold which came in. That could easily be done without attracting notice, and the amount day by day reached considerable sums.

"Immediately after the Vienna ultimatum to Serbia the German Government issued declarations to the effect that Austria-Hungary had acted all alone, without Germany's previous knowledge. When one attempted to reconcile these declarations with the events mentioned above, the only possible explanation was that the Kaiser had tied himself down without inviting the co-operation of his Government, and that, in the conversations with the Austrians, the Germans took care not to agree upon the text of the ultimatum. For I have already shown that the contents of the ultimatum were pretty accurately known in Germany.

"Herr Krupp von Böhlen, with whom I spoke about these German declarations —which, at any rate in their effect, were lies—was also by no means edified. For, as he said, Germany ought not, in such a tremendous affair, to have given a blank check to a State like Austria; and it was the duty of the leading statesmen to demand, both of the Kaiser and of our allies, that the Austrian claims and the ultimatum to Serbia should be discussed in minute detail and definitely decided upon, and also that we should decide upon the precise program of our further proceedings. He said that, whatever point of view one took, we ought not to give our-

selves into the hands of the Austrians and expose ourselves to eventualities which had not been reckoned out in advance. One ought to have connected appropriate conditions with our obligations. In short, Herr von Böhlen regarded the German denial of previous knowledge, if there was any trace of truth in it, as an offense against the elementary principles of diplomacy; and he told me that he intended to speak in this sense to Herr von Jagow, then Foreign Secretary, who was a special friend of his.

GERMAN GOVERNMENT BLAMED

"As a result of this conversation Herr von Böhlen told me that Herr von Jagow stuck firmly to his assertion that he had had nothing to do with the text of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, and that Germany had never made any such demands. In reply to the objection that this was inconceivable, Herr von Jagow replied that he, as a diplomatist, had naturally thought of making such a demand. When, however, Herr von Jagow was occupying himself with the matter and was called in, the Kaiser had so committed himself that it was too late for any procedure according to diplomatic custom, and there was nothing more to be done. The situation was such that it would have been impossible to intervene with drafting proposals. In the end, he [Jagow] had thought that non-interference would have its advantages—namely, the good impression which could be made in Petersburg and Paris with the German declaration that Germany had not co-operated in the preparation of the Vienna ultimatum."

A REMARKABLE LETTER

Herr Mühlon authorized the Humanité, a Paris Socialist paper, through its Swiss correspondent, to publish the following remarkable letter which he addressed from Berne, on May 7, 1917, to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, then Imperial Chancellor:

"However great the number and weight of the mistakes accumulated on the German side since the beginning of the war, I nevertheless persisted for a long time in the belief that a belated foresight would at last dawn upon the minds of our Directors. It was with this hope that I put myself to a certain extent at your disposal, in order to collaborate with you in Rumania, and that I indicated to you that I was disposed to help in Switzerland, where I am living at present, if the object of our efforts was to be rapprochement of the enemy parties. That I was, and that I remain, hostile to any activity other than reconciliation and restoration I proved soon after the opening of hostilities by the definite resignation of my Directorship of Krupps' works.

"But since the first days of 1917 I have abandoned all hope as regards the present Directors of Germany. Our offer of peace without indication of our war aims, the accentuation of the submarine war, the deportations of Belgians, the systematic destruction in France, and the torpedoing of English hospital ships have so degraded the Governors of the German Empire that I am profoundly convinced that they are disqualified forever for the elaboration and conclusion of a sincere and just agreement. The personalities may change, but they cannot remain the representatives of the German cause.

"The German people will not be able to repair the grievous crimes committed against its own present and future, and against that of Europe and the whole human race until it is represented by different men with a different mentality. To tell the truth, it is mere justice that its reputation throughout the whole world is as bad as it is. The triumph of its methods—the methods by which it has hitherto conducted the war both militarily and politically—would constitute a defeat for the ideas and the supreme hopes of mankind. One has only to imagine that a people exhausted, demoralized, or hating violence, should consent to a peace with a Government which has conducted such a war, in order to understand how the general level and the chances of life of the peoples would remain black and deceptive.

"As a man and as a German who desires nothing but the welfare of the

deceived and tortured German people, I turn away definitely from the present representatives of the German régime. And I have only one wish—that all independent men may do the same and that many Germans may understand and act.

"In view of the fact that it is impossible for me at present to make any manifestation before German public opinion, I have thought it to be my absolute duty to inform your Excellency of my point of view."

Reichstag Debate on Lichnowsky

THE Main Committee of the Reichstag dealt with Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum on March 16. Herr von Payer, Vice Chancellor, stated that Prince Lichnowsky himself on March 15 made a statement to the Imperial Chancellor, in which he said:

"Your Excellency knows that the purely private notes which I wrote down in the Summer of 1916 found their way into wider circles by an unprecedented breach of confidence. It was mainly a question of subjective considerations about our entire foreign policy since the Berlin Congress. I perceived in the policy hitherto pursued of repelling (in der seitherigen Abkehr) Russia and in the extension of the policy of alliances to Oriental questions the real roots of the world war. I then submitted our Morocco naval policy to a brief examination. My London mission could at the same time not remain out of consideration, especially as I felt the need in regard to the future and with a view to my own justification of noting the details of my experiences and impressions there before they vanished from my memory. These notes were intended in a certain degree only for family archives, and I wrote them down without documentary material or notes from the period of my official activity. I considered I might show them, on the assurance of absolute secrecy, to a very few political friends in whose judgment as well as trustworthiness I had equal confidence."

LICHNOWSKY RESIGNS RANK

Prince Lichnowsky then described in his letter how the memorandum, owing to an indiscretion, got into circulation, and finally expressed lively regret at such an extremely vexatious incident.

Herr von Payer said that Prince Lichnowsky had meanwhile tendered his resignation of his present rank, which had been accepted, and as he had doubtless no bad intention, but had simply been guilty of imprudence, no further steps would be taken against him. The Vice Chancellor proceeded:

"Some assertions in his documents must, however, be contradicted, especially his assertions about political events in the last months preceding the war. Prince Lichnowsky was not of his own knowledge acquainted with these events, but he apparently received from a third, and wrongly informed quarter, inaccurate information. The key to the mistakes and false conclusions may also be the Prince's overestimation of his own services, which are accompanied by hatred against those who do not recognize his achievements as he expected. The entire memorandum is penetrated by a striking veneration for foreign diplomats, especially the British, who are described in a truly affectionate manner, and, on the other hand, by an equally striking irritation against almost all German statesmen. The result was that the Prince frequently regarded Germany's most zealous enemy as her best friend because they were personally on good terms with him.

"The fact that, as he admits, he attached at first no great importance to the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, and was displeased that the situation was judged otherwise in Berlin, makes it plain that the Prince had no clear judgment for the events that followed and their import."

The Vice Chancellor then characterized as false all Prince Lichnowsky's assertions about General von Moltke's urging

war at the Potsdam Crown Council of June 5, 1914, and the dispatch of the Austrian protocol on "this alleged Crown Council" to Count Mensdorff, containing the postscript that it would be no great harm even if war with Russia arose out of it.

PAYER'S DEFENSE

Herr von Payer also denied the statement that the then Foreign Secretary was in Vienna in 1914, as well as the statement that Count von Pourtalès, the German Ambassador in Petrograd, had reported that Russia would in no circumstances move. The Sukhomlinoff trial had shown how unfounded were Prince Lichnowsky's reproaches against Germany for replying to the Russian mobilization by an ultimatum and a declaration of war. It was also false to assert that the German Government rejected all Great Britain's mediation proposals. Lord Grey's last mediation proposal was very urgently supported in Vienna by Berlin. The aim of the memorandum was obvious. It was to show the reader how much better and more intelligent Prince Lichnowsky's policy was, and how he could have assured the peace of the empire if his advice had been followed.

The Vice Chancellor continued:

"Nobody will reproach the Prince with this belief in himself. He was also free to make notes about events, and his attitude toward them, but he should then have considered it a duty that his views should not have become known to the public, and, no matter how small his circle of readers was, it was his duty to state nothing contradicting facts which he knew. As things now are, the memorandum will cause enough harm among malevolent and superficial people. The memorandum has no historical value whatever."

Referring to a manifolded copy of a letter from Dr. Mühlon, who is at present in Switzerland, and at the outbreak of war was on Krupps' Board of Directors, Herr von Payer said that the letter related to the utterances of two highly placed gentlemen from which he drew the conclusion that the German Government in July, 1914, lacked a desire for peace. Both these gentlemen had stated in writing that Dr. Mühlon had suffered from nerves, and he (Herr von Payer) also took the view that his statements were those of a man of diseased mind.

In the discussion that followed, Herr Scheidemann said that the Socialist Party regarded imperialism as the fundamental cause of the war. Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum, in which he attempted to put the blame for the war on Germany, could, in his opinion, only make an impression on so-called out-and-out pacifists.

Herr Müller-Meiningen said that, notwithstanding what Dr. Mühlon and Prince Lichnowsky had said, he was absolutely convinced that the overwhelming majority of the German people, the Chancellor, and the representatives of the Foreign Office, and, above all, the German Emperor, always desired peace.

Herr Stresemann expressed a desire to see the last White Book supplemented. Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum could not be taken seriously.

Herr von Payer, intervening, said that the question as to whether criminal or disciplinary action might be taken against Prince Lichnowsky was considered by the Imperial Department of Justice. The result was that, on various legal grounds, neither a prosecution of the Prince for diplomatic high treason in the sense of Paragraph 92 of the Penal Code, nor proceedings under Paragraph 89 or Paragraph 353, the so-called Arnim paragraph, would have offered any chance of success. After the Prince's retirement, there was no longer any question of disciplinary proceedings against him. The Prince has been prohibited by the Foreign Office from publishing articles in the press.

LICHNOWSKY'S "OPTIMISM"

Herr von Stumm, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replying to a question as to who was responsible for Prince Lichnowsky's appointment in London, said that the appointment was made by the Kaiser, in agreement with the responsible Imperial Chancellor. While in London the Prince had devoted himself

zealously to his task. His views, it was true, had frequently not agreed with those of the German Foreign Office. That was especially the case regarding his strong optimism in reference to German-English relations. When his hopes aiming at a German-English understanding were destroyed by the war, the Prince returned to Germany greatly excited, and even then did not restrain his criticism of Germany's policy.

Herr von Stumm continued:

"His excitement increased owing to attacks against him in the German press. All these circumstances must be taken into consideration when gauging the value of his memorandum. It was unjustifiable to draw conclusions from it regarding the Ambassador's activity in London and blame the Government for it. Regarding the German White Book, the Under Secretary admitted that it was not very voluminous, but it had to be compiled quickly, so as to present to the Reichstag at the opening a clear picture of the question of guilt. The Blue Books of other States, it was true, were much more voluminous. The German White Book, however, differed from them in so far to its advantage as it contained no falsification. A new edition of the German White Book is in preparation."

Dr. Payer then discussed the revelations of Dr. Mühlon, at present in Switzerland. Dr. Mühlon, an ex-Director of Krupps, had made a statement according to which he had a conference with two exalted personages in the latter half of July, 1914, from which it appeared that it was not the intention of the German Government to maintain peace. The Vice Chancellor alleged that Dr. Mühlon was suffering from neurasthenia at the time, and that no importance could be attached to his revelations, since the two gentlemen referred to had denied making the statements attributed to them.

In the subsequent discussion disapproval of Prince Lichnowsky's attitude was expressed, but some speakers urged the need for the reorganization of Germany's diplomatic service.

According to the report of the debate published by the Neues Wiener Journal, Her von Payer himself acknowledged that prior to the war German diplomacy had made some bad blunders, and that reform was urgently needed. Herr Müller (Progressive) sharply criticised Herr von Flotow, who was German Ambassador in Rome at the beginning of the war, and charged him with having declared to the Marquis di San Giuliano, then Italian Foreign Minister, that there existed for Italy no casus foederis. Prince Bülow also came in for severe criticism.

A bill indicting Prince Lichnowsky for treason has been introduced into the Reichstag and is still pending at this writing. A dispatch from Geneva on April 21 stated that he was virtually a prisoner in his château in Silesia. According to the Düsseldorfer Tageblatt the Prince was under police surveillance because of the discovery of a plan for his escape to Switzerland.

Comments of German Publicists

IMMEDIATELY following the sending out by the semi-official Wolff Telegraph Bureau on March 19 of an account of the discussion in the Main Committee of the Reichstag on March 16 of the Lichnowsky memorandum, together with excerpts from that document, the editorial writers of the German newspapers began emptying vials of wrath upon the head of the former Ambassador in London. With the exception of the Socialist and a few Liberal nwspapers, the press was practically a unit in condemning the Prince for his "treasonable and indiscreet acts" and in asserting that, although his "revelations" might be welcomed with shouts of joy in the allied countries, they would have no serious effect upon the fighting spirit of the German Nation.

In trying to explain what prompted Prince Lichnowsky to write his memorandum for "the family archives," nearly all the German editors lay great

stress upon his alleged personal vanity and his resentment at seeing his efforts toward strengthening the bonds between England and Germany made a grim joke by the outbreak of the world war. The Prince is also called a simple-minded person, completely taken in by the deceptive courtesy of the British diplomats and possessing none of the qualifications necessary to make him a profitable representative of the Kaiser at the Court of St. James's. All through the comments, from extreme Pan-German to socialistic, runs a vein of sarcastic criticism of the peculiar "ability" shown by the German Foreign Office in picking its Ambassadors.

All the Pan-German and annexationist papers take occasion to link up Prince Lichnowsky with Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the former Imperial Chancellor, and make the latter responsible for the appointment of the "pacifist" Prince. In doing this they renew all their old charges of weakness and pacifism against the ex-Chancellor, and intimate that he may be the next German formerly occupying a high place in the Government to write memoranda for his family archives. Some of the papers did not wait to write regular editorials about the memorandum, but interlarded their reports of the meeting of the Reichstag Committee with sarcastic comment and explanations. This was notably the case with the Vossische Zeitung, the leading exponent of reconciliation with Russia at the expense of Great Britain.

REVENTLOW FURIOUS

Although it has since been cabled that the Imperial Government was considering taking action against Prince Lichnowsky, and that Captain Beerfelde, a member of the German General Staff, was under arrest for having aided in the distribution of manifolded copies of the memorandum, there was no general demand in the German press for the trial of the Prince on a charge of high treason. The exceptions were a few extreme Pan-German organs, led by Count zu Reventlow's Deutsche Tageszeitung. On the other hand, a few of the Socialist and Liberal papers cautiously remarked that, after all, although what the Prince said about the responsibility for the war was altogether too pro-Entente, it might help the movement in Germany for a negotiated peace.

Count zu Reventlow's article in the Deutsche Tageszeitung read, in part, as follows:

"When a former Ambassador, and an experienced diplomat and official besides, writes an article and gives it to some one else in these times, there is, in our opinion, no excuse. It is a case of high treason and it makes little difference if here one might perhaps admit the view of its being high treason through negligence, because certainly no former diplomat and official ought to allow himself to be so negligent, and furthermore he must have known the great danger of his action, which, as has been said, was exclusively meant to be to his personal interest. Therefore, we cannot very well understand for what reasons the proper steps have not been taken already against Prince Lichnowsky. We use the characterization 'high treason' after due deliberation.

"Prince Lichnowsky should not have allowed a single piece of his article to have left his hands, for he was very well able to judge that its publication outside of the German Empire was bound to have the effect of a treasonable act. The German cause will not be made any worse because a former diplomat, completely enchanted by English ways and never in touch with the essence of the English policy, places himself on the side of the enemies of the German Empire."

The Kölnische Volkszeitung, the organ of the annexationist faction of the Centre Party, concluded its editorial thus:

"One thing must be emphasized, Liebknecht, Dittmann, and other traitors have been jailed because of their high treason. Lichnowsky wanted to show to the whole world with his memorandum that Germany had sought, wanted, and begun the war because some persons did not wish to have him, Prince Lichnowsky, enjoy the success of the Anglo-German friendship. And, in so doing, Lichnowsky furnished our enemies with weapons, worked

to our enemies' advantage. In time of war this is treason. The excuse that the fourteen copies that he had prepared were only written for his friends is ridiculous. Theodore Wolff of the Berliner Tageblatt is known to be one of Lichnowsky's most intimate friends. Who knows who the others may be! If a Social Democrat or an anrachist writes an inciting pamphlet in the form of a memorandum and doesn't distribute it himself, but has his friends do it, is he then exempt from punishment? If a person commits high treason and does not circulate the document himself, but lets others do it, or at least does not take precautions to see that it is not distributed, does he go free? The German people will hardly understand the decision of the Imperial Department of Justice as just rendered in favor of Lichnowsky. Even at the last session of the Prussian House of Lords Prince Lichnowsky sat beside his friend Dernberg. Will he appear in the House of Lords again?"

GERMANIA WAXED SARCASTIC

Germania, speaking for the so-called moderate section of the Centre Party, called the Lichnowsky case "one of the most disturbing political events that we have experienced in the course of the war," and hoped that the courts would still have a chance to decide as to the Prince's guilt. The newspaper comment was in general spiced with much sarcastic comparison of the Lichnowsky case with the cases of Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Deputy Wilhelm Dittmann, and many remarks were passed regarding the difference between the treatment accorded to a member of the Prussian nobility and that suffered by commoners and representatives of the German working class. The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, in ending its comment as to the paeans of joy with which the enemy press would be sure to welcome the publication of the Lichnowsky indictment, added the following item of news:

"We learn on good authority, in the matter of the distribution of the Lichnowsky pamphlet, that in the beginning of February the police succeeded in seizing 2,000 copies of this pamphlet which the Neues Vaterland Society had had sent to it from South Germany through its business manager, Else Bruck. She, together with Henke, a bookseller, was placed under charges, but was acquitted by the court-martial, presumably because the court was not able to foresee the far-reaching result of the document."

Under the heading "The Blind Argus" the Bremer Nachrichten opined that the man who should have been using a thousand eyes in London in the interest of Germany was blind, and it referred to the Lichnowsky case as "the most gloomy chapter in the history of German diplomacy."

PAN-GERMANS CAUSTIC

Prince Lichnowsky's aversion to the old Triple Alliance drew much caustic criticism, especially from the Pan-German press, and excerpts from the semi-official Vienna Fremdenblatt and other Austrian papers, indignantly repudiating the Prince's charge that the Dual Monarchy had always regarded Germany as a shield under which it could make raids upon the Near East and otherwise stir up trouble, were eagerly reprinted in Germany.

The Berlin Vorwärts, speaking for the pro-Government Socialists, said:

"The Ambassador returned with the feeling of a man who had seen his life work knocked to pieces. No doubt he felt at that time not very different from us German Socialists who had also worked for reconciliation with France and England and now, in the face of the unchained elemental forces, had to recognize our impotence with gnashing of teeth. In Germany, Prince Lichnowsky, who had believed in the possibility of agreement as every toiler must believe in his work, was greeted with the scorn of the Pan-Germans, who asserted that he had allowed himself to be softsoaped by the English and had never recognized their real intentions. * * *

"And who can deny that this pamphlet casts a deep shadow upon the German foreign policy before the war? They can say that everything that Lichnowsky writes is the result of a diseased imagina-

tion and that all is distorted and badly drawn. But this would merely mean that the most important Ambassadorial post that Germany had at her disposal was occupied by a fool and a blockhead. So, if one wishes to spare the German policy this compromising implication, the only thing to do is to take the memorandum and its author seriously and argue the points with him in an expert manner."

The Vorwärts concluded its comment by saying that, no matter how the war started, the German people were now determined to see that Germany was not defeated, but if Prince Lichnowsky's article would help the people of Germany to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward England and thus hasten a negotiated peace, it was worth reading. Comment of other Socialist papers was along the same lines.

Comment of an English Editor

Valentine Chirol, former foreign editor of The London Times, published the following in that newspaper on March 26, 1918:

THE publication of Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum furnishes evidence which even the most skeptical Englishman can hardly question of the peculiar system of dualism practiced by the German Foreign Office in the conduct of its diplomacy abroad. To those who had opportunities of observing its methods at close quarters this is no new revelation. The German Foreign Office has almost invariably conducted its diplomatic work abroad through two or more different channels, for it was always too tortuous and complicated to be intrusted to any single agent. There was the public policy directed toward more or less avowable ends to be propounded in official dispatches and conversations, and there was "the higher policy" to be promoted by means of discreet propaganda in the press and in society, and especially by appropriate appeals to the prejudices or interests of political and financial and commercial circles. Hence in the more important posts abroad it was the habit of the Wilhelmstrasse to rely mainly upon the Councilor of Embassy both to check the proceedings of the Ambassador and to manipulate all the complicated threads of its diplomatic network in which, for various reasons, it was deemed inexpedient for the Ambassador to get himself entangled, sometimes lest inconvenient disclosures might impair his influence with the Government to which he was accredited, and sometimes—as in the case of Prince Lichnowsky in London, and of the late Prince Radolin in Paris—because the Ambassador's personal sense of honor or his belief in the superiority of honorable statesmanship recoiled from the duplicity of "the higher policy." * * *

I gained an insight into this complex machinery when I went to Berlin as correspondent of The Times, in the early years of the present Emperor's reign, through Baron Holstein, who was then known as the "eminence Grise" of the German Foreign Office from the commanding influence he wielded without the slightest ostentation of power. Owing to accidental circumstances, I came into much closer intimacy with him than he was wont to allow, not merely to journalists, but even to the chief foreign diplomatists in Berlin; and, subject to occasional intermittences when he resented somewhat ferociously my expositions of German policy, I maintained friendly relations with him long after I had ceased to reside in Berlin and he had himself outlived the Emperor's favor, for which he lacked the courtier's obsequiousness. He had been bred in the Bismarckian tradition; he had been a member of the old Chancellor's staff throughout the Franco-Prussian war, and had acted as his confidential agent when he was Councilor of Embassy in Paris under Count Harry von Arnim, whose sensational downfall he helped to bring about at Bismarck's behest. Although in other respects a man of great

integrity and with many admirable qualities, including, besides a certain rather cynical frankness, a thoroughly un-Prussian contempt for the gewgaws of official life, he was so saturated with the Wilhelmstrasse tradition that he was rather proud than otherwise of the unsavory part he had played toward his Paris chief, and had, therefore, the less hesitation in disclosing to me, when he thought it served his purpose, the existence of equally peculiar relations between Count Wolf-Metternich, then Councilor of Embassy in London, and the then Ambassador, Count Hatzfeld.

In the face of such a confession as Prince Lichnowsky's, it would be amusing, were it not so pitiful, to see the same British politicians who were so egregiously duped by Germany's "secret" diplomacy before the war still venting their chagrin in the House of Commons, not on their German "friends," by whom they were constantly fooled, and are apparently quite prepared to be fooled again tomorrow, but upon the British Foreign Office, whose timely appreciation of the German menace they invariably derided and whose endeavors to forearm the country against it they did their utmost to defeat.

Dr. Liebknecht's Indictment of Germany

A COPY has been received of an open letter by Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist, which proved an important factor in his imprisonment—which still continues. It bears date May 3, 1916, and was addressed to the Berlin District Court-Martial. The German authorities suppressed it, and made it a criminal offense for any one to be found in possession of it.

After stating his view of the war as a struggle of the masses against the classes throughout the world, Dr. Liebknecht wrote:

"The German Government is in its very social and political being an instrument for the exploitation and suppression of the laboring masses. It serves at home and abroad the interests of Junkerdom, capitalism, and militarism. It is the reckless representative of world political expansion, the strongest driver of competition in armaments, and therewith one of the weightiest exponents in the creation of the causes for the present war. It plotted this war in conjunction with the Austrian Government, and so burdened itself with the chief responsibility for its outbreak. It arranged this war while misleading the masses of the people and even the Reichstag.

"Compare, for instance, the keeping silent about the ultimatum to Belgium, the making up of the German White Book, the alteration of the Czar's telegram of July 29, 1914, &c. It seeks to maintain the war feeling in the nation by the most blameworthy means. It carries on the war by methods which, even regarded from the hitherto customary level, are monstrous. Such, for instance, are the invasion of Belgium and Luxemburg, poison gases, the Zeppelins, which are designed to destroy everything living, combatant or noncombatant, in a wide circle below them; the submarine trade war; the torpedoing of the Lusitania; the system of hostages and contributions, especially in the beginning, in Belgium; the systematic trapping of Ukrainian, Polish, Irish, Mohammedan, and other war prisoners in German prison camps for purposes of a traitorous war service and traitorous espionage in the interests of the Central Powers; the treaty of Under Secretary Zimmermann with Sir Roger Casement of December, 1914, as to the formation, equipment, and training of British soldiers from among the prisoners to form an Irish brigade in the German prison camps; the attempts to use civilian subjects of hostile States who were in Germany, by threatening them with forced internment, for war services of a treacherous character against their country; the dictum necessity knows no law, &c.

"The German Government has tremendously increased the want of political rights and the exploitation of the masses of the people by the conditions it imposed under a state of siege. It refuses all serious political and social reforms, while by phrases about the supposed equality of all parties, about the supposed reform of political and social treatment, about the supposed 'neuorientierung,' &c., it tries to maintain its hold on the masses of the people for the purposes of its imperialistic war policy. Because of its regard for the agragrians and the capitalists it has entirely failed in the oconomic provisioning of the population during the war, and it has prepared the road for making usury out of the people and their very needs. Today still it holds fast to its war objects of conquest, and therewith forms the chief hindrance to immediate peace negotiations on the ground of no annexations and no force of any kind. By the maintenance of the illegal state of siege, censorship, and so on, it smothers public knowledge of uncomfortable facts and criticism of its methods.

"The present war is not a war for the defense of the national inviolability or for the liberty of small nations. From the standpoint of the proletariat it signifies only the most extreme concentration and increase of the political suppression, their economic draining, and militaristic slaughter of the life of the working classes for capitalistic and absolutist advantage. To this there is only one answer of the laboring classes of all countries, namely, a sharpened international class fight against the capitalistic Governments and dominating classes of all countries, for the removal of every form of suppression and exploitation, and for ending the war by a peace in the Socialistic sense. As a Socialist I am on principle an opponent of this war, as of the existing military system. The fight against militarism is a life question for the working classes. The war demands that the anti-militarism struggle shall be carried on with redoubled energy."

Why the German Strike Failed

THE attempt of the German workingmen last Winter to force a genuine peace movement by means of a general strike was promptly suppressed by the Government, which proclaimed a state of siege and threatened to force the strikers into military service. The underlying causes of this failure were explained in an instructive article in the Arbeiter Zeitung, the leading Austrian labor organ, from which the following is taken:

The most important reason is undoubtedly the lack of unity among the German working classes. Even in Berlin the strike was not general; in many factories only part of the men went out, while the rest continued their work. In many cities, such as Munich, the workmen divided according to party; the Independent Socialists struck, members of the old party went on with their work. The most important industrial districts were only slightly affected. On the Rhine, in Westphalia, in Upper Silesia, even in Saxony, where lie the chief fortresses of independent socialism, only a small section struck. And even where they struck there was no kind of uniform action; in many towns, like Nürnberg, for instance, only a demonstrative strike of limited duration was decided upon, while elsewhere the intention was to hold out until the demands were obtained. In Berlin the pressmen struck, but not the compositors; one newspaper could appear, another not.

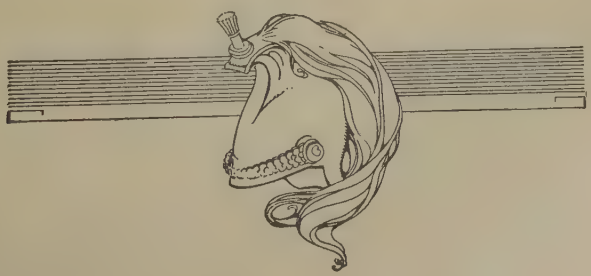
It was always the weakness of German Social Democracy that it had least influence on the very sections of the working class whose strike would involve the greatest economic danger. The railway men now take the first place in the movement in England, America, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and now in Russia, too; only in Germany have they always stood outside the ranks of the class-conscious workmen. Of the miners and iron founders, too, only part is Socialist; a very considerable part follows the Centre and the Polish Nationalists. These facts explain the weakness of the movement, and also the energy of the Prussian authorities. The German Government would have hesitated to take violent measures if it had had reason to fear that such measures would provoke an extension of the movement to the railways, mines, and

foundries. *The weakness of the movement is not a result of the energy of the authorities; on the contrary, only its weakness made that energy possible.*

How is it, then, that the German working classes, after three and a half years of unheard-of sacrifice and deprivation, are not capable of carrying through a struggle for peace with the same unanimity and clearness of aim as in many former struggles? This is, at least, partially due to the unfortunate development of German Social Democracy during the war. It has united with the Centre and the Liberals in the Reichstag bloc. It has thus scored various successes—the inclusion of progressive parliamentarians in the Government; the Reichstag resolution in favor of peace by understanding; the Reform bill in the Prussian Parliament. But this policy, which made Social Democracy the ally of bourgeois parties and the support of the Government, was fiercely attacked by the Opposition, which finally constituted itself as a separate party. * * * The bloc policy and action of the masses are mutually exclusive policies; those who themselves belong in the Reichstag to the majority which supports the Government cannot create the atmosphere in which alone a united action of the masses is possible. Nor, indeed, was that the intention of the German Social Democratic majority; *the mass-strike came without any act on its part and against its will.* When the strike was there, the leaders (of the majority) none the less placed themselves at its head; but the masses, having been educated for three and a half years to trust the Government's intentions, were naturally not willing to make heavy sacrifices in a struggle against this very Government.

In other democratic lands such a situation can hardly arise. There the parliamentary majority decides the policy of the Government, and if the Socialists form part of that majority, they can effectively influence policy, and so there can be no idea of the working classes having to conduct a political mass-strike against this Government. In Germany it is different. Here the voting of the imperial budget and of the war credits is not much more than a theoretical confession of faith in the Fatherland; to belong to the Reichstag majority is not a guarantee of real political power. A few Generals, a few influential bank directors and big manufacturers can, under given circumstances, influence policy more effectually than the whole Reichstag majority. Thus, indeed, it can happen that the Government's policy seems very little influenced by socialism, though this latter supports the Government; that, consequently, a considerable part of the working classes decides upon a political strike against the Government which for three and a half years has enjoyed the support of the majority of working class Deputies in the Reichstag. And only thus can we explain the strange spectacle, inexplicable to any other country, that a Government in whose formation Social Democracy has had a share, and which at every division is supported by the Socialists, knows no other means of meeting a strike save by forbidding meetings, introducing a state of siege and militarizing! The bloc policy is dangerous everywhere; but these dangers are incomparably greater in the classic land of Government by authority (Obrigkeitsregierung) than in the democratic countries. The unedifying picture which German Social Democracy presents today is at bottom the result of German sham democracy, of the poverty and backwardness of German political life.

But, in spite of all, we hope that even the German strike will not have an unfavorable effect on future development. Many a struggle which had to end without tangible success has, later on, proved fruitful after all! So it will be this time. The German Government did not have to give the workmen any definite assurances; but it had learned that every extension of the war provokes the gravest social dangers; and if this time it still found it easy to dispose of the strike, because a large section of the working classes still trusts in it, all its force (Machtmittel) would avail it nothing, if the whole German working class once acquired the conviction that the Government is prolonging the war for the sake of Pan-German lust of conquest.



Last Fight of the Mary Rose

A British Naval Episode

The following story of how the little Mary Rose, a British destroyer, went down with colors flying, when, in October, 1917, she fought against overwhelming enemy forces, has been compiled from official sources:

THE Mary Rose left a Norwegian port in charge of a westbound convoy of merchant ships in the afternoon of Oct. 16, 1917. At dawn on the 17th flashes of gunfire were sighted astern. The Captain of the Mary Rose, Lieut. Commander Charles Fox, who was on the bridge at the time, remarked that he supposed it was a submarine shelling the convoy, and promptly turned his ship to investigate. All hands were called to action stations. The Mary Rose had increased to full speed, and in a short time three light cruisers were sighted coming toward them at high speed out of the morning mist. The Mary Rose promptly challenged, and, receiving no reply, opened fire with every gun that would bear at a range of about four miles. The German light cruisers appeared to be nonplused by this determined single-handed onslaught, as they did not return the fire until the range had closed to three miles.

They then opened fire, and the Mary Rose held gallantly on through a barrage of bursting shell until only a mile separated her from the enemy. Up to this point the German marksmanship was poor, but as the British destroyer turned to bring her torpedo tubes to bear a salvo struck her, bursting in the engine room and leaving her disabled, a log on the water. All guns, with the exception of the after one, were out of action and their crews killed or wounded, but the after gun continued in action, under the direction of Sub-Lieutenant Marsh, R. N. V. R., as long as it would bear. The Captain came down from the wrecked bridge and passed aft, encouraging and cheering his defeated men. He stopped beside the wrecked remains of the midship gun and shouted to the survivors of its crew: "God bless my heart, lads, get her going again; we're not done yet!" The enemy was now pouring a concentrated fire into the motionless vessel. One of the boilers, struck by a shell, exploded, and through the inferno of escaping steam, smoke, and the vapor of bursting shell came that familiar, cheery voice: "We're not done yet."

As the German light cruisers sped past, two able seamen, (French and Bailey,) who alone had survived among the torpedo tubes' crews, on their own initiative laid and fired the remaining torpedo. French was killed immediately and Bailey badly wounded. Realizing that the enemy had passed ahead, and that the four-inch gun could no longer be brought to bear on them, the Captain went below and set about destroying his ciphers. The First Lieutenant, (Lieutenant Bavin,) seeing one of the light cruisers returning toward them, called the gunner (Mr. Handcock) and bade him sink the ship. The Captain then came on deck and gave the order "Abandon ship." All the boats had been shattered by shellfire at their davits, but the survivors launched a Carley raft and paddled clear of the ship. The German light cruiser detailed to administer the coup de grace then approached to within 300 yards and poured a succession of salvos into the already riddled hull.

The Mary Rose sank at 7:15 A. M. with colors flying. The Captain, First Lieutenant, and gunner were lost with the ship, but the handful of survivors, in charge of Sub-Lieutenant J. R. D. Freeman, on the Carley raft, fell in some hours later with a lifeboat belonging to one of the ships of the convoy. Sailing and rowing, they made the Norwegian coast some forty-eight hours later, and were tended with the utmost kindness by the Norwegian authorities.

PRESIDENT WILSON

The first portrait of President Wilson since America entered the war, taken at the White House March 19, 1918

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FERDINAND FOCH

Generalissimo of the allied armies on the western front

PERIOD XLIV.

The Lichnowsky Memorandum—The Battle of Picardy—The British Reverses and Their Causes—Four Epic Weeks of Carnage—How General Carey Saved Amiens—Battle Viewed from the French Front—Caring for Thousands of Refugees—Russia Under German Domination—The Czar's Loyalty to the Allies—Pershing's Army Under General Foch—Our War Machine in New Phases—America's First Year of War—The Surgeon General's Great Organization—War Work of the American Red Cross—Great Britain Faces a Crisis—Russia and the Allies—President Wilson on the Russian Treaties—American Liberty's Crucial Hour—Defending the World's Right to Democracy—Typical U-boat Methods—The Naval Defense of Venice—Taking Over the Dutch Ships—Air Raids on Paris and London—The Tale of Zeppelin Disasters—Paris Bombarded by Long-Range Guns—The Irish Guards—The Guilt of Germany—Reply of Former Foreign Minister Von Jagow—Count Czernin on Peace Terms—Great Britain's Reply to Count Czernin—Austro-French "Peace Initiative" Controversy—A Review of the Battle of Jutland—German Churchman's Defense of Poison Gas—Great Britain's War Work in 1917—The Battle of Cambrai.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended April 19, 1918.]

An Epoch-Making Month

THE month covered by this issue of Current History Magazine was the most fateful in a military way since the beginning of the war. The most desperate and sanguinary battle in history, begun with the great German offensive in France March 21, 1918, was at its most furious phase when these pages were printed. No less than 4,000,000 men were engaged in deadly combat on a front of 150 miles.

General Foch, by agreement of the Allies, was made Commander in Chief of the allied armies in France, March 28. This decision, long regarded as of supreme importance, was hastened by the new emergency. The United States on April 16 officially approved the appointment. The result of the change was to co-ordinate all the allied forces in France into one army. Early fruits of this new unity were apparent in the news of April 19, when it was announced that heavy French reinforcements had come that day to the relief of the hard-pressed and weary British troops in Flanders, and had halted the Germans; the same day the French counterattacked in the Amiens region and thrust the Germans back, thus giving a brighter aspect to the entire situation in France. The story of the battle of Picardy up to April 18 is told elsewhere in detail.

The separation of Russian provinces from the old Russian Empire continued during the month; the resistance of the Bolsheviki in Finland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, the Caucasus, and other provinces that had been alienated either by secession or by German acquisition grew feebler as the weeks elapsed, and the stability of the new republics under German suzerainty was correspondingly strengthened.

The chief political events were the exposure by France of Austria's duplicity in seeking a separate peace, which caused the downfall of the Austrian Premier, and the application of conscription to Ireland, to be followed by home rule. On April 18 Lord Derby was appointed British Ambassador to France, succeeding Lord Bertie, and was succeeded as Secretary of State for War by Viscount Milner. Austen Chamberlain, son of the late Joseph Chamberlain, was made a member of the War Cabinet.

Secretary of War Baker, who had left for England, France, and Italy early in March, returned on April 17 and spoke in enthusiastic terms of the American forces abroad. He expressed firm confidence in the ultimate defeat of Germany.

General Pershing offered all his available forces to General Foch when the storm of the German offensive broke, and many American units were at once brigaded with British and French forces. The appeals of France and Great Britain for man power met with instant response on this side of the Atlantic, and every ton of available shipping was employed in the transport of American troops. Developments in this regard gave promise of fulfilling the War Department's expressed intention of having an American Army of 1,500,000 in France by the end of 1918.

All American war preparations were visibly speeded up as the situation grew more serious for the Allies, and the spirit of the nation became one of widespread determination to win, even though it should require years of warfare and the entire physical and financial resources of the United States.

* * *

Execution of Bolo Pacha

BOLO PACHA, who was convicted by a French court-martial of treason, was executed at Vincennes April 17 by a firing squad. The chaplain, after the execution, found lying over Bolo's heart two embroidered handkerchiefs, which had been pierced by the bullets. One was given to Bolo's brother and the other to his widow.

A few days before the execution the

condemned man sent for the public prosecutor, and, it is stated, made important revelations regarding former Premier Caillaux and Senator Humbert, against whom similar charges are pending.

It was proved that Bolo Pacha, whose real name was Paul Bolo, was a poor man before the war, a pensioner of his brother, Mgr. Bolo, a prominent French prelate. The testimony revealed that $1,683,000 had been transferred by the Deutsche Bank at Berlin on the recommendation of Ambassador Bernstorff to Bolo's credit in New York for the purchase of Senator Humbert's newspaper, the Paris Journal; Bolo made an offer of $400,000 for Le Figaro, bought 1,500 shares in Le Rappel for $34,000, and even approached Clemenceau's Homme Enchainé. Papers he got control over included Paris-Midi, Le Cri de Paris, a satirical weekly, and La Revue, of which Jean Finot is editor. The curious thing about the method employed to make these newspapers serve German interests was that under Bolo's control they became exponents of "defeatism" carried to the extreme of ultra-French militarism. The explanation is that the German war party could use quotations from the Bolo papers to persuade the German people that their existence was threatened by the French, thereby justifying the German Government and rekindling in the people the war fervor which was fast oozing out of them. Then, when the opportune moment came, the same ultra-patriotic papers, so it was expected, would suddenly turn pacifist and thereby stir up dissension in the nation and destroy the efficiency of its war measures.

* * *

The Numbers in the World's Greatest Battles.

THE stupendous character of the battle of Picardy is realized when the numbers engaged in previous noted battles of history are considered. Setting aside the mythical five millions of the army of Xerxes and the ten thousand of Xenophon, accurate figures in Greece are recorded for the campaigns of Philip of Macedon and his more famous son. At Cheronaea, fought in B. C. 338, Philip had 30,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, the latter led by Alexander, then 18 years old. Alexander's cavalry attack on the flank won the battle, driving back the Athenians and Thebans, who were slightly outnumbered. At Arbela, in October, 331, Alexander the Great, with 47,000 Macedonians, defeated a Persian force three or four times as great, piercing between the Persian left and centre. Pyrrhus of Epirus had, at Asculum, in the year 279, 45,000 infantry against an equal number of Romans, but he had elephants, practically equivalent to artillery.

Hannibal at Cannae, in 216, had 50,000 veterans against Varro's 50,000 Romans, who were drawn up with their backs to the sea, and were thus unable to withdraw before Hannibal's overwhelming onslaught. Julius Caesar at Alesia had 50,000 Romans against 80,000 Gallic infantry and 15,000 cavalry. At Pharsalus, in the civil war, the Pompeians, with 60,000, were routed by the Caesareans with 25,000, losing 15,000, while Julius Caesar lost only 200. Augustus Caesar formed a standing army of 300,000, his legions consisting of 3,000 heavy infantry, 1,200 light infantry, and 300 cavalry each.

Genghiz Khan began with a small force of 6,000, with which he fought and conquered his father-in-law, who had 10,000. At the Battle of the Indus, Genghiz Khan commanded a huge army of 300,000 Tartars. At the battle of Karakin, in 1218, he led 700,000 Tartars against 400,000 Kharismians, completely defeating them. Oliver Cromwell's army, in its most complete form, numbered about 80,000. The army of Frederick the Great, at its highest point of efficiency, numbered 200,000, while the army of Louis XIV. numbered 240,000 men.

In 1793, when Republican France was threatened with invasion, and Carnot was "organizing victory," the effective French forces probably numbered 300,000, though the total number available under the newly introduced system of conscription was four times as many, about a million and a quarter. At the battle of Auerstadt-Jena, on Oct. 14, 1806, Napoleon had a French Army of

160,000, against some 140,000 Prussians. About this time Napoleon made the army corps the practical unit instead of the division, as formerly. The Grand Army, which invaded Russia in 1812, totaled 467,000, but this included 280,000 foreign troops. At the battle of Leipsic, a year after the retreat from Moscow, Napoleon, with 155,000, faced 160,000 Austrians, 60,000 Prussians, and 60,000 Swedes under the recreant Frenchman Bernadotte, the ancestor of the present King of Sweden.

At Waterloo, the French Army is said to have numbered 72,000, against whom were drawn up, at the beginning of the battle, 24,000 British and 43,500 Dutch and Belgian troops. The Dutch and Belgians withdrew before the end of the battle, their place being taken by Blücher's contingent.

The forces commanded by George Washington were always numerically small, a few thousand only, and were in ceaseless flux. In 1790, the American Army consisted of 1,216 men. In the war of 1812, the invading force, which burned the national capital, numbered 3,500 men. At the beginning of the American civil war, the regular army numbered 15,300. Between April, 1861, and April, 1865, the total Federal forces enrolled amounted to 2,759,049, while the Confederates enrolled about 1,100,000, making a total of practically 4,000,000 from a population of 32,000,000; this would be equivalent to an army of from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 with the present population of the United States. The total furnished for the war with Spain was 10,017 officers and 213,218 men.

The Austrian Army at Sadowa numbered 200,000; the French Army at Sedan some 120,000. At the battle of Mukden, Russians and Japanese each had a force of about 300,000, the largest number in any modern battle up to that time, though greatly outnumbered by Genghiz Khan.

* * *

Emperor Charles's Separate Peace Plan

THE disclosures regarding Austria's efforts to make a separate peace with France, which are dealt with elsewhere in this issue of Current History Magazine, took a more sensational turn April 11, 1918, when the following official note was issued by the French Government:

Once caught in the cogwheels of lying, there is no means of stopping. Emperor Charles, under Berlin's eye, is taking on himself the lying denials of Count Czernin, and thus compels the French Government to supply the proof. Herewith is the text of an autograph letter communicated on March 31, 1917, by Prince Sixtus de Bourbon, the Emperor of Austria's brother-in-law, to President Poincaré, and communicated immediately, with the Prince's consent, to the French Premier:

> My Dear Sixtus: The end of the third year of this war, which has brought so much mourning and grief into the world, approaches. All the peoples of my empire are more closely united than ever in the common determination to safeguard the integrity of the monarchy at the cost even of the heaviest sacrifices.
>
> Thanks to their union, with the generous co-operation of all nationalities, my empire and monarchy have succeeded in resisting the gravest assaults for nearly three years. Nobody can question the military advantages secured by my troops, particularly in the Balkans.
>
> France, on her side, has shown force, resistance, and dashing courage which are magnificent. We all unreservedly admire the admirable bravery, which is traditional to her army, and the spirit of sacrifice of the entire French people.
>
> Therefore it is a special pleasure to me to note that, although for the moment adversaries, no real divergence of views or aspirations separates many of my empire from France, and that I am justified in hoping that my keen sympathy for France, joined to that which prevails in the whole monarchy, will forever avoid a return of the state of war, for which no responsibility can fall on me.
>
> With this in mind, and to show in a definite manner the reality of these feelings, I beg you to convey privately and unofficially to President Poincaré that I will support by every means, and by exerting all my personal influence with my allies, France's just claims regarding Alsace-Lorraine.
>
> Belgium should be entirely re-established in her sovereignty, retaining entirely her African possessions without prejudice to the compensations she should receive for the losses she has undergone.
>
> Serbia should be re-established in her sovereignty, and, as a pledge of our good-

will, we are ready to assure her equitable natural access to the Adriatic, and also wide economic concessions in Austria-Hungary. On her side, we will demand, as primordial and essential conditions, that Serbia cease in the future all relation with and suppress every association or group whose political object aims at the disintegration of the monarchy, particularly the Serbian political society, Narodni Ochrana; that Serbia loyally and by every means in her power prevent any kind of political agitation, either in Serbia or beyond her frontiers, in the foregoing direction, and give assurances thereof under the guarantee of the Entente Powers.

The events in Russia compel me to reserve my ideas with regard to that country until a legal definite Government is established there.

Having thus laid my ideas clearly before you, I would ask you in turn, after consulting with these two powers, to lay before me the opinion first of France and England, with a view thus to preparing the ground for an understanding on the basis of which official preliminary negotiations could be taken up and reach a result satisfactory to all.

Hoping that thus we will soon be able together to put a limit to the sufferings of so many millions of men and families now plunged in sadness and anxiety, I beg to assure you of my warmest and most brotherly affection. CHARLES.

The reply of Emperor Charles to the foregoing letter was in the form of the following telegram to Emperor William:

Clemenceau's accusations against me are so low that I have no intention to discuss longer this affair with France. My cannon in the west is our last reply.

In faithful friendship, CHARLES.

As a result of the publication of the letter, whose existence it is claimed was unknown to him, Count Czernin on April 15 resigned his portfolio as Foreign Minister and Premier, and accepted appointment as a Major General in the Austrian Army. He was succeeded by Baron Burian, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs from Sept. 15, 1914, to Dec. 23, 1916, when he was succeeded by Count Czernin.

It was authoritatively announced that the letter was communicated to the British, French, and Italian Premiers at a meeting which took place at St. Jean de Maurienne, April 19, 1917, and unanimously judged as insincere and intended to mask some subtle manoeuvre for stirring up friction between the Allies.

The day before the letter was published Emperor Charles sent a telegram to Emperor William, in which he said:

I accuse M. Clemenceau of piling up lies to escape the web of lies in which he is involved, making the false assertion that I in some manner recognized France's claim to Alsace-Lorraine as just. I indignantly repel the assertion.

To this the German Emperor replied as follows:

Accept my heartiest thanks for the letter in which you repudiate the assertion of the French Premier regarding your attitude toward the French claims on Alsace-Lorraine as entirely baseless and once again accentuate the solidarity of the interests which exist between us and our empires. I hasten to tell you that in my eyes there is no need whatever for such assurance on your part, for I have not for a moment been in doubt. You have made our cause your own; in like measure we stand for the rights of your monarchy.

The heavy battles in these years clearly demonstrate this for every one who will see. They have only drawn the bond closer. Our enemies, who are unable to do anything against us in honorable battle, do not recoil from the most sordid and lowest means. We must put up with that, but all the more it is our duty ruthlessly to grapple with and beat the enemy in all the war theatres.

After the publication of the letter the Austrian Government announced that it was "garbled" and intimated that portions of it were forged before it reached Prince Sixtus. The German press accepted the letter as genuine with caustic and hostile criticism. It was announced April 18 that the original letter of the Emperor was in the possession of Prince Sixtus, who sent a copy of it to President Poincaré.

* * *

When Austria Ruled Prussia

EMPEROR KARL'S effort to make a separate peace recalls the period, beginning with the Summer of 1849, when Austria and Prussia were literally at daggers drawn. Twenty-eight North German States had just formed a Prussian League, under the leadership of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia. Austria, under the leadership of Franz Josef, organized a counterleague of South German States, and had the support of

Nicholas I. of Russia, who had helped Austria to subdue Hungary. Schwarzenberg, the fighting man of the Austrian Confederation, announced his policy: "First humiliate Prussia, then destroy her." The practical collision between Prussian North Germany and Austrian South Germany came when the Elector of Hesse quarreled with his people. The Hessians appealed to the Council of the Prussian League, of which Hesse was a member, while the Elector of Hesse appealed to the Emperor of Austria. Austria and Prussia both set armies in movement, the Austrian force being mainly composed of Bavarian troops, and a kind of half-battle was fought on the frontier of Bavaria. But the Prussian Army was weak and inefficient, while Nicholas I. of Russia was open in his support of Austria. Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia met Schwarzenberg in a conference at Olmütz on Nov. 28, 1850, and offered Prussia's submission to Austria. Austria then restored the old Diet and reorganized the German Confederation upon the basis of 1815, the Federal act creating this confederation having actually antedated the battle of Waterloo by a week. In this confederation, which was composed of sovereigns, not of peoples, (thirty-four sovereign Princes and the four "free cities" of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort,) and which met in the Federal Diet at Frankfort, the Austrian representatives presided, and Austria's pre-eminence lasted until the battle of Sadowa, in 1866, when the simultaneous attacks of Prussia and Italy brought about Austria's defeat.

* * *

A Union of the Jugo-Slavs

A PUBLIC meeting held at Rome March 14, 1918, was addressed by Professor Salvemini, a distinguished historian, who advocated the policy of Mazzini that the Italians should ally themselves with the Balkan peoples in order to free them from Austrian and Turkish domination. The speaker opposed the teaching of Cesare Balbo, who advocated a free hand for Austria in the Balkans in return for the cession of the Italian provinces. The leading Serbians and numerous influential Jugo-Slav exiles from Austria-Hungary have indorsed Professor Salvemini's proposition, and a number of Italian Deputies and publicists have joined the movement,

A conference under the auspices of the Serbian Society of Great Britain was held in London March 13, 1918, which was attended by the Executive Committees of the British-Italian League, the Anglo-Hellenic Society, and the Anglo-Rumanian Society. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

1. This conference learns with gratification of the present understanding between representative Italians and the Jugo-Slavs, convinced as it is that it is in the vital interest of both races that they should unite on the basis, as far as practicable, of the principle of self-determination and in a spirit of mutual toleration and friendliness as allies against German and Austro-Magyar military domination.

2. The conference confidently hopes that such an understanding will not weaken but strengthen the bonds of alliance which exist between Serbia and Greece, and that it will be followed by a similar amicable settlement of all outstanding questions between Italy and Greece, so that the Eastern Mediterranean may present a solid bulwark against the German Drang nach Osten.

3. The conference sends fraternal greetings to Rumania and assures the Rumanian people that, whatever terms Rumania is forced to accept from the enemy by the cruel exigencies of the war, the British people will not cease to regard her as an ally in spirit, and will not cease to strive for the attainment of her national unity as one of the essential factors of a lasting peace.

A convention of Bohemians, Slavs, Jugo-Slavs, Rumanians, Serbians, Italians, and Poles met at Rome on April 10 under the Presidency of former Senator Ruffini, with prominent Italians and Frenchmen present, among them former Ministers Martini, Barzilai, Franklin, Bouillon, and Albert Thomas. Dr. Trumbitch, President of the Jugo-Slav Committee in Great Britain, also attended. It was the first assemblage of representatives of the nationalities that are opposed to Austrian dominion. The Mayor of Rome was a participant. The Italian and Polish representatives for the first time gave their adhesion to the

Jugo-Slav aspiration. The following declaration was adopted:

1. Every people proclaims it to be its right to determine its own nationality and national unity and complete independence.

2. Every people knows that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is an instrument of German domination and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its rights to free development and self-government.

3. The Congress recognizes the necessity of fighting against the common oppressors.

The representatives of the Jugo-Slavs agree:

That the unity and independence of the Jugo-Slav Nation is considered of vital importance by Italy.

That the deliverance of the Adriatic Sea and its defense from any enemy is of capital interest to the two peoples.

That territorial controversies will be amicably settled on the principle of nationality and in such a manner as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations; interests which will be taken into account at the peace conferences.

The Polish delegates added their declaration that they consider Germany as the principal enemy of Poland, and that they believe that the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is the only way through which they can obtain their independence from Germany.

* * *

Can a Nation Be Wiped Out?

IF we pass by the ancient epoch when it was the custom of the conqueror to "take the city, and slay the people therein, and beat down the city, and sow it with salt," and come to more modern times, we shall find cause to question whether any people has been actually exterminated by war.

Probably the worst devastation in modern Europe was that caused by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) when the Germans were fighting among themselves. Season by season, says the historian, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land with fire and sword. The peasant, who found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family, ceased to labor and became himself robber and camp follower. Half the population and two-thirds of the movable property of Germany were swept away. In many large districts the facts were worse than this average. The Duchy of Württemberg had 50,000 people left out of 500,000. Populous cities had become hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618. So there is justification for the belief that Montenegro, Serbia, and Armenia will come back again to health and strength.

* * *

ON March 21 an order was issued, applying to all of Great Britain, requiring all entertainments, including theatres, to close at 10:30 P. M., and forbidding any shop window lighting. No public meals were allowed after 9:30 P. M. at hotels, restaurants, clubs, and boarding houses, and the tube and train services were reduced; also, by one-sixth, the amount of gas or electricity allowance.

* * *

British Man-Power Bill.

THE British Man-Power bill, which provides for conscription in Ireland and was described in the important address by Premier Lloyd George, (Page 263,) passed its third reading in the House of Commons April 16 by a vote of 301 to 103. The Government announced that a bill giving home rule to Ireland would be introduced, and if it failed of passage the Government would resign. The Man-Power bill was passed in record time by the House of Lords and became a law by the King's signature April 19. Meetings of protest were held by Nationalists, who joined with Sinn Feiners, O'Brienites, Laborites, and Clericals in denouncing the measure.

* * *

AN increase of 1,426,000 in the number of women employed since 1914 is shown in figures announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The greatest increase was in industries, which took in 530,000 more women, but the largest proportionate increase was 214,000 additional women taken into Government service. Women have replaced 1,413,000 men since 1914. Industrial and Government work has taken 400,000 women formerly employed in domestic service or in dressmaking.

THE BATTLE OF PICARDY

Military Review of the Greatest Battle in History From March 21 to April 17, 1918

ON March 21 the Germans began the great battle which military experts of both sides believe may decide the war. What was indicated in broad lines was that they wished to reach the Channel by way of the Somme and thereby isolate most of the British Army and the entire Belgian and Portuguese Armies in the north. A corollary to such an isolation would have been a movement south on Paris.

As to the narrower lines of the German military plan, however, they became clear. The Germans struck from points where their railways allowed them the greatest possible concentration of troops and at points where the lines of the Allies, owing to the uncompleted battles of Flanders and Cambrai and the failures at Lens, St. Quentin, and La Fère last year, were relatively weak or could be out-manoeuvred with superior force of men and material.

In the first phase of the battle, which carried the enemy down the Somme and its southern tributary, the Avre, to within six miles of Amiens, and to within forty-six miles of the Channel, they first climinated the Cambrai salient so as to protect their northern flank and then concentrated their attack between St. Quentin and La Fère, near the point where the French and the British Armies joined. The flanks of the great salient thereby developed, however, made dangerous further progress down the Somme. On the north it was threatened by the Arras salient with its protecting ridge of Vimy; on the south by the watershed of the Oise and Aisne.

Frontal attacks to eliminate the Arras salient and the Oise-Aisne watershed having failed, a flanking movement against the former, which should also have strategic ramifications further north, followed as a matter of military expediency. Thus on April 9 the second phase began. Again they sought the line of cleavage between two armies, where differences of language and tactics made military cohesion difficult—between the British and the Portuguese on the Lille front. A successful penetration of this front for a distance of ten miles would have placed the enemy on the left-rear of Vimy Ridge in the south, and in the north on the right-rear of Messines Ridge, which protects Ypres, the capture of which by the British a year ago had made the subsequent battle of Flanders and their occupation of Passchendaele in the direction of Roulers possible.

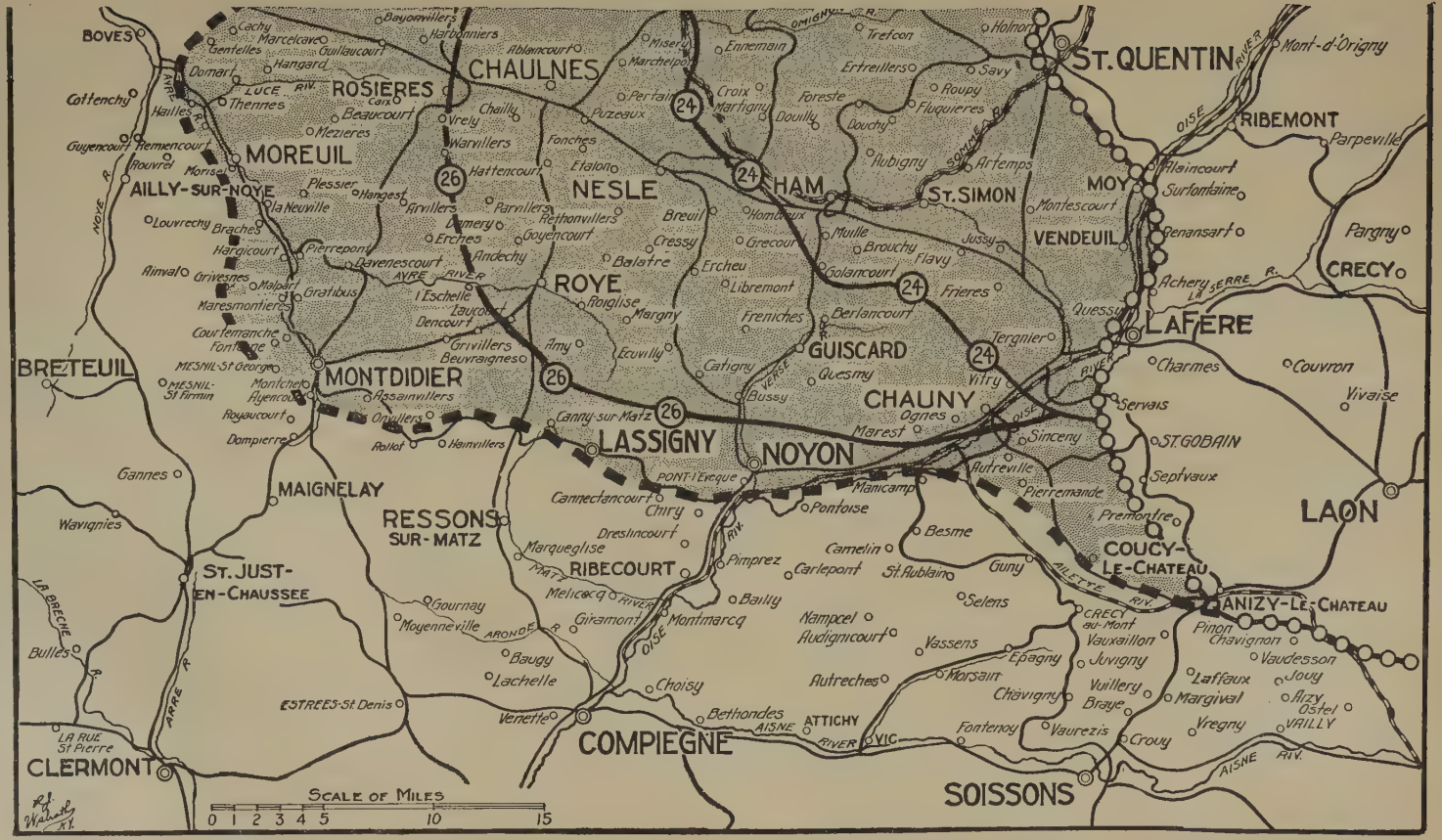
In other words, Vimy Ridge bears the same relation to Arras that Messines and its contiguous hills do to Ypres, but while the former ridge also flanks the great German salient stretching down to the Oise, the latter ridge flanks from the southeast the British salient at Ypres developed by the battle of Flanders.

In this second phase of the great battle the German penetration, through military design or expediency, has so far been developed in the direction of Ypres; not in the direction of Arras.

NUMBER OF MEN ENGAGED

As to the number of men engaged on each side, experts at the front have been wide apart. It has been understood that Great Britain has in France 3,500,000 rifles, and that of these 675,000 were on the front when the attack began, thus (if these figures are correct) leaving an army of reserve and manoeuvre of 2,850,000, minus 150,000 men on leave in England. It was understood that the number of French rifles available on the Continent is between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000, of which 1,575,000 were at the front on March 21, leaving 2,425,000 for reserve and manoeuvre, which to the extent of 500,000 may have been available in the present battle, with the constant deploying of the French line in the south

ANVIN
HOUDAIN
LENS
ST. AMAND
CONDE
ST POL
ABLAIN
Souchez R.
Marchiennes
Hasnon
Givenchy
Rouvroy
Beaumont
SCARPE R.
Carency
VIMY
DOUAI
Fresnoy
SOMAIN
Wallers
NEUVILLE St Vaast
Farbus
Thélus
Oppy
Bailleul
Courchelette
Roucourt
VALENCIENNES
AUBIGNY
SCARPE R.
Ecurie
Rochincourt
Gavrelle
DENAIN
Anzin
Monchecourt
VITRY-
en-Artois
Estrees
Plouvain
Lampoux
Frevent
ARRAS
Feuchy
Hamblain
Sailly
ARLEUX
BOUCHAIN
Querenaing
AVESNES le-Comte
Boiry N.D.
Etaing
SCHELDT
CANAL
LE SENSEE
Haspres
LE QUESNOY
BEAUMETZ
CRINCHON R.
NEUVILLE Vitasse
Guemappe
Remy
Cherisy
Fontaine
Sauchy
HARPIES R.
Boisleux
Agnelles
SENSEE
Gagnicourt
MARQUION
Boiry St Martin
CROISILLES
Buissy
Bullecourt
St Leger
Queant
Neuville St Remy
St Vaast
SOLESMES
DOULLENS
Ayette
Moyenneville
Noreuil
Bourlon
Fontaine N.D.
CAMBRAI
AUTHIE R.
Ablainzeville
Ervillers
Morchies
Bucquoy
Gomiecourt
Doignies
MARCOING
Hebuterne
ACHIET le Petit
Beaumetz
Hermes
CAUDRY
Beaval
Manieux
Serre
Avesnes
Masnieres
Inchy
Miraumont
BAPAUME
Havrincourt
LE CATEAU
Beauquesne
Beaumont-Hamel
Pys
Ligny
Grandcourt
EXUETTE R.
Trescault
Ligny
Anchon Villers
BERTINCOURT
Metz
La Vacquerie
ACHEUX
Courcelette
Ytres
Gouzeaucourt
Gonnelieu
Bantouzette
CLARY
Hedauville
Martinsart
Thiepval
le Transloy
Fins
Villers-Guislain
Hennecourt
Deheries
Rubempre
Senlis
Avelu
Longueval
Ginchy
Morval
Heudicourt
Epehy
la Vallee
WASSIGNY
VILLERS-
Bocage
Millencourt
Lavieville
Hennecourt
ALBERT
COMBLES
Carnoy
Maurepas
Moislains
Vendhuile
LE CATELET
Premont
Bacquignay
BOHAIN
Byrre-
sur-l'Ancre
Dernancourt
Morlancourt
Curlu
Villers-Faucon
Lempire
Pont-Noyelles
Mericourt
BRAY
Frise
PERONNE
ROISEL
Villeret
Nauroy
Seboncourt
Fresnoy le-Grand
Alsonville
Sailly le Sec
Cappy
Doingt
Le Verguier
Lehaucourt
CORBIE
Chipilly
Byaches
Cartigny
Pontru
Fonsomme
AMIENS
Rubigny
Cerisy
Chuignolles
Barleux
Vendelles
GUISE
WARFUSEE-
Abancourt
Proyart
Fay
Brie
VERMAND
Gricourt
Morcourt
SOMME R.
ANCRE R.
CANAL DU NORD
SCHELDT CANAL
SENSEE R.
SELLE R.
24
26


BOVES
Cachy
Marcelcave
Gentelles
Guillaucourt
Hangard
Domart
Cottenchy
Hailles
Thennes
LUCE RIV.
ROSIERES
Caix
Beaucourt
Mezieres
Guyencourt
Remencourt
Rouvrel
Morisel
MOREUIL
AILLY-SUR-NOYE
Plessier
Hangest
La Neuville
Louvrechy
Braches
Hargicourt
Pierrepont
Ainval
Grivesnes
Malpart
Gratibus
Maresmontiers
Courtemanche
Fontaine
MESNIL-St GEORGE
MESNIL-St FIRMIN
Montchel
Ayencourt
Royaucourt
Dompierre
BRETEUIL
Bayonvillers
Harbonnieres
Ablaincourt
CHAULNES
Vrely
Chailly
Warvillers
Beaucourt
Fonches
Hattencourt
Parvillers
Arvillers
Damery
Erches
Andechy
Bavenescourt
AYRE RIVER
L'Eschelle
Dancourt
Grivillers
Beuvraignes
Assainvillers
Orvillers
Hainvillers
Rollot
NESLE
Etalon
Fresnoy
Fresnoy-les-Roye
Goyencourt
Cressy
Balatre
ROYE
Roiglise
Margny
Canny-sur-Matz
LASSIGNY
Amy
Ecuvilly
MONTDIDIER
Gannes
MAIGNELAY
Wavignies
RESSONS SUR-MATZ
Marqueglise
ST. JUST-EN-CHAUSSEE
Gournay
Moyenneville
ARONDE R.
Baugy
Lachelle
ESTREES-St Denis
LA BRECHE R.
Bulles
ARRE R.
LA RUE St Pierre
CLERMONT
Misery
Marchelepot
Ennemain
Croix Moligny
Foreste
Douilly
Douchy
Omignon R.
Tertron
Holnon
Ertreillers
Savy
Roupy
Fluquieres
Hubigny
Artemps
Soyecourt
HAM
St. SIMON
Brouchy
Flavy
Jussy
Golancourt
Grecourt
Muille
Hombleux
Breuil
Ercheu
Libremont
Freniches
Berlancourt
Frieres
GUISCARD
Tergnier
Quessy
Vitry
Quesmy
Catigny
Bussy
Ognes
Marest
CHAUNY
Sinceny
Servais
Autreville
Pontoise
Manicamp
Cannectancourt
Chiry
Dreslincourt
Pimprez
Carlepont
Camelin
Besme
St. Aubiain
Guny
Selens
Bailly
Nampcel
Audignicourt
Vassens
Epagny
Morsain
Autreches
Chavigny
Choisy
Bethondes
Verrette
ATTICHY
AISNE RIVER
VIC
Fontenoy
Vaurezis
COMPIEGNE
NOYON
RIBECOURT
Pimprez
Montmarcq
Giraumont
OISE R.
Marquion
Ramicourt
Ronssoy
Epehy
Peronne
Templeux-le-Guerard
Villers-Faucon
Roisel
Lieramont
Tincourt-Boucly
Nurlu
Hargicourt
Villers-Guislain
Gouzeaucourt
Metz-en-Couture
Trescault
Graincourt
Anneux
Cambrai
Bourlon
Fontaine-Notre-Dame
Crevecoeur
Masnieres
Rumilly
Carnieres
Marcoing
Neuville-St Remy
Bantouzelle
Thun-l'Evêque
Haussy
Solesmes
Le Cateau
Caudry
Clary
Beaumont
Esnes
Viesly
Fontaine-au-Pire
Walincourt
Busigny
Prémont
Wassigny
Etreux
Oisy
Le Catelet
Gouy
Estrées

and the taking over of ten miles of the British line.

The potential strength of the Germans in the western theatre before the Russian revolution was estimated at 4,500,000 rifles, more than half of which were on the front. According to Sir Aukland Geddes, the British Minister of National Service, the secession of Russia added to the enemy's potential strength on the western front possibly as many as 1,600,000 men, of whom 950,000 were Germans. If we add 1,000,000 to the 4,500,000 German rifles in the west we have the 5,500,000 thus produced opposing, at least, 8,500,000 Allies, consisting of French, British, American, Belgian, Portuguese, Russian, and Polish troops. [The British official estimates on April 17 appear on Page 207.]

Nevertheless, in nearly all the engagements of the battle thus far, the Allies appear to have been measurably outnumbered in a ratio varying from three to one to five to three. Up to March 26, aside from the French being constantly forced to augment their forces in the south, only the British 3d, 4th, and 5th Armies had been engaged, approximately numbering 600,000 rifles. Against these, up to the same date, the Germans had been able to concentrate ninety-seven divisions, or 1,164,000 rifles, with special concentrations of 120,000 rifles against Bucquoy, on April 6, and 180,000 against the French between Lassigny and Noyon, on March 27 and April 3. On the subsequent development of the Lille front the Germans seemed to have been able to concentrate their forces, where they outnumber the British and Portuguese three to two.

ENORMOUS GERMAN LOSSES

It was inevitable, in the retreat forced on the British from their static positions, that a large number of men and guns should have been captured by the enemy —during the first rush the Germans claimed 75,000 and 600 respectively. But the German casualties, owing to their massed formation, must, according to all accounts, be staggering, having probably already reached the Verdun maximum of 600,000. The attrition of their war material must also be enormous. And just as the entire armies of the Allies outnumber the enemy eight to five, it may be estimated that their material, actual and immediately available, is 30 per cent. greater.

The most useful guide to the development of the plans of the enemy, their modification, transformation, and failure, either transitory or permanent, is physical geography. The initial impetus of the assault carried the Germans with "shock" and alternating forces beyond a hyopthetical straight line of fifty miles extending from the Scarpe on the north to the junction of the Ailette and the Oise on the south. This was done without their moving their heavy guns, probably not even their mid-calibre guns, from their emplacements.

FIRST DAYS' RESULTS

By March 25 they had covered an area of about 500 square miles and had penetrated beyond Croisilles, Bapaume, Péronne, Brie, Nesle, and the forest northeast of Noyon. In the two following days they recovered the entire battlefield of the Somme, occupied the British railway junction and supply depot at Albert, drove the British four miles down the Somme, and took Roye and Noyon from the French, driving the latter across the Oise. On the 29th the French counterattacked and recovered eight square miles between Lassigny and Noyon, but west of this position the enemy, on a twelve-mile front with a penetration of seven miles, enveloped Montdidier. The next day the Germans gained some ground north of the Scarpe before Vimy Ridge and obliterated an ally salient with its vertex at Vrely by straightening their line between the Somme and Montdidier.

From March 29 until April 8 the enemy consolidated his positions on a front which had been expanded from seventy-five miles, including two large salients, to 125 miles, including innumerable small ones, embracing a terrain of about 800 square miles west of the front as it was on March 20.

On April 3 the enemy was strongly counterattacked by the British at Ayette and by the French at Plémont, near

FLANDERS SECTOR OF THE GREAT BATTLE OF PICARDY. THE CHAIN LINE SHOWS BATTLEFRONT, MARCH 21, 1918. SHADED SPACE INDICATES GERMAN GAINS UP TO APRIL 17

Lassigny. Similar counterattacks recovered Hébuterne for the British and Cantigny for the French on April 5; Beaumont Hamel and a strong position west of Albert for the British and a flanking position north of Aubvillers for the French on April 7.

Meanwhile, April 4, the Germans had occupied Hamel and two villages near Grivenes, driving out the French, and had

made a furious assault upon the positions of the latter between the Luce rivulet and the Avre River, but without success. On the 5th they had made similar attacks at five points: they were successful against the British at Dernancourt, against the French at Casel; they were driven back with heavy losses by the British at Moyenneville and Villers-Bertonneux and by the French at Cantigny. On the 6th the enemy had made concentrated attacks at six points: south of Albert, beyond the Vaire Wood, between Hailles and Rouvrel, and on the Oise east of Chauny he gained ground, but his attempt to take Mesnil beyond Montdidier and Mount Rénaud beyond Noyon were costly failures. On the 7th he attacked the British strategic position at Eucquoy and the French position east of Chauny. At the former place he was repulsed with heavy loss; at the latter his official chronicler asserted that he gained ground.

ON THE LILLE FRONT

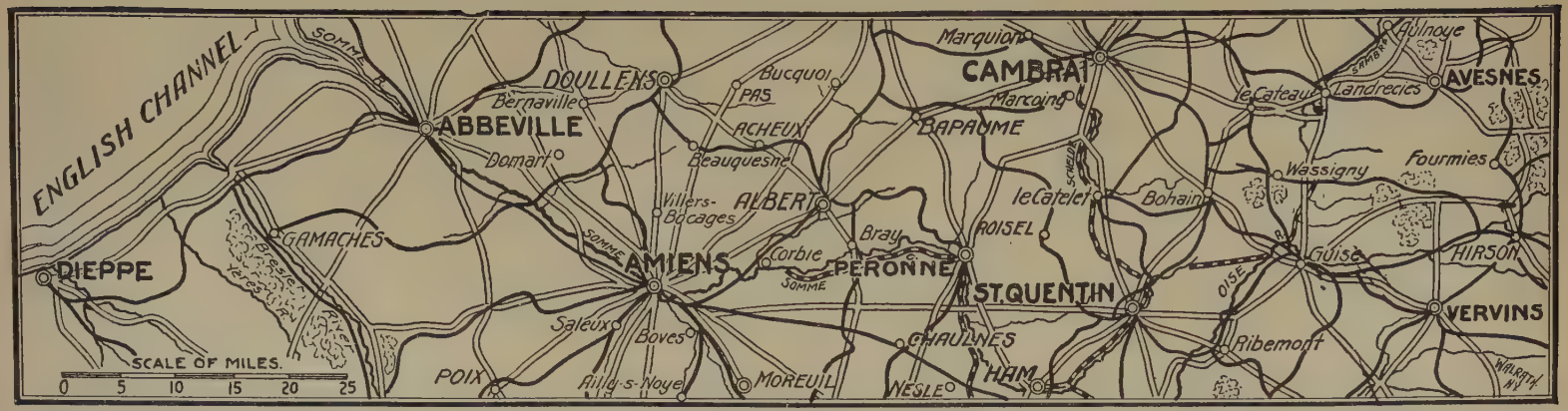
Then north of the great salient just occupied, the Germans struck, on April 9, between the important British depots of Arras and Ypres, forty miles apart, concentrating on a twelve-mile front between Givenchy and Fleurbaix. During the two following days the concentration moved north five miles, penetrating between Armentières and Messines. On the 11th it had developed as far north as Hollebeke, four miles southeast of Ypres, had partly enveloped Messines Ridge and entirely Armentières and the town of Estaires on the Lys River. By the 12th it had swelled beyond Merville and Lestrem in the south, was threatening the railway junction of Bailleul in the middle ground, had gained a footing on Messines Ridge, and was investing the neighboring heights of Neuve Eglise and Kemmel in the north. By the morning of the 17th the German penetration had reached Locon in the south, the Nieppe Forest in the middle ground, and had occupied Bailleul and the eastern heights of the ridge in the north and threatened the western and more elevated heights of Mont Rouge and Mont Kemmel. Thus in eight days the Germans had developed a sector on the Lille front of originally twenty-two miles, a salient embracing an area of about 825 square miles with a new front of about thirty-five miles.

SUMMARY OF THE FIGHTING

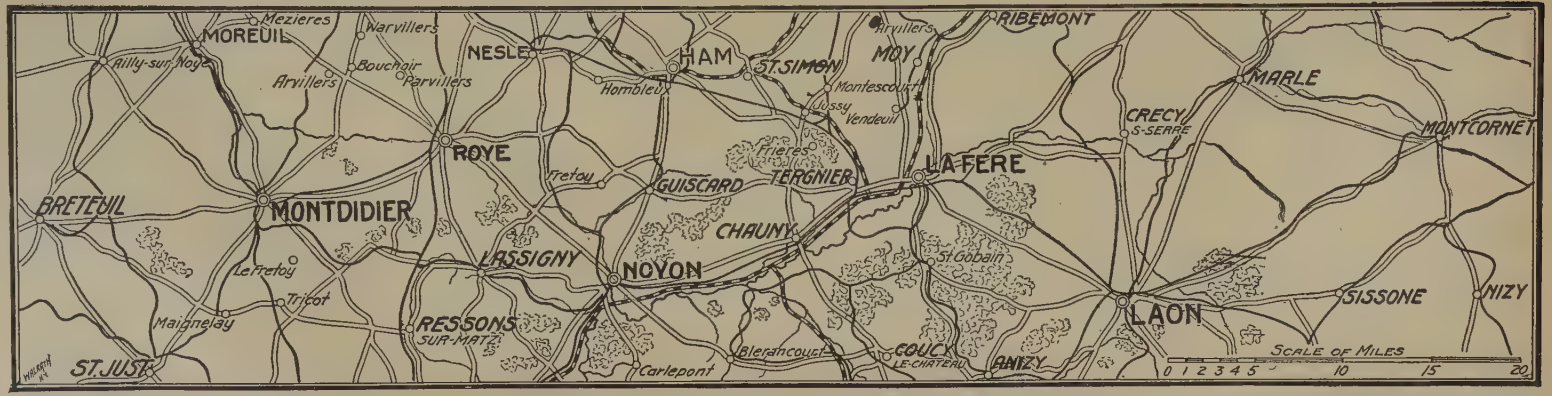
The initial bombardment which preceded the first infantry advance against the Cambrai salient, at 8 o'clock on the morning of March 21, was widely distributed—as far north as Ypres and as far south as the Oise. It consisted mainly of gas and high explosive shells. The first infantry attack, which penetrated the first and second lines on a sixteen-mile front extending from Lagnicourt to Gauche Wood just south of Gouseaucourt, caused a retreat from the salient which had been left exposed to any superior attack since last December. In rapid succession the British positions, now indefinitely exposed on the north, were then attacked between Arras and La Fère, with tremendous concentration between the latter and St. Quentin. According to the German report of the 22d: "After powerful fire by our artillery and mine throwers our infantry stormed in broad sectors and everywhere captured the first enemy line."

From the 22d until the 25th the Germans kept up a heavy fire upon the French front, mingled with raids, both land and air, evidently with the intention of preventing a movement of the French behind the lines as long as the German intentions remained uncertain.

By the 24th, however, these intentions had been measurably revealed, both by documents found on prisoners and by the general tendency of the battle. On that day the enemy succeeded in crossing the Somme south of Péronne, while north of it he forced the British to retire from the line of the River Torille. On the same day Chauny and Ham were captured, the British 3d and 4th Armies were pressed behind Péronne and Ham, and the 5th Army almost lost contact with the French. Here began that wonderful feat which has made the name of General Carey famous. On the 25th the enemy, by a series of drives en masse, managed to envelop Bapaume, while south of Péronne he made still further progress, "west of the Somme."

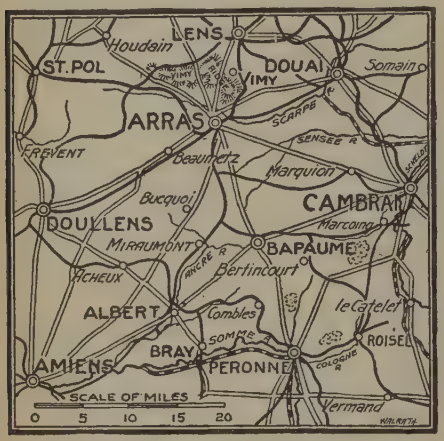


DETAIL MAP OF NORTHERN SECTOR OF BATTLE OF PICARDY, WHERE HEAVY BLOWS WERE STRUCK BY THE GERMANS IN THEIR DRIVE TOWARD AMIENS AND THE ENGLISH CHANNEL. THE FIGHTING WAS ESPECIALLY HEAVY AROUND PERONNE AND ALBERT



DETAIL MAP OF SOUTHERN PORTION OF BATTLEFIELD, SHOWING LA FERE AND TERGNIER, WHERE GERMANS TRIED TO DRVE A WEDGE BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH ARMIES. THE BATTLE SWEPT WESTWARD PAST ROYE AND MONTDIDIER

Nesle was lost and recovered several times by the French troops, who had already begun to relieve certain portions of the British right, with its unlucky 5th Army, as early as the 23d. In the engagements between Bapaume and Péronne the German armies of von



DETAIL MAP OF THE STRUGGLE FOR ARRAS

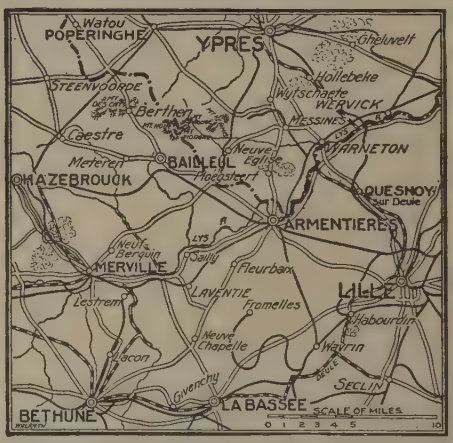
Below, who had just returned from Italy, and von der Marwitz were personally directed by Crown Prince Rupprecht, and outnumbered the British three to two.

THE STRUGGLE FOR ALBERT

From the 25th to the 27th there was a lull in the north, evidently conceived by the Germans for bringing their heavier guns up to new emplacements, but in the south during this time the enemy heavily concentrated against the new French troops that were appearing upon the lengthening line and forced them to give up Lihons and Noyon. When the German pressure was renewed in the north Albert became the obvious objective, on account of the massed attacks made upon Ablainville near by. In the battle of the Somme, Albert, as a junction and depot, performed for the British in a minor degree what Cambrai later performed for the Germans in the present battle. On March 27 the British began a retreat on a wide front on both sides of the Somme, and in the evening Albert was evacuated. The next day came the great French counterattack between Lassigny and Noyon, already mentioned in connection with the geographical development of the battle.

On the 28th the German attack was renewed on the Somme, where it pressed back the British near the Chippily crossing, and before Arras, where a frontal attack was repulsed with great enemy loss. This attack was renewed for three successive days. Then on April 3 the French again won near Lassigny and repulsed heavy German attacks around Moreuil.

On April 4 a frightful battle developed, where on a narrow ten-mile front, between Grivesnes, near the vertex of the Montdidier salient, and the



DETAIL MAP OF FLANDERS SECTOR AND BATTLE AROUND ARMENTIERES

Roye-Amiens road, the Germans sacrificed thousands of men in a vain attempt to drive a wedge between the newly discovered junction of the French and British Armies.

From the 4th until the 7th, with the exception of the check the enemy met with at Bucquoy on the latter date, he made a reconsolidation of his lines, partially digging in on the sector before Amiens. The British positions around Arras, to the north of the great salient, which had again and again repelled frontal attacks, and the French positions on the Montdidier salient and the Oise-Aisne watershed on the south, now warned him of the danger of further progress west without augmented protection of his flanks.

Hence, on April 9, the reason for his sudden concentration and attack on the

BENEDICT CROWELL

Assistant Secretary of War and, during Mr. Baker's absence in Europe, Acting Secretary of War

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Maj. Gen. George O. Squier,
Chief of Signal Corps

Lieut. Col. Edward A. Kreger,
Judge Advocate General in France
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Col. Palmer E. Pierce,
Director of Purchases for the War Department
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Maj. Gen. Evan M. Johnston,
Temporary Commander at Camp Upton, N. Y.
(Press Illustrating Service)

Lille front, and particularly upon the junction of the British and Portuguese lines near La Bassée Canal to a point east of Armentières, which is still in progress. The geographical as well as the strategic features of this phase of the battle have already been described. Complete success had marked the German efforts on this sector up to April 17.

During the entire period covered the airplanes employed on the battlefront were in the ratio of seven to five in favor of the Allies, whose killings have been in the ratio of five to two. This, taken in connection with the destruction of a great German plant and airdrome at Friedrichafen on April 15, is believed to place the dominance of the air with all it includes as to observation and the bombing of transport and arsenal in the hands of the Allies.

The British Reverses and Their Causes

By a Military Observer

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE in his speech of April 9 [printed on Page 263] compared the operations in Picardy with the battle of Cambrai. In fact, the best way to understand what happened in the initial stage of the great German drive is to remember the sequence of events in the German attacks on the positions near Cambrai in 1917. At Cambrai there was a mistaken confidence in the ability to hold the terrain, although German attacks were expected. When these German assaults came, one was a surprise, because there had been an unexpected concentration of German troops; and this attack broke through the defense to such an extent that it forced the abandonment of other positions, with losses of prisoners and guns. All these tactical elements were present at the beginning of the German drive in March, but on a much larger scale, because in this case the German assaults were made on a front of some fifty miles.

The difficult problem for the Allies, in preparing to defend their long front against the expected German offensive, was to provide against the well-known German tactics of assembling superior numbers at the place of battle. In this war the German "massed attacks" have not been so much a matter of formation as of delivering streams of troops at the chosen point of contact to overwhelm their opponents with superior numbers at that point. These German tactics were again used in the attacks, begun on March 21, against the British front from southeast of Arras as far as La Fère.

FIFTH ARMY'S DISASTER

Here were in position the 3d British Army (General Byng) in the section toward Arras, and, on the right to the south, the 5th British Army (General Gough) in the region west of St. Quentin. On March 21 there was a tremendous bombardment followed by infantry attacks all along the line, which resulted in winning many first-line positions. This was nothing more than had been expected, and provision had been made against it; but, unfortunately, as at Cambrai, the Germans had been enabled to make an unexpected concentration of superior numbers against positions of the 5th British Army.* The assault of this overwhelming force broke through the British lines, even to the extent of involving engineers and laborers behind the lines, as at Cambrai, with the same disastrous results. This breakdown of the defense forced a retreat from the British positions far different from the retirement that had been planned—and it brought about the withdrawal of the whole 5th Army, resulting in what the British Premier called "crippling one of our great armies."

After such a disaster, it was found

*"And the Germans were actually in some parts within a few yards of our front line before any one knew of their approach."—Lloyd George.

necessary to abandon a great amount of terrain to maintain a junction between the two British armies. Péronne and Bapaume were soon captured by the Germans, and on March 27 the Germans reported the occupation of Albert. On the same day Roye and Noyon were taken. On the next day the Germans had pushed as far west as Pierrepont and taken possession of Montdidier. As was to be expected in such a retreat, there soon was a large toll of British guns and prisoners. On March 29 the Germans claimed 1,100 guns and 70,000 prisoners. They had also captured great quantities of material and 100 tanks.

These were heavy losses, but such losses were not the really serious element in the situation. A study of the map will show that, as the 5th Army retreated toward the west, there was left an increasingly long sector south of Noyon and curving north, west of Montdidier to the Avre River—and it was necessary that this dangerous opening should be protected by the French reserves. With extraordinary rapidity and efficiency French troops were rushed to this region, and the almost impossible task was accomplished of repairing the defense. But the drain on the French reserves had been heavy, and the necessity to use them for this purpose had neutralized a force that had been prepared for a different object against such a German drive.

That these reserves were being held as a mobile army was so generally known that, it will be remembered, there was daily expectation of a counterattack by this force. There is no need to point out how great might have been the results of an assault upon an enemy exhausted by days of fighting; but any such plan was rendered impossible at the time by the need to use these troops to defend the new line, which was nearly as long as the original battle line at the time of the attacks on March 21.

FOCH MADE GENERALISSIMO

Yet, on the other hand, from this battle's costly object lesson in the weakness of divided commands, came at last the appointment of the French General, Foch, (March 28,) to absolute command over all the armies of the Allies on the western front. For a long time a single command has been the one great need to insure military efficiency, and obtaining this is an offset against the losses in the battle which brought such a command into being.

Throughout the war the great outstanding element of failure for the Allies has been lack of co-ordination. The varying aims of the different nations in the war have accounted for this to a great degree, but on the battlefields of France there should have been no delay in giving the command to the chosen General of the nation which had everything at stake. All the influence of the United States had been exerted for a long time in favor of a single command, and at once the unrestricted use of the American force in France was offered to General Foch.

From what has been said of the course of the battle of Picardy, it can readily be seen that the task of the new Commander in Chief was one of the hardest ever given to a General on taking command of an army. After a disaster that had greatly impaired the availability of the troops of the Allies, General Foch was obliged to face the culminating effort of the greatest military machine in all history with a force placed under his command made up of armies that had never been in co-ordination—and after the collapse of one of these armies.

Another serious element in the battle in Flanders is the fact that it has been necessary to send to this front also French troops from General Foch's reserves, making another drain upon these forces. The appointment of General Foch to the chief command literally on the battlefield was formally confirmed by the British and French Governments in the following notice which appeared in Le Temps April 14:

> The British Government and the French Government have agreed to give General Foch the title of Commander in Chief of the allied armies operating in France.

The United States, after having greatly helped to bring about General Foch's command, has given a large part

of the American force in France to be brigaded with the allied troops wherever there are weak spots. These factors in the military situation may make it possible for General Foch again to assemble a mobile army for a counterstroke against the German offensive.

PHASES OF THE BATTLE

The first days of April saw the end of the initial phase of the great drive. There were other gains that brought the Germans uncomfortably near Amiens, but the character of the fighting was similar to that of the last three years on the western front. The new line of battle extended southwest from Arras, beyond Albert, to the west of Moreuil, about nine miles south of Amiens. It lay to the west of Pierrepont and Montdidier, curving to the south of Noyon and to the region of the Oise. The greatest penetration into the terrain of the Allies had been about thirty-five miles. The Berlin War Office announced the capture of 90,000 prisoners and 1,300 guns in this first phase of the German offensive.

Through the first week of April there was sharp fighting at different points in the line, north of Albert, east of Amiens, and on the River Oise. In this last region the French, in rectifying their new defense, lost 2,000 prisoners, but there was nothing accomplished in any combat that meant a tactical change in the general situation. Suddenly, on April 8, there were heavy bombardments in the region of La Bassée and Armentières, which were followed by strong attacks on this front; and on April 9 General Haig reported: "Favored by a thick mist which made observation impossible, the enemy succeeded in forcing his way into the Allies' positions in the neighborhood of Neuve Chapelle."

These attacks developed into a second stage of the great German offensive, and, as before, the shock of the initial surprise attack seriously impaired the British positions. Portuguese troops were reported as fighting with the British troops on this sector. On April 10 General Haig reported that the Germans had also forced back his line north of Armentières. These reverses resulted in the capture of Armentières on April 11 by the Germans, as the city was encircled from the north and south. The Germans claimed the capture of the garrison of 3,000 and forty-five guns. The battle had spread to a front of about twenty-five miles on April 12, with the Germans penetrating to Merville, eleven miles southwest of Armentières. On this day the German official report claimed 20,000 prisoners and 200 guns.

A HISTORIC ORDER

General Haig issued the following proclamation to his troops on April 12:

> Three weeks ago today the enemy began his terrific attacks against us on a fifty-mile front. His objects are to separate us from the French, to take the Channel ports, and to destroy the British Army.
>
> In spite of throwing already 106 divisions into the battle, and enduring the most reckless sacrifice of human life, he has yet made little progress toward his goals.
>
> We owe this to the determined fighting and self-sacrifce of our troops. Words fail me to express the admiration which I feel for the splendid resistance offered by all ranks of our army under the most trying circumstances.
>
> Many among us now are tired. To those I would say that victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest. The French Army is moving rapidly and in great force to our support. There is no other course open to us but to fight it out.
>
> Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment.

The situation on April 17 was summed up by General Maurice, Director of War Operations in the British War Office, in these words:

> The British Army is playing the rôle which it often has played before. It is fighting a Waterloo while Blücher is marching to the battlefield.
>
> The British Army is under a terrible hammering, but, providing we stand that hammering without breaking down, and providing Blücher is marching to the battlefield, there is no reason for discouragement.
>
> The enormous task which the British Army has performed and still is performing may be shown by a few figures. In this battle of Armentières the Germans

thus far have engaged twenty-eight divisions (392,000 men) and since March 21 they have engaged 126 divisions, (1,764,000 men.)

Of these the British Army alone has engaged seventy-nine, (1,106,000 men,) the French alone have engaged twenty-four, (336,000 men,) and the remainder, twenty-three, (322,000 men,) have been engaged by the British and French together.

Of the German divisions which the British engaged, twenty-eight have been fought twice and one thrice. Of the German divisions which the French engaged, four have fought twice. Of the German divisions which the French and British engaged together, fifteen have been fought twice and one thrice.

It is unpleasant business standing the hammering, but so long as we can stand it the only question to be asked is, What is happening to Blücher—what has become of the reserves?

Thus the perilous situation stood at the time when this magazine went to press—April 19—with the British fighting fiercely in Flanders and waiting for Foch to strike with his reserve forces and relieve the strain.

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps

By JOHN OXENHAM

Great work! State work!—willingly done and well,
For the men who are doing so much for us
Ay—more than words can tell!
Right work! White work! faithfully, skillfully done,
But the whole of the soul of it will not be known
Till the war is properly won.

They mend the men; they tend the men;
They help them carry on;
They drop a little veil upon
The woes they've undergone.

They feed the men; they speed the men;
They make their daily bread;
They mend them while they're living,
And they tend them when they're dead.

There's many a lonely man out there
They've saved from black despair;
There's many a lowly grave out there
Made gracious by their care.

They toil for them; they moil for them;
Help lame dogs over stiles,
And do their best to buck them up
With cheery words and smiles.

They're just a little bit of home,
Come out to lend a hand.
They're gleams of warm bright sunshine
In a dreary, weary land.

They are sweet as pinks and daisies,
Just the sight of them is good,
When you've lived for eighteen months or so
In a sink of Flanders mud.

New work, true work, gallantly, patiently done,
For the men who are giving their all for us—
Your brother, your lover, your son.
High work! Thy work, if truly to Thee it's done!—
But we never shall know all the debt we owe
Till the war is really won.

Four Epic Weeks of Carnage

By Philip Gibbs

Special Correspondent with the British Armies

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The first phase of the battle of Picardy, which began March 21, 1918, was a vain attempt of the German forces to drive a wedge between the French and British Armies at their point of juncture; the second was an equally unsuccessful attempt to wrest Arras and Vimy Ridge from the British; the third sought to annihilate the British armies in Flanders and break through to the English Channel. The last-named phase was still undecided when this magazine went to press, (April 19.) All three phases were vividly described from day to day by Philip Gibbs. The following narrative is compiled from his dispatches to The New York Times, which are available for Current History Magazine as an affiliated publication of the Times:

THURSDAY, March 21.—A German offensive against the British front has begun. At about 5 o'clock this morning the enemy began an intense bombardment of the lines and batteries on a very wide front—something like sixty miles, from the country south of the Scarpe and to the west of Bullecourt in the neighborhood of Croisilles, as far south as the positions between St. Quentin and the British right flank.

After several hours of this hurricane shelling, in which a great deal of gas was used, the German infantry advanced and developed attacks against a number of strategical points on a very wide front.

Among the places against which they have directed their chief efforts are Bullecourt, Lagnecourt, and Noreuil, both west of Cambrai, where they once before penetrated the British lines and were slaughtered in great numbers; the St. Quentin Ridge, which was on the right of the Cambrai fighting, and the villages of Ronssoy and Hargicourt, south of the Cambrai salient.

Friday, March 22.—The enemy flung the full weight of his great army against the British yesterday. Nearly forty divisions are identified, and it is certain that as many as fifty must be engaged. In proportions of men, the British are much outnumbered, therefore the obstinacy of the resistance of the troops is wonderful. Nine German divisions were hurled against three British at one part of the line, and eight against two at another. All the storm troops, including the guards, were in brand-new uniforms. They advanced in dense masses, and never faltered until shattered by the machine-gun fire.

The enemy introduced no new frightfulness, no tanks and no specially invented gas, but relied on the power of his artillery and the weight of the infantry assault. The supporting waves advanced over the bodies of the dead and wounded. The German commanders were ruthless in the sacrifice of life, in the hope of overwhelming the defense by the sheer weight of numbers.

They had exceeding power in guns. Opposite three of the British divisions they had a thousand, and at most parts of the line one to every twelve or fifteen yards. They had brought a number of long-range guns, probably naval, and their shellfire was scattered as far back as twenty-eight miles behind the lines. During the last hour of the bombardment they poured out gas shells, and continued to send concentrated gas about the British batteries and reserve trenches. The atmosphere was filled with poisonous clouds.

Saturday, March 23.—The enemy has

been continuing his attacks all day along the whole battlefront and has made further progress at various points in spite of the heroic resistance of the British troops, greatly outnumbered owing to the enormous concentration of the enemy divisions, which are constantly reinforced and passing through one another, so that fresh regiments may pursue the assaults.

ATTACK AT ST. QUENTIN

The St. Quentin attack began along the whole sweep of the front with six hours' bombardment and intense gas shelling of the British batteries, and afterward an attack was launched by overwhelming numbers of German storm troops. The British battleline was held by some three divisions, from a point south of Pontruet to Itancourt, south of the St. Quentin Canal. Along this sector the enemy line had been held before the attack by three divisions also, but the night before the battle they were reinforced until eight German divisions [upward of 100,000 men] were massed for assault on a front of some 2,000 yards. I believe this is a greater strength than has ever been brought into battle on such a narrow front during the whole of this war.

On this sector, the front north and south of St. Quentin, and opposite the British line further south, the enemy's intention, as is known from prisoners, was to reach the line of the St. Quentin Canal—or the Crozat Canal, as it is sometimes called—on the first day, and then advance in quick stages westward. The rate of progress was to be eight miles on the first day, twelve on the second, and twenty on the third.

In spite of their intense gunfire of massed batteries, supported by Austrian howitzers and large numbers of heavy trench mortars, the Germans' plans were thwarted so far as this rapidity of progress was concerned.

The heavy fog of the early morning on Thursday threw their assault troops at some points into wild confusion. The first line of assault, each division apparently advancing with two regiments in line, with two battalions in line, with the other strength of the divisions following in depth, with light machine-gun companies at intervals of 100 yards, and then heavy machine guns and field artillery, sometimes became hopelessly mixed up with the third and fourth lines, while right battalions were confused with left battalions.

This fog and the British machine-gun fire, which caught the German waves, checked the pace of their onslaught and caused heavy losses.

The German high command relied entirely on weight of guns and man power to break the British resistance, and the driving power of the whole monstrous machine was set in movement. The British line was not strong enough to hold all the old positions against such a tide of brute force. The men served their guns and rifles, but as attack followed attack and column followed column, and their own losses increased as the hours passed, they were ordered at certain points to give ground and fall back, fighting heroic rearguard actions from one position to another.

BRITISH LINE BENDS

The main attack, just south of St. Quentin, was directed against Urvillers and Essigny, and the enemy forced his way through these places by great drives. The British garrison there was partly destroyed by his stupendous gunfire. He gained possession of Essigny before midday, March 21, and captured Contescourt, on the edge of the canal. This gave him important high ground, of which he made full use.

He succeeded by this movement in bending in the British line at the right flank of the Ulster division, north of the canal, which he crossed hereabout, and by advancing his field artillery was able to bombard the line to which the main body of the British troops had been withdrawn. Down from Maissemy and Holnon Wood to Savy and Roupy he pressed forward against this line.

The enemy was so densely massed that there was a division on about a kilometer of front. None of them spread out on more than two kilometers for a division, with a battalion for every 500 yards.

German storm troops were able to

force their way to Vendeuil, Lyfontaine, and Benay, south of Essigny, and to strike against Jussy and Tergnier, on the St. Quentin Canal, on the evening of the first day.

They brought up two more divisions, and that night, owing to the pressure of their attacks, it was decided that the British withdraw to a prepared line further west, which was the best defense. This was done during the darkness, the retirement being covered by gallant rearguards.

This morning the Germans followed up our withdrawal by clearing up all the ground in the bend formed by the acute angle of the St. Quentin Canal, which has its apex at Ugny, six kilometers east of Ham, and it was reported that their patrols had entered the town of Ham itself.

CROSSING THE SOMME

Monday, March 25.—The enemy fought fiercely yesterday to gain a crossing over the Somme south of Péronne. He flung across a pontoon bridge and rafts, and his men tried to cross, but the British field artillery, firing at short range, smashed up many of these bridges and killed his engineers and infantry. Gallant counterattacks by some of the British flung him back across the river at several points, but elsewhere he held his crossing long enough to put over some of his forces.

All the fighting in this part of the country since March 21 has been a continuous battle, in which the British divisions holding the front line below Gouzeaucourt to Maissemy have shown magnificent powers of endurance, as indeed have all the others engaged, and have only yielded ground under pressure of overwhelming numbers and great gunfire.

There was a bloody struggle in some old chalk quarries, where many German dead now lie, and after the enemy had come some way forward ten British tanks drove into him and shattered some of his battalions with their machine-gun fire, dispersing groups of his advancing units. The tanks manoeuvred about, firing continually on each flank and causing terror among the enemy's foremost assault troops. The British fought a number of rearguard actions and made many counterattacks in the neighborhood of Roisel, and fell back to the line of the Somme only when new masses of Germans passed through those battalions which they had met and beaten.

SLAUGHTER OF GERMANS

The British gunners were firing hour after hour at large bodies of Germans moving so close to them that the guns were laid directly on to their targets, and caused deadly losses in these ranks of field-gray men who never ceased to come forward in a living tide at whatever cost of life and bore down on the defensive lines. Under this ceaseless tide some of the British guns had to be abandoned, but many of them were withdrawn to the other side of the Somme, and the gunners were wonderful in the skill and courage with which they made this passage, took up new positions, and went into action again like exhibition batteries at Earls Court.

By Saturday morning the German troops were exhausted and spent, and in some parts of the line made no further effort for a time, but halted to gain some sleep and await fresh rations. On Saturday and Sunday the British, who had had no rest from fighting, were reinforced and given some relief, though many of them were again engaged, and, weary as they were, put up gallant fights against the enemy, who also had been reinforced by great numbers and came on again in an unending onslaught.

FIGHTING AGAINST ODDS

Tuesday, March 26.—Since yesterday morning the enemy has continued his violent thrusts against the British line westward from Bapaume and Péronne, and his massed troops, mostly Brandenburgers and picked troops, are now advancing in the direction of Roye and Nesle, where French troops are heavily engaged.

At the same time he is passing on over the old Somme battlefields down from

Delville Wood, High Wood, and Maurepas toward the old lines the British held before the beginning of the Somme battles in 1916.

The enemy has paused since he began the great offensive, on Thursday last, only to bring up new divisions and pass them through and beyond those divisions exhausted by attack or shattered under the British fire while they reform and rest and then come on again, relieved once more by reserves and continually crowding over the captured ground. By this means, and owing to the enormous forces at the disposal of the German command, they are able to pursue any advantage gained with fresh troops against the hard-pressed British, who have been fighting without respite since the beginning of the battle, six days ago, except where on the right some of them have now been replaced in the front line by French battalions.

In spite of the gravity of these hours and the progress made by the enemy, there never has been a more glorious spirit shown by British troops throughout history, and when one day all the details of this battle may be written it will be an epic of heroism more wonderful than the world now realizes, for the British troops and their officers have withstood an onslaught of enormous forces which have never been less than two to one, and in most parts of the line have been four to one and six to one and eight to one, nine divisions against three around Croisilles, eight divisions against two from the Cambrai sector westward, and in many places one division against one battalion.

WEARIED BY ENDLESS BATTLE

Our men have been fighting for six days and nights like this, after the first storm of shells and gas, until their beards have grown long and their faces haggard and worn for lack of sleep, and their clothes have become torn on wire and covered with dust of mud and chalk. I saw a small party of them today so weary with this endless battle they could hardly walk, and they were holding hands like tired children and leaning against each other like drunken men, but for the most part they hold their heads up gamely, because so far luck has been against them.

The whole movement of the army under the necessity of withdrawal from fixed positions is as orderly as though on manoeuvres in England. I can say honestly I have seen no officer show sign of being flurried.

It is all an amazing drama, because this open warfare is a new thing to the army, and the menace of the enemy is strong and serious, and retirement under the terrific pressure of the human avalanche now hurled against the defenders is by no means pleasant. But in the inevitable turmoil of this situation, in roads crowded with traffic of men and guns, in villages seething with troops rushed up toward the battle line, on the field of battle itself, the British Army retains its self-control, its will power, and its supreme, inspired courage.

THE ATTACK AT ALBERT

Wednesday, March 27.—The enemy has not made further advances on a big scale between the Arras-Bapaume road on the left of the battlefront and the village of Bray, on the Somme, but has paused in his massed attacks in order to reorganize his line and bring up artillery.

There are heavy concentrations of German storm troops behind Maurepas, Ginchy, and Beugnatre, and the roads around Bapaume have been crowded with men and guns and transport passing down through Le Sars, with German cavalry along the Bapaume-Gudecourt road and a steady drift downward to the town of Albert.

That poor, stricken city of the golden Virgin, head downward, with her babe in her outstretched arms, which I described so often in accounts of the battles of the Somme in 1916, when that falling statue was lit up by shellfire, was yesterday in the centre of the fighting north of the Somme. [The golden Virgin and tower were destroyed later.] The night before their assault yesterday they bombed it heavily from the air, using the brilliant moonlight, which lay white over all the battlefields and these

roofs, to fly low and pick their targets wherever they saw men moving or horses tethered.

In several cases it was not men they hit, but women and children who, when the war seemed to have passed from this place a year ago, crept back to their homes and built little wooden booths in which they sold papers and picture postcards to the troops. Now suddenly the war has flamed over them again and they were caught, before they could escape, by thunderbolts out of the shining moonlight, terribly clear and revealing dead horses about the ruined streets.

TRYING TO TAKE ARRAS

Friday, March 29.—The enemy's pressure has for the time being relaxed a little across the Somme, east of Corbie, and whatever effort he has made during the last day and night has been repulsed with the most heavy losses.

Yesterday the most exciting situation and the fiercest struggle was on the left of the British battleline, from Gavrelle southward to below the Scarpe. It was a deliberate, resolute effort by the enemy to capture Arras. Three divisions of special storm troops, the 184th, 12th, and 27th Reserve, had been brought up for this purpose, though one of them had been engaged before and roughly handled. They were ordered to take Arras yesterday at all costs, and before their advance very heavy bombardment was flung over the British lines from about 5 o'clock in the morning for several hours.

Their main thrust was toward Roeux, that frightful little village, with its chemical works, which I used to write about so much in April and May last. Once again yesterday it became a shambles. The British had machine guns well placed with a wide field of fire, and as the Germans came down the slopes they were swept with streams of bullets, which cut swaths in their formations, but once again, as on March 21, the enemy was reckless of life, theirs as well as the British, and always his tide of men flowed forward, passing over dead and wounded, and creeping forward like flowing water. The British field guns raked them while the heavies pulled further back to avoid being blown up or captured.

FIGHT FOR ORANGE HILL

On and about Orange Hill and Telegraph Hill British battalions who know this ground of old fought tenaciously under murderous machine-gun fire, the enemy's screen of infantry covering machine-gun batteries which were rushed forward very quickly and took up positions in shell holes and behind bits of broken wall and any kind of cover, in ditches and sunken roads.

A footing gained by the enemy on part of Orange Hill and Infantry Hill rendered it necessary to fall back yesterday toward the old German support lines before that battle in April, 1917. The British fought like tigers, and would not retire until the pressure on them made it impossible to resist the continual thrust of new attacks by fresh troops. There were heroic actions by small groups of men struggling to hold up the front line, and some of them stayed so long after the enemy had broken beyond them that they were cut off.

Frightful fighting was happening not far from Neuville, Vitasse, and Mercatel and in this neighborhood the British held out with wonderful determination until exhausted by battle and until only a poor remnant of men had strength to stand against these massed attacks.

By the end of the day the enemy's assaults weakened, and then died out because his losses were enormous and the spirit of his attack was broken by such stubborn resistance.

ENEMY FAILS AT ARRAS

Sunday, March 31.—We now have knowledge that the attack on Arras was prepared on a scale of enormous strength by divisions arranged in depth, preceded by a bombardment as great as that which fell upon any part of the British line on the morning of March 21, and that the enemy had determined to capture not only Arras itself but Vimy Ridge.

It was the heroic resistance of the British troops that defeated this furi-

ous onslaught and destroyed by enormous losses to the German troops this dark scheme of their high command. Seven German divisions were in position north of the Scarpe and twelve south, in an arc around the defenses of Arras.

The brunt of this attack, preceded by colossal gunfire, fell upon London troops, and against these the German tides dashed and broke. By artillery fire, machine-gun fire, and rifle fire, the enemy's advancing waves of men were swept to pieces, and though they came on again and again this massacre continued until at last it must have sickened even the high German officers directing the operations from behind. The attacks died out and the night was quiet around Arras while the enemy collected his wounded. It was an utter defeat which will at least check German efforts around Arras.

On this Easter Sunday, under bright sunshine which is breaking through the storm clouds, the fields of France are strewn with death. A year ago it was the same around the old City of Artois, for it was on Easter Sunday, April 2, that we began the battle of Arras and fought over that ground which is again our battlefield, and it was a great anthem of gunfire which rose up to the sky on Easter morn.

Apart from all regrets at having had to fall back at all and at having suffered losses for which there is mourning in our hearts, because so many splendid men have fallen on the field of honor—that terrible field of honor which will be watered with tears for all time—we may at least rejoice that by the skill of our fighting officers and the steady courage of our men our line was brought back unbroken.

Heroic Cavalry Charge

Monday, April 1.—The battle of which I have been trying to give a daily narrative has been on so vast a scale, filled with so many episodes of terrific adventure and with so many hundreds of thousands of men moving along its lines of fire that I find it impossible to give a picture of the emotion and spirit of it. We out here, who knew this thing was coming upon us, creeping nearer every day with its monstrous menace, held our breath and waited. When at last the thing broke it was more frightful in its loosing of overwhelming powers than even we had guessed. Since then all our armies have lived with an intense understanding of the greatness of these days, of their meaning to the destiny of the world, and every private soldier, or transport driver, or linesman, or laborer, has been exalted by an emotion stronger than the effect of drugs.

In the wood of Moreuil this morning British cavalry performed a feat as fine as the Balaklava charge, and this also should be made into a ballad and learned by heart.

Twelve hundred men who had been riding through the night went forward in three waves and charged that dark wood next morning at a hard gallop. The first wave rode to the edge of the wood, and the second to the centre, and the third wave went right through to the other side, riding through the enemy and over his machine guns and in the face of a hail of bullets from hidden machines. They cleared the wood of Moreuil and brought back prisoners and thirteen machine guns, but there were many empty saddles, and many men and horses fell.

That was the finest exploit of the British cavalry, but elsewhere it did splendid work, and everywhere the men were gallant and cool, as when some of the dragoons came under a heavy shrapnel fire near Gentille, and many men had to shoot their wounded horses to put them out of their agony.

Dashing Canadians

Away from Arras and down on the south of the line a certain body of Canadians have been having some of the most astounding adventures in all this battle, and fighting with valor and heroic audacity. They are officers and men of a machine gun detachment organized in the early days of the war by a French Canadian officer.

For ten days these Canadians have fought running fights with the German artillery, have engaged German cavalry and smashed them, have checked enemy columns crossing bridges and pouring onward, have scattered large bodies of men surrounding British troops, and in ten days of crowded life have destroyed many German storm troops and helped to hold up the tide of their advance. Their own losses have not been light, for these Canadians have been filled with a grim passion of determination, and when the supreme test came they fought and died.

Sometimes they fought in long gray open cars, and sometimes they fought dismounted, with machine guns on the ground; but always they fought through the ten days and nights, with less than twenty hours' sleep all that time. These cars near Maricourt gathered together 150 men who had been cut off and held the enemy at bay, covering the withdrawal of some of the British heavy guns and tanks. At that time they fought dismounted, with Vickers guns, in front of the barbed wire. The Canadians had many casualties, and a Captain's arm was torn away by an explosive bullet, and at last only a Sergeant and two men of the battery were

left unwounded. One of them mounted a motor cycle and brought back cars and took back the wounded. Two cars found the enemy massing up a road, and their machine guns enfiladed the field-gray men and killed them in large numbers.

Near La Motte they fought heavy bodies of German cavalry, killed a number, and put the rest to flight. They have not been seen since. At Cerisy a battalion of Germans, 600 strong, was encountered at a crossroads by one car, which brought them to a standstill and dispersed them with heavy losses. Everywhere they have been these Canadian armored cars have helped to steady the line and give confidence to the infantry.

British Airmen at Work

Thursday, April 4.—It has been raining hard these two nights past and this morning. For the German gunners trying to drag up field artillery or long-range guns there is now sticky bog and slime to come through. It is hard work for the German field companies, pressed furiously, to lay narrow-gauge lines over these deserts. All that spells delay in their plans and loss of life.

There is terror for the enemy over these fields in daylight and darkness, for the British flying men have gone out in squadrons to scatter death and destruction among them. This work has reached fantastic heights of horror for the German troops under the menace of it. There have been times when, I believe, the British have had as many as 300 airplanes up at one time. One squadron alone on one night dropped six tons of bombs over enemy concentrations, and each man went out six times. Another squadron went out four times in one night, and was bombing for eleven hours.

When the enemy was advancing in masses the British flying men flew as low as 100 feet, dropping bombs among them and firing into them with machine guns. They attacked German patrols of cavalry and scattered them and machine-gunned trenches full of men, batteries in action and transport crowding down narrow roads. They fought German scouts and crushed them, and there are several cases in which they fought German airplanes at night, so that it was like a fight between vampire bats up there where the clouds were touched by moonlight.

North of the Somme

Friday, April 5.—Heavy attacks by the enemy are in progress north of the Somme, from Albert to Aveluy Wood. Further north there is separate fighting in progress round about the village of Ayette—such a wretched little place of brickdust and broken walls when I saw it last on the way from Arras to Bapaume—and the enemy is trying to recapture this, his fire reaching to villages several thousand yards behind the British front.

The British troops in this district are defending their positions resolutely, and the first reports indicate that the German storm troops are suffering under their machine-gun fire, after being shelled in their assembly places by heavy and field artillery.

A Valley of Death

Sunday, April 7.—Since the heavy fights on Friday, when the enemy made a series of vain attacks against the British north of Albert, there has been no battle. The Germans are still struggling hard to get their guns, especially the heavy guns, further forward and to reorganize their divisions.

They have no peace or quiet, for they are under a harassing fire, and along the valley of the Ancre, above Albert, in that stinking ditch between Bouzeincourt and Aveluy and Mesnil and Thiepval, where foul water lies stagnant below rows of dead, lopped trees and frightful smells arise from the relics of battles two weeks ago, their men are very wretched. Here in this valley of death, for it was that, and behind in the old fields of the Somme, the German troops have no cover from storms or shellfire.

Battle of Armentieres

Tuesday, April 9.—A heavy and determined attack was begun against us this morning a considerable distance north of our recent battles on about eleven miles of front between Armentières and La Bassée Canal. This new attack was preceded by a long, concentrated bombardment, which had gradually been increasing during the last day or two, until it reached great heights of fury last night and early this morning. The enemy used poison gas in immense quantities; during the night he flung over 60,000 gas shells in order to create a wide zone of this evil vapor and stupefy the gunners, transport, and infantry.

His gunfire reached out to many towns and villages behind the allied lines, like Béthune and Armentières, Vermelles and Philosophe, Merville and Estaires, and this did not cease around Armentières until 11:30 this morning, though further south from Fleurbaix his infantry attack was in progress at an early hour, certainly by 8 o'clock, and his barrage lifted in order to let his troops advance.

Part of the line was held by Portuguese troops, who for a long time have been between Laventie and Neuve Chapelle, holding positions which were subject to severe raids from time to time. They are now in the thick of this battle, most fiercely beset and fighting gallantly.

Formidable New Offensive

Wednesday, April 10.—It is now clear that the attack between Armentières and Givenchy is a new and formidable offensive. It also is made certain by this new thrust that the German high command have decided to throw the full weight of their armies against the British in an endeavor to destroy their forces

in Northern France instead of dividing their efforts by striking also at the French. It is a menace which calls for a supreme effort of the armies of Great Britain and her allies.

Yesterday the enemy struck north on the British left, beginning in the flat grounds opposite Neuve Chapelle as the centre of the thrust, with Fleurbaix to the north and Givenchy to the south, and extending this morning further north still above Armentières, and including the ridge of Messines.

An enormous gunfire was directed against the British positions along all this line last night again after yesterday morning's bombardment, and continued without pause through a very unquiet night, when all through the hours this tumult of great guns beat upon one's ears with continued drumfire, and all the sky was full of flame and light.

This morning again when I went up into French Flanders and through the villages which the enemy had been shelling regardless of the women and children there, this frightful, unceasing thunder was as loud as ever and told one without further news that the battle was still going on and that the Germans were extending its zone.

Portuguese Are Hard Hit

It was a tragedy for the Portuguese that the heaviest bombardment in the storm of gunfire, as terrible in its fury as anything of the kind since March 21, was directed against the centre, which they held. It was annihilating to their outposts and smashed their front-line defenses, which were stoutly held. It beat backward and forward in waves of high explosives from the trench line opposite Neuve Chapelle to the second line, opposite Fauquissart and Richebourg St. Vaast. Large numbers of heavy guns also searched behind these defense systems for crossroads, ammunition dumps, railways, villages, and headquarters or units, while the Portuguese batteries were assailed with gas shells and flying steel.

The Portuguese front line was overwhelmed by the intensity of the bombardment, and, although some of their outposts held on, fighting gallantly to the last man, their line had to fall back to the second system. This was attacked by enemy assault troops and between 6 and 7 in the morning they had reached Fauquissart. The barrage lifted at 7 o'clock for a general attack on the second line. Here the strongest body of Portuguese troops fought stubbornly, but by 11 o'clock the Germans forced their way through to Laventie and the position round Fleurbaix was threatened.

The Portuguese field artillery served their guns as long as possible and destroyed the breechblocks whenever it became inevitable that they would have to leave a gun behind. The Portuguese gunners were attached to the British heavy batteries and behaved with special courage.

Bloody Valley of the Lys

Thursday, April 11.—Yesterday afternoon and today the enemy exerted all his strength in men and guns in the battle now raging from the River Lys to Wytschaete. Once again the British are outnumbered, and it is only by the courage and stubborn will of battalions weakened by losses and of individual soldiers animating their comrades by acts of brave example that the enemy has been unable to make rapid progress and, as at Wytschaete and Messines, has been flung back with most bloody losses.

The British had to give ground along the Lys Canal south of Armentières, blowing bridges behind them and the railway bridge at Armentières, and the enemy is now trying to thrust forward south of Merville by bending back the British line from Lestrem and getting his guns across the Lys.

This morning there was a ceaseless tumult of gunfire, loud and terrible, over all this countryside. There were strange and terrible scenes on all the roads leading to the battle zone where British infantry and gunners were going forward to stem the tide. Masses of transport moved and civilians passed them in retreat to villages outside the wide area of shell range, and wounded men came staggering down afoot, if they could walk, or were brought down by ambulances, threading their way through all this surge and swell of war.

Here and there stretcher bearers waited with their burdens on the roadsides. Among them were men of the Black Watch, with the red hackle in their bonnets, calm and grave like statues beside their wounded comrades lying there with white, upturned faces and never a murmur or groan. They were the heroes who yesterday, with gallant hearts, came up at a great pace when the enemy was in Wytschaete and Messines, and in a fierce counterattack drove him off the crest of the ridge and dealt him a deadly blow there on that high ground, which was won in the battle of last June, when English, Irish, and New Zealand troops stormed the ridge and captured thousands of prisoners.

The enemy yesterday fell in great numbers and his dead lie thick, and though he came on wave after wave, after all his day's agony and struggle he had not gained a yard of the crest, but was beaten back.

English in Death Struggle

Friday, April 12.—The enemy is playing a great game in which he is flinging all he has into the hazard of war. He has, of course, a stupendous number of men, and, while holding his lines across the Somme after his drive down from St. Quentin and playing a defensive part against the French on the British right, he has moved up to the north with secrecy and rapidity a large concentration of troops and guns for new and tremendous blows against Haig's forces. This is continuing his now determined policy to crush Eng-

land before either France or America is able to draw off his divisions by counteroffensives.

So now the British troops in the north are faced by enormous forces. Nearly thirty German divisions are against them from Wytschaete to La Bassée Canal, and with those troops are innumerable machine guns, trench mortars, and massed batteries of field guns, very quick to get forward in support of their infantry.

This northern offensive is as menacing as that which began to the southward on March 21, and the gallant men among these little red brick villages in French Flanders and in the flat fields between Bailleul and Béthune are greatly outnumbered and can hold back the enemy only by fighting with supreme courage.

Horrors Amid Beauty

The scene today along the line of this hostile invasion was most tragic, because all the cruelty of war was surrounded by beauty so intense that the contrast was horrible. The sky was of Summer blue, with sunshine glittering on the red-tiled roofs of the cottages and on their whitewashed walls and little windowpanes. All the hedges were clothed with green and flaked by snow-white thorn blossoms.

In a night, as it seems, all the orchards of France have flowered, and cherry and apple trees are in full splendor of bloom, fields are powdered with close-growing daisies, and the shadows of trees are long across the grass as the sun is setting. But over all this and in the midst of all this is agony and blood. On the roads are fugitives, wounded soldiers, dead horses, guns, and transports.

There are fires burning on the hillsides. I saw their flames and their great, rolling clouds of smoke rise this morning from places where the day before I had seen French peasants plowing as though no war were near, and young girls scattering grain over the fields harrowed by their small brothers, and old women bending to the soil in the small farmsteads where all their life was centred, until suddenly the frightful truth touched them and they had to leave their homes.

Sometimes today I wished to God the sun would not shine like this nor nature mock at me with its thrilling beauty of life. However, the British are full of confidence. If they were forced back they are glad to know that they made the enemy pay heavy prices and that their line is still unbroken. They are full of faith that against all odds they shall hold their own in the last battle of all.

Men Utterly Weary

Sunday, April 14.—The Commander in Chief's order of the day should reveal to the British people and to the world what is happening out here in France—the enemy's object to seize the Channel ports and destroy the British Army, and the frightful forces he has brought against it to achieve that plan, and the call that has come to the troops to hold every position to the last man. "Many among us now are tired. * * * With our back to the wall each one of us must fight to the end."

Yes, the men are tired, so tired after weeks of fighting, after these last days and nights, that they can hardly stagger up to resist another attack, yet they do so because their spirit wakes again above their bodily fatigue; so tired that they go on fighting like sleep-walkers, and in any respite lie in ditches and under hedges and in open fields under fire in deep slumber until the shouts of their Sergeants stir them again. Some of these men have been fighting since March 21 with only a few days' rest.

To people living in the villages of Flanders, from which one can see the whole sweep of the battleline, Friday night was full of terror, and from the windows they watched the burning of places from which they had escaped and the bonfires of their homes, and these refugees while sleeping with children at their breast wept.

Yesterday it was a drama of noise, beating against one's ears and against one's heart, and it was a strange, terrible thing to stand there, blind, as it were, listening to the infernal tumult of gunfire south of Bailleul, with knockings and sledgehammer strokes, loud and shocking, above the incessant drumfire of field artillery.

The German shells came howling over into fields and villages beyond Bailleul, bursting with gruff coughs, and there was an evil snarl of shrapnel in the mist. It was the noise of the greatest battle in history.

Fall of Neuve Eglise

Monday, April 15.—In the attempt to surround Bailleul two heavy attacks were made—one on the west toward Meteren, and one on the east at Neuve Eglise. Near Meteren the enemy failed utterly and suffered immense losses. There has been fierce fighting around a place called the Steam Mill, near Meteren, the enemy having been ordered to capture the Meteren road and the high ground beyond it at whatever sacrifice. They nade the sacrifice, but did not get the ground.

Neuve Eglise, however, is now theirs. Last night the British troops who had held it through three days and nights of intense strife withdrew, unknown to the enemy, to a line a short distance back from the village, in order to avoid remaining a target for unceasing shellfire.

It is now the enemy's soldiers who this morning are in the ruins under the great bombardment. This battle at Neuve Eglise has been filled with grim episodes, for the village changed hands several times. Each side fought most fiercely, with any kind of weapon, small bodies of men attacking and counterattacking among the broken walls and bits of houses and under the stump of the

church tower deathtrap, as it now is for them. Without yielding to the direct assaults, the British obeyed orders, stumbled out of the place, silently and unknown to the enemy, and took up a line further back.

On the night before last the British line fell back from near La Chèche and swung around in a loop south of Neuve Eglise toward Ravelsberg Farm. It was then that Neuve Eglise itself became a place of hellish battle.

The enemy broke through into its ruined streets, and small parties of Wiltshires, Worcesters, and others sprang on the Germans or were killed. They fought desperately in backyards, over broken walls, and in shell-pierced houses, wherever they could find Germans or hear the tattoo of machine guns.

Several times the enemy was cleared out of most of the town, and the British held a hollow square containing most of the streets and defended it as a kind of fortress, though with dwindling numbers, under a heavy fire of shells and trench mortars and machine guns.

Capture of Bailleul

Tuesday, April 16.—It seemed inevitable after the British loss of Neuve Eglise that the enemy should make a quick and strong effort to capture Bailleul, and this he did last night by putting into the battle three divisions of fresh assaulting troops not previously used, and thus encircling that city by fierce attacks on ground southeast and east, including the ridge of Le Ravetsberg and Mont de Lille. His troops included his Alpine corps of Jaegers and possibly a Bavarian division and the 117th Division. Among the men defending the city against these heavy forces were the Staffords and Notts and Derbies.

Yesterday when I was in the country around Bailleul the enemy's guns were working up for this new attack, and there was a continual bombardment spreading up to Wytschaete Ridge. Heavy shells were being flung into Bailleul itself, and the smoke of fires was rising like mist from small towns and villages like Meteren and Morbecque down to Merville.

The British guns were also pounding the enemy's positions, and through that the concentrations of Germany—infantry, guns, transport, and cavalry—were moving up the roads in and north of Merville. The enemy must have lost severely again, for the British were stubborn in defense, but their machine-gun fire must have been of a deadly nature owing to their positions along the railway and on the ridge; but the enemy advanced upon them in waves, striking upon both sides of Bailleul, so that after great resistance the line was withdrawn beyond the town.

The capture of this city belongs to the third great attack which has been delivered by the enemy since March 21. Always he has massed his strength opposite the British lines and struck with full weight against their troops. In the first phase down from St. Quentin and the Cambrai salient the French came to their help and relieved them by their gallant aid, but the Germans then edged away from the French to strike the British again, this time at Arras, where they failed.

A third phase has now followed in this northern blow and once again the British have had to sustain the abominable pressure of German divisions constantly relieved and supported by fresh divisions passing through them, while the British troops fight on and on, killing the enemy in large numbers, but having to withdraw to new lines of defense. Under these enormous odds their heroism and their sacrifices are beyond words that may be uttered except in the silence of one's heart.

Wonderful Panorama

Wednesday, April 17.—Yesterday morning the fortune of war seemed again in favor of the enemy by the capture of Wytschaete Ridge down to Spanbroekmolen and by the entry of Meteren, west of Bailleul. The hard-pressed British troops were forced to give ground at both these places, after a grand resistance which cost the enemy many lives, but in the evening counterattacks hurled the enemy back from Wytschaete village, that pile of brick dust above stumps of dead trees which were Wytschaete Wood, and in a separate battle west of Bailluel the British regained, at least for a time, a part of Meteren. This morning renewed counter-attacks gave them back all of Meteren and the enemy garrison there was destroyed.

I watched the battle last night and again this morning from the centre of the arc of fire, which was like a loop flung around from Wytschaete to Bailleul and in a sharp curve around to Merris and the country about Merville, so that the great gunfire and whole sweep of battle were close about on three sides.

It was an astounding panorama of open warfare, such as I never dreamed of seeing on this western front, where for so long both sides were hemmed in by trenches. Bailleul was still blazing. In the early evening, after a wet, misty day which filled all this battlefield with a whitish fog, one could only see that city under a cloud, but as the sky darkened and the wind blew some mist away enormous flames burned redly in the poor dead heart of Bailleul, and in their glare there were dark masses of walls and broken roofs outlined jaggedly by fire.

To the left the village of Locre was aflame under a storm of high explosives, and the enemy's guns were putting heavy shells down the roads which lead out to that place.

There were fires of burning farms and hamlets as far southward as Merville behind one, as one stood looking out to Bailleul, and lesser fires of single cottages and haystacks, and the wind drifted all the smoke of them across the sky in long white ribbons.

Drumfire Rocks Earth

It was just before dusk when the counter-attacks began northward from Wytschaete and southward from Meteren, and although before then there had been a steady slogging of guns and howling of shells, at that time this volume of dreadful noise increased tremendously, and drumfire broke out in fury, so that the sky and earth trembled with it. It was like the beating of all the drums of the world in muffled tattoo, above which and through which there were enormous clangoring hammer strokes from the British and German heavies.

It went on till evening, with a few pale gleams of sun through storm clouds and the smoke of guns, and for miles all this panorama of battle was boiling and seething with bursting shells and curling wreaths of smoke from the batteries in action.

When darkness came each battery was revealed by its flashes, and all the fields around were filled with red winkings and sharp stabs of flame. There was no real darkness of night, for every second the sky was crossed by rushes of light and burning beacons in many places, and gun flashes etched outlines of trees and cottages.

The general situation today is in our favor for the time being by the recapture of Wytschaete and Meteren and the repulse of many German attacks, but it is with natural regret one hears of the withdrawal from the heights east of Ypres in order to straighten the line and economize men. There was one other regret today, though only sentimental. The enemy knocked down the Albert church tower, the tower of the golden Virgin, who had bent head downward over that ruined city with her babe outstretched. It was a great landmark bound up with all our memories.

How General Carey Saved Amiens

A Pivotal Episode in the Great Battle

ONE of the most dramatic episodes of the battle of Picardy was the disaster which befell the 5th British Army, under General Gough, and the brilliant way in which it was retrieved by Brig. Gen. Sandeman Carey, who was warmly complimented by Premier Lloyd George in his man-power speech, (Page 263.)

Sir Hubert Gough's army was sent down in January to take over from the French a sector forty to fifty miles long. Clearly such a line as this could be held only if it were strongly located and cunningly constructed, and there is no doubt that it was. Three lines were designed: First, an outpost line, then a "line of resistance," and then a "battleline." The outpost line was designed with special care. It consisted of a number of separate posts so located as to provide for a cross-fire on any enemy that penetrated them. It was intended to be held until the last gasp, and it was presumed that the Germans might pass through it, but that they would be terribly punished by the garrisons of the isolated posts.

In one way the attack was not a surprise. General Gough had known for days that it was imminent, and had moved his men up to their positions and made every preparation possible. But one thing he could not foresee or guard against—the mist and fog. Under cover of the mist, which prevented sight for more than thirty yards, the Germans crept forward, and the outpost line was overrun before the alarm could be given. It was simply swamped, and the cross-fire on which so much depended was never delivered.

Consequently the fight began at the line of resistance instead, and before many hours had passed by sheer weight of numbers the Germans had forced the British back on the battleline. Then the fewness of numbers began to tell, and, as always at points of junction between divisions, the Germans got through between the 7th and 19th, the 19th and 18th, and the 3d and 18th. The whole line was broken up, and it seemed as if the road was open to Amiens.

Meanwhile it was impossible for the French reinforcements to come up as quickly as was necessary, and the retreat began. Bridges were not blown up for the simple reason that the parties of engineers were all killed. Every kind of soldier that could be collected was hastily thrown into action to fill the gap —including a strong contingent of American engineers.

Close to where the gap occurred was a

training school for machine gunners. Of course, the men in training had long since been hurried into action, but a large supply of machine guns remained. It is not every soldier, however, who understands how to use these weapons, and the officer found himself with a large supply of them which at all costs he must prevent from being captured, and very few men able to handle them. Those who could were put in charge of squads, and whenever they had a moment's respite from turning them on the Germans they set to work to give hurried instructions.

Orders came to General Carey at 2 A. M., March 26, to hold the gap. He went to work at once to develop the plans that had been hurriedly laid out. He organized a scratch force by telephone, messengers, and flag signals. Every available man—laborer, raw recruit, sapper, engineer—was rounded up. By the middle of the next morning Carey had found a considerable number of men, and by the early part of the afternoon he had organized them into some sort of force and had selected and marked out the position it must hold.

For a time he had some guns, but these were hurried away to another point that was even more seriously threatened. He had fifty cavalrymen to do a little scouting, but in the main he had to depend entirely on the sheer grit of his scratch force, who lay in their shallow trenches, firing almost point blank at the gray hordes of Germans, and at every moment of respite seized their shovels to improve their shelters.

For nearly six days they stuck to it, and, as Lloyd George said, "they held the German Army and closed that gap on the way to Amiens."

After a time they got some artillery behind them and things were easier, but at first it was just a ding-dong fight, with soldiers taking orders from strange officers, officers learning the ground by having to defend it, and every man from enlisted man to Brigadier jumping at each job as it came along and putting it through with all his might.

During all that six days General Carey was the life and inspiration of the entire force. Careless of danger, he rode along the hastily intrenched line, giving an order here and shouting words of encouragement there to his weary and hard-pressed men.

His staff was as hastily recruited as his men. He had no knowledge of how long he must hold out. He was not even certain of getting supplies of ammunition and provisions.

All he had to do was to hang on, and hang on he did against an almost endless series of formidable attacks. He never lost heart or wavered. The gap to Amiens was closed and held.

Three companies of an engineering regiment were caught in the early bombardment and ordered to fall back. To one of the American companies, which had been consolidated with the British Royal Engineers, was delegated the task of guaranteeing the destruction of an engineers' dump, which it had been decided to abandon. This detachment destroyed all the material, made a rapid retreat, caught up with the larger group, and immediately resumed work, laying out trenches. These operations lasted from March 22 to 27. As the German attack became more intense, the engineers were joined by cooks, orderlies, and railway men as a part of General Carey's forces. The commanding officer of an American regiment took charge of an infantry sub-sector and directed the action of his troops for one week, until the emergency passed at that point. To this officer General Rawlinson, commanding the British Army engaged in that sector, sent the following letter:

> The army commander wishes to record officially his appreciation of the excellent work your regiment has done in assisting the British Army to resist the enemy's powerful offensive during the last ten days. I fully realize that it has been largely due to your assistance that the enemy has been checked, and I rely on you to assist us still further during the few days which are still to come before I shall be able to relieve you in the line.
>
> I consider your work in the line to be greatly enhanced by the fact that, for six weeks previous to taking your place in the front line, your men had been working at such high pressure erecting heavy bridges on the Somme. My best congratulations and warm thanks to all.
>
> RAWLINSON.

Gen. Sir H. S. Horne

Gen. Sir H. C. O. Plumer
(Bain News Service)

Gen. Sir Julian Byng
(Underwood)

Gen. Sir H. S. Rawlinson

Gen. Ludendorff,
Quartermaster General of the Army

Gen. von Kathen

Gen. Otto von Below
(Press Illustrating Service)

Gen. von Gallwitz

Battle Viewed From the French Front

By G. H. Perris

Special Correspondent with the French Armies

George H. Perris was with the French Armies in Picardy throughout the German offensive. The aim of the Germans was to drive a wedge between the British and French Armies at the point of juncture near La Fère, and Mr. Perris was admirably situated to obtain not only the story of the fighting on the allied right, but a good general view of the whole great battle and of the strategic methods adopted by the German command. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, *through its connection with* THE NEW YORK TIMES, *has full use of these important dispatches, which are copyrighted.*

[See Map on Page 198.]

A LITTLE before 5 A. M. on March 21, between the Scarpe and the Oise, there began an extremely violent artillery preparation, including barrages largely composed of gas shells, especially near Cambrai, and toward the Oise a strong counterbattery fire and a plentiful bombardment of the allied rear and communications.

At 9:45 A. M. an infantry attack began. Each German division engaged had a front of attack of about a mile and a half, and seems to have been disposed as follows: Two regiments, less a battalion of each, were in the first line, and one regiment was in reserve. Battalions were echeloned in a depth of two companies, each with six light machine guns, constituting the first wave. The second wave of two companies, carrying heavier machine guns, followed at an interval of 100 yards. These were followed at 200 or 300 yards' distance by light bomb-throwers and the battalion staff. Finally there came one-inch and other very light field guns, called "artillery of accompaniment," which deployed as required. The divisional reserves consisted of five infantry battalions. No new gas was used, and although the enemy has tanks they were not brought into action.

FIFTY GERMAN DIVISIONS

The first attack was made by perhaps fifty divisions, or about 750,000 men. Of these at least ten divisions, and perhaps thirteen or fourteen, were thrown into the corner of the field between St. Quentin, La Fère, and Noyon. They were divided into six columns.

The first consisted of a division with three battalions of chasseurs, which, debouching from La Fère, quickly took Tergnier, and on the evening of March 22 came to a stop before Vouel, the next village westward, and a division which came into action on the evening of the 22d passed the first, and on the following day pushed on toward Chauny.

The second column consisted of two divisions. The former advanced from the old line near Moy, on the Oise, through La Fontaine and Remigny and to the southwest. It stopped at Liez, on the Crosat Canal, on the 22d. That night it was passed by the other division, which, on the 23d, captured Villequier-Aumont, on the St. Quentin-Chauny road. To the right of this was the third column, composed of two divisions. The first attacked through Cerizy to Benay and Hinacourt, and was stopped on the evening of the 22d at Lamontagne. It was passed that evening by the other division on the canal, which, after occupying Genlis Wood, closed up to the second column.

The fourth column included the 1st and 10th Divisions, of which the former attacked through Essigny to Jussy, and on the 23d was at the north of Ugny, while the latter on its right passed the canal and reached Ugny and Beaumont.

Of the fifth column, which occupied the region of Villeselve, and the sixth, in the Ham-Noyon sector, my information is slighter, owing to the severity of the trial of the British contingents there before the French took over the front.

One division of the sixth column attacked at Le Plessis, north of Guiscard, on the 24th, and on the following day took Muirancourt, Rimbercourt and Croisilles. Its right was then prolonged by a division at Freniches.

BRITISH FRONT BROKEN

On the evening of the 22d the front of the British Army ran along the Crozat Canal from Tergnier, through Jussy, to the east of St. Simon.

Very well do I remember the bridgehead of Jussy as I saw it after the German retreat a year ago. The town, built almost wholly of brick, was absolutely leveled to the ground, not a single wall standing. I saw it again last Summer, when General X., a fine soldier and an enlightened gentleman, had set up a camp hospital and swimming bath, and the bridge had been decorated to celebrate the entry of America into the war. It was seven miles behind the front, and I confess we never thought to see the boche there again.

At 6 P. M. on the 22d General —— received the news that the British front had been broken between Beauvois and Vaux, nine miles due west of St. Quentin, and that his corps must fall back to Ham and the villages of Sancourt and Matigny, immediately north of it. At 8 or 9 o'clock next morning the news came in that the enemy was just debouching from the south of Ham toward Esmery-Hallon. The British 5th Corps was then in the region of Guiscard-Beaumont-Guivry ready for relief.

On the morning of the 24th two German divisions, the first and second columns, continued their movements in the Oise Valley, while the third and fourth columns took Ugny and Genlis Wood. On the 25th one division reached Croisilles, while another attacked Baroeuf on the north of the Oise, half way between Noyon and Chauny.

On the 26th one division was near Noyon, another at Larbroye, southwest of that town, and a third at Suzoy, two miles west of it. Clemenceau's classic phrase, "Remember that the Germans are at Noyon," had unexpectedly come alive again.

ALLIED TEAMWORK

Noyon, unlike Chauny, Ham, and other neighboring places, was not greatly damaged by the Germans before their retreat last year. South of the town rises a conical hill called Mont Renaud, which is capped with a wood hiding the château built on the site of an ancient abbey. On Thursday, when the Germans were ensconced on Mont Renaud, a French General expressed in the presence of the English General commanding a cavalry division his intention of retaking it. The British commander at once asked that his own troops should have the honor of making the attack. This was agreed to, and the British cavalry, dismounted, carried the hill by assault in face of a stubborn defense by the enemy.

I am assured that along the line where the French relieved the British troops, or where they have been acting together, the best relations have prevailed, and that the co-operation of the staffs and field officers has been most cordial.

The French, like the British, aviators, by the boldness of their bombing and their machine-gun work on the line of the German advance, have done much to compensate for the allied losses and the unavoidable delay in getting the French batteries into their new positions. Prisoners say the German 88th Division was nearly wiped out, and that the 206th suffered almost as badly.

VON HUTIER'S METHODS

Details of the first advance from St. Quentin to Noyon illustrate the new method pursued in this offensive in the particular way in which one large unit passes through another in order to carry the movement forward as rapidly as possible.

Another feature is its readiness to change the direction of march when great difficulty is found by the Germans or a marked weakness on the allied side invites such a change. Of the divisions named above, six disappeared from that front in the course of the concentration toward Noyon. They had been diverted

westward when it was recognized that the Oise could not be forced, and Amiens became the chief objective.

It is certain that General von Hutier's plans were based upon his experience in the capture of Riga. * * * Western resistance, whether French or British, is a very different thing from that which the Russians put up at Riga. Enormous as are the forces the enemy put into this blow, though for the last week they outnumbered and generally overwhelmed those hurried up to meet them, they had to pay terribly for their success. German war doctrine recognizes this as inevitable in what is intended for a decisive operation against great antagonists. Against soldiers less experienced, disciplined, and inspired than those of the western Allies Hindenburg would have succeeded.

The adaptability of direction of attack which I have indicated is remarkable, but the same adaptability in the attack upon Verdun, where the right and left banks of the Meuse were alternately tried, gave no result. This time the main direction has been thrice changed. It began with the wings at St. Quentin and Croisilles; it then moved to the right centre from Bapaume to Albert; finally it is concentrated on the left centre on both sides of Montdidier.

Because of its methods and speed the battle thus far has been mainly one of artillery. German cavalry has been met in small numbers, but it has not taken a brilliant part. The enemy's aviation service has been notably inferior to that of the Allies. Only light guns with a few four-inch pieces have been able to keep up with the advance, and trench mortars do not seem to have been brought up quickly. On the other hand, groups of allied machine gunners and machine riflemen, taking advantage of the depressions of the ground, have everywhere taken heavy toll of their adversaries. By the time they can transport their heavier guns the Allies will have their former superiority ready to answer them.

FAILED TO BREAK THROUGH

March 26.—A full third of the German forces on the western front have been engaged on one-eighth of its extent. It is not impossible that a secondary offensive may be declared, but it may be taken that we now know the worst, and that the utmost possible strength has been put into the first blow.

The choice suggests the need of obtaining a rapid decision and the hope of shaking the will of our people. If it resulted in a break-through it would be justified as good strategy; if not, a number of prisoners and miles of ravaged territory have been taken, with no compensation for the costs.

So far there is nothing like a break-through. The French are holding strongly in the Oise Valley, in safe connection with the British on the Somme.

FRENCH SOLDIERS CONFIDENT

March 27.—I have been along the French front today, and the news is that, although the battle broke with extraordinary violence, it found the French prepared, and all is well.

As I watched the sun set in a crimson flood yesterday behind the Noyon hills there seemed to be a pause in the struggle. At least, the bombardment had slackened, and at one of the headquarters of the French Army on the Oise there was no news of an attack then proceeding.

The result of this momentary lull was to enhance the impression of calm order and confidence which is one's usual experience in passing from the rear to the front. One goes up in a state of suppressed agitation over the latest reports and rumors, and finds himself suddenly wrapped around by an atmosphere of businesslike quietude that extends nearly to the front trenches. Even in the firing line the stoical silence of the men and their immobility, except in spasmodic crises, seem to dominate the hellish roar of bursting shells.

From this point backward the machine works with a smoothness that rebukes our anxieties. In a circuit of forty miles, ending on the hills overlooking the left bank of the Oise, between Noyon and Chauny, I did not see a single sign of confusion, and there were many signs of satisfaction that the war had entered upon a decisive stage.

This is not strange. Very few soldiers hear as much of the latest news as one does in Paris or London; but all soldiers know more of the strength of their army than civilians can know. They may rarely see their General and understand little of military science; they may be unable to tell you exactly how the battle line stands, but they have a thousand ways of learning the quality of their chiefs and of knowing far in advance of the official bulletins whether things are going well or ill.

So far as my information goes there is good reason for this equitable state of mind. The German advance is remarkable, but it has been adequately paid for. Along the successive lines of heights southwest of St. Quentin the British, and afterward the French, who took this sector, had excellent firing positions, and retired from one to another in good order. The enemy came on wave upon wave, reckless of losses, as though certain points must be reached at any cost at certain hours. The allied troops fired upon them continuously, often exhausting their ammunition before the moment came for falling back. The Crown Prince's troops were at some points literally mown down. One machine gunner with a good target got through 30,000 cartridges, and could have fired twice that number had they been at hand. A Bavarian regiment lost half of its effectives in this drive toward the Oise.

NEW METHOD OF ASSAULT

The new method of assault by which the Germans obtained their first successes—new in its intensity, though not in its elements combined—seems to be as follows: After a short but heavy bombardment, in which gas shells play a larger part than ever, masses of troops brought up at the last moment are sent forward, wave after wave. The first wave must reach its objective at any cost, and, leaving the still resisting groups to be dealt with by bodies of grenadiers and flame pumpers, at once begins to throw heavy machine-gun and rifle fire upon the rear of the next line to be attacked, so as to prevent reserves from coming up. It is then passed by a second wave, which installs itself in the next position, engages it, and is in turn passed by a third wave, and so on.

Even when, as in this case, the method has been rehearsed with Teutonic thoroughness, it is one that involves losses which other than German armies could not be asked to bear.

THE GERMAN STRENGTH

March 29.—On the front of fifty miles, where the enemy had had only sixteen divisions, he commenced his great gamble with about thirty-eight divisions. It was already a heavy superiority, but there had been recognized up to last night a total of about eighty-seven divisions engaged, that is to say over a million men have been poured into this space, which forms only about an eighth of the western front, the greater part of these being new reserves, brought up after the operation was launched. They include many of the best imperial troops, the 1st, 2d, and 5th Guard Divisions, for instance, and two crack Bavarian divisions.

Three of the army commanders are reckoned among the most successful of the German Generals—von Below, who directed the Italian offensive; von der Marwitz, who did so much with his cavalry corps in the battle of the Marne to check pursuit and has done so well since in higher positions, and von Hutier, who tried new infantry tactics in the capture of Riga. The last named represents the army and the prestige of the Imperial Crown Prince. The other two serve the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the enterprise received a special blessing from the Emperor.

Their whole design points to an intention of making this a singly decisive operation. Consider again the figures given above. Before the offensive the enemy had on this front from the sea to the Alps about 109 divisions in line and seventy-six in reserve. By calling the reserves they have been able (and it has been necessary) by the eighth day of the battle to put about eighty-seven divisions, 1,044,000 men, into the

combat. Good observers consider that at the most they can hardly bring up more than forty more divisions.

LINE ALMOST BROKEN

March 30.—Immediately west of Noyon, Mont Renaud and some neighboring hills have been recovered and are strongly held. The bridges over the Oise between Point l'Evêque and Chauny have been broken, and the river there is so well covered by artillery and infantry that there is no danger of a passage being forced.

This was the first fruit of the French northward movement on the evening of March 21. Several divisions of the neighboring French Army were rushed up in motor wagons to the aid of the British right wing, which was thus enabled to draw north along the Crozat Canal. Their guns and supply columns followed. On the next day a further force was placed opposite Chauny, and other French troops were ordered to extend their lines northwestward, keeping in touch with the retiring British right. The constant displacement required in this delicate task and the fact that the French were gradually drawing upon themselves an increasing part of the German onset explain the delay in making considerable counterattacks.

On the 24th the French repelled repeated attempts to cross the Oise, and their lines, which already stretched to Evricourt, more than half way from Noyon to Lassigny, were extended to the neighborhood of the latter town.

The difficulties inevitable in so rapid a movement of reserves were met everywhere with splendid cheerfulness and energy. One of the artillery regiments, brought up by motor wagon, had no horses with it, but got its pieces into action, and, having to retreat, dragged them back three miles by hand.

Meanwhile, definitely checked on the south, and feeling all the time for the line of least resistance, the German host was gravitating rapidly westward between Roye and Chaulnes. Now that the danger has completely passed, it may be said that it came very near breaking through the allied front in this region on the 25th. The 26th and 27th saw an accentuation of pressure at the point of junction, but, while the front was pushed back on the first day to l'Echelle-St. Aurin on the Avre, and on the next to Montdidier, other French troops had been brought up to strengthen the British right, and yesterday, after several hard combats, it seemed that the offensive was definitely contained.

BATTLE FOR MONTDIDIER

April 1.—Montdidier, quaintly seated on a steep hill beside the Amiens-Clermont railway, is an important crossroads. On Friday the enemy had pulled himself together and delivered along twenty-five miles of broken country from Demuin to near Lassigny a new mass attack, supported with a considerable number of field guns. On the French left the British held Demuin, but were driven out of Mézières. The French bore the main shock heroically. Step by step they fell back, leaving masses of German dead and wounded before their lines.

The combat continued throughout Sunday, spreading out a little at both ends, and it is impossible for me to piece together the fragmentary and often incoherent reports from the field so as adequately to represent its wild fluctuations.

Savagely set upon breaking through to Amiens and the Amiens-Paris railway, von Hutier's columns succeeded in reaching the Avre at Moreuil. Between Montdidier and Lassigny, where the front curves to the southeast, the enemy put no less strength into his outward thrust. Hand-to-hand fighting continued for hours in the villages of Orvillers on the west and Plessis de Roye, near Lassigny, and the neighboring hamlet of Plemont, all of which repeatedly changed hands. The German troops which got into Plemont and part of Plessis were driven out by a magnificent charge of the French, some units flying in disorder. The slaughter of yesterday's fighting is said to exceed anything seen in the preceding days of the battle.

On the ninth day a new chapter of the tragic story was opened. The Allies, their lines unbroken, were standing with

clenched teeth on good positions and were hourly adding to their strength in men and guns. Amiens appeared to the enemy like a mirage on the western horizon, and the two Crown Princes may have reflected that there would be accounts to pay at home if this time, after sacrifices such as can only be paralleled in rare episodes of military history like the retreat from Moscow, they did not bring back a victorious peace.

BLOW AT JUNCTION POINT

A smashing blow at the Franco-British junction was then to be decisive. It was begun with means believed to be adequate to this aim and was directed westward on both sides of Montdidier toward the Beauvais-Amiens railway, with a supporting thrust from the threatened flank west of Lassigny.

Further south, toward Montdidier, which they already held, the Germans crossed the river, again suffering very heavy losses, but were arrested on the hills of the western bank. In the evening the struggle, despite the exhaustion of both sides, attained its fiercest intensity. Moreuil was recaptured on Saturday night by a mixed Canadian and French force, lost again during the night, and once more carried by storm in the old-fashioned way yesterday morning. No Stosstruppen, (shock troops,) no expert grenadiers or flame pumpers this time. Mixed in the same ranks, the British colonials in khaki and the French in light blue went forward irresistibly with the bayonet.

"The Canadians," says one of my informants, "performed prodigies of valor, and when the boches fell back they had lost half their effectives."

Full of their success, our troops turned northward and would not be satisfied till they had been firmly set on the wooded heights near the town. Later in the day several violent enemy attacks were made south of the Somme, but they seem to have been of rather a local and scattered kind, as though, at least for the moment, fresh efforts of the dimensions of those of Friday and Saturday were impossible.

The British have made some progress in the valley of the Luce, and two strong German attacks were repulsed between Marcelcave and the Somme, as were others in the British sphere on the north of the river. On the other hand, the British line was beaten back to the village of Hangard, [Hangard was lost and finally retaken and held by the French,] on the north bank of the Luce, nearly opposite Demuin.

Like the actions of the preceding days, this battle has been in the main a conflict of infantry. On neither side has it been possible to get heavy artillery in position in time, but on the allied side French and British guns, freshly detrained, gave support of moral as well as material importance. When the 75 has a target of masses advancing in close, deep waves, its effects are terrible beyond words. In the open country the air squadrons of the Allies have also worked havoc in the enemy's ranks, besides bursting tons of explosives on his camps and lines of communication.

AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS

April 8.—It is evident that the German onslaught has failed to break through. What the Allies have lost in ground they have saved in men; and, on the other hand, the enemy, who wanted not these miles of desolate territory, but a final decision, has paid inordinately without getting any nearer the desired result.

For five days his advance, though somewhat behind his ambitious program, was not seriously interrupted. On March 25 a certain General reached the region of Montdidier and began to build a human barrier. On March 23 began what may be called a four days' battle of arrest. Three French divisions had to meet and did meet the onset of fifteen German divisions. There were smaller units that fought one against ten.

The main German effort was against the Moreuil-Grivesnes-Montchel line, the object being (with 150,000 men in play there could be no less ambitious aim) to break right through to the south of Amiens and completely separate the French and British Armies. It culminated on the 31st with a suicidal assault by the pick of the Prussian Guards and other chosen divisions at Grivesnes, when

a certain gallant Colonel, rifle in hand, directed the barricading of the windows of the château, and with not more than 500 men kept off three or four times as many assailants and had strength enough left at last to sweep those who remained out of the park.

I need not measure again the trivial gain for the enemy of this four days' battle. Perhaps the most significant fact about it is that while, overwhelming as was his original force, the enemy had repeatedly to withdraw and renew his units, not one French unit was relieved in that time. At Mesnil St. Georges one infantry battalion, with some groups of chasseurs, drove off five successive attacks by a whole German division. I might multiply such instances, but space would fail me to make them real with detail.

A pause of four days followed this failure. Then, on April 4, twelve divisions were again launched in the northern part of the same narrow field—10,000 men per mile of front. They won at great cost the ruins of two hamlets and a slice of fields beside them.

FIRST PHASE REVIEWED

April 14.—The first phase or act of the offensive, launched with unprecedented masses of troops, completely failed to reach its aim and entailed losses that no lesser success could warrant. Begun on March 21, with three armies—those of von Below, von der Mauvitz, and von Hutier—counting nearly fifty divisions, about forty more had to be brought in before the first week was out.

By that time the French armies had been pushed northwestward with admirable rapidity and characteristically splendid spirit, and by the last day of the month the host of the Prussian Crown Prince, including the Guard and others of the best German units, had been fought to a standstill from Noyon and Lassigny to the Avre and the Somme.

Several hard combats in the last fortnight, the latest ending in the French recovering the village of Hangard on Friday and their useful advance yesterday near Arvillers, do but confirm this result. That the German losses are fully commensurate with the ambition of their aims and the prodigal method pursued is shown by another fact unprecedented in the history of war.

At the end of three weeks of the offensive about 1,500,000 men have been cast into the battle, and seventy-five divisions have become so dislocated as to have to be withdrawn for reorganization. It is therefore probable that the total German casualties up to date approach 500,000.

SECOND PHASE SUMMARIZED

The second phase may be regarded as having opened March 28 with the entry of General von Below's right wing into action east of Arras, and as culminating with the battle of Armentières, involving the army of General von Quest and the left wing of General von Arnim's army at Ypres, while a subsidiary operation by General von Boehm's army threatened the French between the Oise and St. Gobain Forest.

This northern battle began in a much smaller way than the original offensive, with about twenty divisions on a twenty-mile front, and it may have been its initial success that determined its prompt extension.

While it may fairly be said to have constituted a confession of failure in the earlier adventure, its development not only creates a new danger, but strengthens the German position athwart the Somme. The situation, therefore, must be looked at straightforwardly and spoken of without mincing words.

In the middle of March the German armies consisted of 4,000,000 men at the front, 1,300,000 on the lines of communication and in the interior, and others who can be added to the present effectiveness.

From the village of Hangard to Abbéville is about forty miles; from Merville to Calais is the same distance; to Boulogne a little more; from the Ypres front to Dunkirk is about thirty miles; to Nieuport a little less. These are the limits of the allied power of manoeuvre for the defense of the Channel.

Caring for Thousands of Refugees

LONG processions of civilian refugees lined the roadsides in the invaded area during the days of battle—the pitiful hosts of those fleeing from the German guns and the terrors of German occupation. Many thousands of villagers and farmers whose little homes had been devastated by the first German occupation and by the battle of the Somme had been trying bravely to restore their ruined houses and cultivate the tortured soil again. With the aid of American friends hundreds of cottages had been built, heaps of shattered masonry cleared away, shops and schools opened, and French, British, and American committees had formed a nucleus around which new life was gradually growing up. No less than 5,500 acres of the devastated land evacuated by the Germans a year ago were again under cultivation—enough to feed 16,000 persons a year.

All this work of the stricken inhabitants, with their replanted fruit trees and scanty stores of new implements, had to be abandoned almost at a moment's notice. Many of the peasants, stunned by the new catastrophe, had to be aroused to flight by the friendly orders of the retreating British officers. The Red Cross workers, the Dames de France, and a group of courageous American women—the Smith College girls—aided the refugees day and night in their retreat from town to town until the German advance was checked a few miles short of Amiens.

The American Red Cross transported thousands from the towns and villages behind the British lines, working thirty automobiles night and day, and carrying 2,000 to friends in Paris in the first few days. These were mostly women, children, and aged persons who had been awakened by the Red Cross workers on the morning of the 25th, taken to the railroad in trucks, and thence transported by rail in special trains. Most of the refugees were able to save only a few of their belongings, which were wrapped up in shawls and bed sheets, or carried in baskets or handbags. One woman, 81 years old, carried only a basket of live chickens, and cried because she had been unable to save two rabbits. Another woman carried a few cooking utensils under her arm. Many women and children were crying because they had been separated from relatives and friends. Children only a month old and people who had reached the age of 90 were alike numbered among the unfortunates.

TRAGIC SCENES

"I saw the first tide of these poor people when the Germans came near to Ham and Péronne and Roye," wrote Philip Gibbs on March 29. "Some of them had been once in the hands of the Germans, and at this second menace they left their homes and their fields and their shops, and came trekking westward and southward.

"One's heart bleeds to see these refugees, and it is the most tragic aspect of these days. There are many old people among them, old women in black gowns and caps who come hobbling very slowly down the highway of war, and old men with bent backs who lean heavily on their gnarled sticks as the guns go by, and the fighting men.

"I saw one old man near Ham who was trundling along a wheelbarrow, and on this was spread a mattress, and on that was his wife. She looked 90 years of age, with her white, wringled face, and she was fast asleep, like a little child. Many children are on the roads, packed tight into farm carts with household furniture and bundles of clothing, and poultry and pigs and new-born lambs. The noise of the gunfire is behind them, and they move faster when it grows louder. They are very brave, these boys and girls and these old people. There is hardly any weeping or any look on their faces of grudge against this unkind turn of fate. They seem to accept it with stoical resignation, with most matter-of-fact courage, and their only answer to pity is a smile and the words, 'C'est la guerre.' Those are words I first heard in the early weeks of the war and hoped never to hear again.

"Many of these people trek in family groups and gatherings of families from

one village. Small boys and girls drag tired cows after them. The other day one of these cows leaned against every tree she passed and then sat down, and the girl with her looked around helplessly, not knowing what to do. This morning I saw the girl wearing a veil and dressed in an elegant way, taking the cow with her. She was quite alone on the road. It is queer and touching that most of these fugitives wear their best clothes, as though on a fête day. It is because they are clothes they want to save and can only have by wearing them in their flight.

"In one small town the fear of the German entry came at night, a bright, moonlight night into which there came many German bombing squadrons. The citizens had shut up their shops and stood about talking anxiously. Then fear and rumor spread among them, and all through the night there was an exodus of small families and solitary girls and comrades in misfortune, stealing away like shadows from homes they loved, from little fortunes or their shops, from all their normal life into the open country, where the moonlight lay white and cold on the fields. Behind them bombs were being dropped, and some of their houses were destroyed.

"C'est la guerre!"

WORK OF AMERICAN GIRLS

The heroic work of the Smith College girls was described by a correspondent at the French front under date of March 29:

"Working unceasingly under a constant shellfire, for days without sleep, the girls demonstrated admirable initiative and ability and the extreme coolness of the tried soldier. They are still in the field today, ministering to old men, women, and children. I have talked to the first persons to come in from the front, who saw them last Saturday, when shells were falling at Grecourt, the tiny Somme village where the unit has been quartered for months, aiding the folks of a dozen surrounding villages.

"When it became evident that the Germans were coming the girls worked frantically with auto trucks, gathering together all the people in their territory. In one village they went three times to try to persuade an aged woman to leave, but she refused to move unless the ancestral bedstead on which she lay could be transported with her. In final desperation the girls brought a big supply wagon and loaded the bedstead and the woman into it, leaving the village fifteen minutes before the first of the Uhlans arrived.

"The girls organized themselves into small units and each unit was charged with the evacuation of a single village. Cavalcades of refugees, generaled by the Smith girls, marched or rode from their abandoned homes to Roye, where a special train was waiting to carry them westward. Even cows, chickens, dogs, and cats helped to form the cavalcade which reached Roye on Saturday morning. Here the refugees vainly tried to crowd the animals into the train.

"The girls of the Smith College unit then proceeded to Montdidier. There, with W. B. Jackson of Washington, a former Red Cross delegate at Ham, assisted by a group of American Quakers and Red Cross workers, they organized a canteen and began giving out blankets and other comforts and making a marvelous bean soup and a special food for babies, the basis of which was condensed milk. As the refugee trains, some containing as many as 1,000 men, women, and children, poured into Montdidier the arriving refugees were fed until the supply of food was exhausted.

"Then Montdidier became too hot under the increasing shellfire and the workers were forced to split, some going to Amiens and others to Beauvais, where they continued their work. Since then practically all the Smith College girls and some other workers have gone to Amiens, where they are weathering the enemy bombardment in cellars, but carrying on their work as usual."

FLEEING IN BEST CLOTHES

An Associated Press correspondent added this further bit of eyewitness testimony under date of March 27:

"The French refugees of the better class departing from the zones of actual

operations are coming out clad in all their finery, which represents the styles of four or five years ago. Then there are sturdy peasants with wooden shoes and clumsily constructed clothes, riding in vehicles drawn by horses or donkeys or in carts pushed by men, and some are even in wheelbarrows. Upon these queer transports are stacked strange assortments of personal belongings.

"There is deep pathos in all this, but none struck the correspondent more forcibly than the appearance of a tiny girl who trudged in her wooden shoes along a hard, dusty road, her eyes fastened anxiously upon a dirty rag doll perched precariously at the top of household effects which were being pushed along by an old man. This child was perhaps representative of all the refugees—she was coming away with her most cherished possession, her baby doll, and was prepared to guard it at all costs; her aching feet were as nothing, so long as the doll was safe.

"These refugees are from the towns within the Somme battlefield and adjoining it. All these villages have been emptied of their inhabitants. So far as possible everything which might be of use to the Germans has been removed. In particular, large numbers of cattle have been taken away by the owners, who patiently drive the beasts on ahead of them along the roads.

"There are few tears or hysterical outbreaks among the refugees, most of whom are of the peasant class. They know they must go, and they seem to be trusting implicitly in the British, but the misery in their eyes as they turn from all they love to a world they do not know is touching. Aged women clinging to the hands of little grandchildren, men stooped with years, youths and maidens —all fall into a picture such as only a catastrophe can produce."

Fifty members of the American Friends' unit of the Red Cross were in the region of the great battle, at Ham, Liancourt, Esmery-Hallon, Golancourt, and Gruny on the Somme and Aisne. These devoted workers, with the aid of many Red Cross trucks that were rushed to them, helped thousands of refugees to safety.

The French Government had several hundred tractor plows at work on the stricken lands. The American relief units also had a few tractor plows and other agricultural materials, all of which had to be abandoned to the enemy. All members of relief units were reported safe.

Castor Oil for Airplanes

How an important agricultural enterprise was initiated to meet one of the requirements of the Aviation Section of the American Army is disclosed in the minority report of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, presented on April 12, 1918. In the course of a description of the initial difficulties encountered in producing battle planes, the report says:

"Remember again that when these combat planes were contracted for the only known lubricating oil adapted to their delicate parts was an oil made from the castor bean. There were not enough beans in this country to make anywhere near the amount of oil required. Neither were there enough seeds with which to grow the needed quantity of beans. The Signal Corps had to search the globe for seeds, and finally secured a shipload from distant India. Then the corps had to contract for the planting of the seeds in this country, and has succeeded in having about 110,000 acres planted. It is now claimed that a form of petroleum has been developed that will answer the same purpose. This, however, is still in the experimental stage, while the oil from the castor bean is known to be entirely adequate and reliable."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From March 18, 1918, Up to and Including April 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

The German Government announced on March 18 that American property in Germany would be seized in reprisal for the seizure of German property in the United States.

Drastic restrictions were placed by the War Trade Board upon the importation of many nonessential commodities, the regulations to become effective April 15.

The terms of the Third Liberty Loan were announced by Secretary McAdoo on March 25. The bill authorizing it was completed by Congress and signed by President Wilson on April 4, and on April 6 the drive began.

Secretary Daniels, in a speech in Cleveland on April 6, disclosed the fact that a great fleet of American vessels, including battleships, was operating in the war zone.

Announcement was made in Tokio on March 28 that an agreement had been concluded under which Japan promised to turn over to the United States 450,000 tons of shipping.

President Wilson issued a proclamation on April 11, giving Secretary McAdoo control of the principal coastwise steamship lines.

Charles M. Schwab was appointed Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation April 16.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Sir Eric Geddes gave in the House of Commons on March 19 figures of shipping losses which are given in detail elsewhere in this number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, also figures made public by the British Admiralty on March 21 are given elsewhere.

The Royal Mail steamer Amazon and the Norwegian steamship Stolt-Neilson, commandeered by the British, were sunk March 19.

The steamship Conargo was torpedoed in the Irish Sea March 31, and the lifeboats were shelled.

The armed boarding steamer Tithonus was sunk March 28, and the sinking of the steamship Carlisle Castle was reported April 2.

On April 1 the Celtic was torpedoed off the Irish coast, but reached port in safety.

The American steamer Chattahoochee, formerly the German Sachsen, was sunk off the English coast on March 25.

The Spanish steamers Arpillao and Begona were sunk March 25.

The Italian steamer Alessandra was sunk off the Island of Madeira April 2.

The Ministre de Smet de Naeyer, a Belgian relief ship, was sunk in the North Sea on April 6, and twelve members of the crew were lost.

As a result of the commercial agreement between Spain and the United States, German submarines began a blockade of Spanish ports, April 11.

Because a German submarine had captured a Uruguayan military commission bound for France, the Government of Uruguay on April 11 asked Berlin, through Switzerland, whether it considered that a state of war existed with Uruguay.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

March 18—Belgians repulse German raids in the region of Nieuport, Dixmude, and Mercken.

March 19—French penetrate German line near Rheims; British carry out successful raids in the neighborhood of Villers-Guislain, La Vacquerie, and Bois Gienier.

March 20—German airplane drops balls of liquefied mustard gas on American lines northwest of Toul; Americans shell Lahayville, causing a heavy explosion and forcing the Germans to retreat; French repulse violent raids in the Souain sector of Champagne.

March 21—Germans open terrific drive on British lines on a fifty-mile front from southeast of Arras as far as La Fère; French lines bombarded north and southeast of Rheims as well as on the Champagne front; Paris bombarded by long-range guns.

March 22—Germans claim 16,000 prisoners in big drive; General Haig reports them gaining at some points and repulsed at others; American artillery fire destroys German first and second line trenches east of Lunéville; violent gun duels in the Aisne and Champagne sectors; French repulse three German raids near Souain.

March 23—Germans smash British front, win victories near Monchy, Cambrai, St. Quentin, and La Fère, and penetrate into second British positions between Fontaine les Croisilles and Moeuvres; British evacuate positions in the bend southwest of Cambrai; Germans penetrate third British position between the Omignon stream and the Somme; Paris again shelled by gun seventy-five miles away; ten persons killed and fifteen or more wounded; fierce artillery fire on the French front

from the Oise River to the Vosges Mountains.

March 24—Germans capture Péronne, Chauny, and Ham, and cross the River Somme at certain points south of Péronne; assaults further north repulsed; Paris again bombarded by gun located in the Forest of St. Gobain.

March 25—Germans take Bapaume, Nesle, Guiscard, Biaches, Barleux, and Etalon; French take over sector of British battle-front south of St. Quentin and around Noyon; General Pershing announces that two regiments of American engineers are on the Somme battlefield; long-range bombardment of Paris continues; one long-range gun explodes, killing ten men; American gunners shell St. Bausant and the billets north of Boquetau.

March 26—Germans take Noyon, Roye, and Lihon, and cross the battleline of 1916 at many points; Americans in the Toul sector drive Germans out of Richecourt.

March 27—British, reinforced, beat back German attacks, capture Morlaincourt and Chipilly, north of the Somme, and to the south of the river advance their lines to the village of Proyart; Germans announce the capture of Albert and the crossing of the Ancre north and south of the city; French forced to yield ground east of Montdidier, but check assaults near Lassigny and Noyon.

March 28—British repulse all-day attacks at Arras; Germans capture Montdidier and push their lines as far as Pierrepont, and regain some ground south of the Somme which they lost in 1914; French advance at Noyon for a mile and a quarter on a six-mile front.

March 29—British line south of the Somme pushed back to a line running west of Hamel, Marcelcave, and Demuin; German drive slackens in the north; French in the Oise Valley retake Monchel; seventy-five persons killed and ninety wounded in church near Paris by shell from long-range gun.

March 30—Paris again bombarded by long-range guns; eight killed, thirty-seven wounded; Germans wrest six villages in the Montdidier sector from the French, and Demuin and Mézières from the British, but are repulsed in the Boiry-Boyelles region.

March 31—Germans lose ground near Feuchy; British advance near Serre; French recapture Ayencourt and Monchel and gain considerable ground near Orvillers; American Army starts for the battlefront; Paris again bombarded; one person killed, six injured.

April 1—French repulse German attacks against Grivesnes; Germans mass troops near Albert for renewed drive; bombardment of Paris resumed.

April 2—British carry on successful minor operations between the Avre and the Luce Rivers and in the neighborhood of Hébuterne; French repulse Germans southwest of La Fère and shell enemy concentrations east of Cantigny.

April 3—British occupy Ayette, check Germans near Moreuil; French extend their lines north of Plémont and take over another sector of the line, extending their holdings northward to Thennes; Americans heavily gassed in a sector other than Toul.

April 4—Germans deliver terrific attack against the French along a front of nearly nine miles, from Grivesnes to north of the Amiens-Royes road, and occupy the villages of Mailly-Raineval and Morisel; British lose ground north of Hamel and in the direction of Vaire Wood.

April 5—French forces, by vigorous counter-attacks, improve their positions in the region of Mailly-Raineval and Cantigny; Germans attack British lines from the Somme northward to a point above Bucquoy and reach the Albert-Amiens railway, but are driven back.

April 6—Germans attack at several points along the French front from the region of Montdidier eastward to the east and south of Chauny, but are repulsed everywhere except on the left bank of the Oise in the Chauny sector.

April 7—Germans push on south of the Oise and take Coucy Wood and Pierremande and Folembray; British retake Aveluy Wood and repel attacks opposite Albert and south of Hébuterne.

April 8—British lines around Bucquoy heavily shelled; Germans drive French back to the western bank of the Ailette River and take Verneuil and the heights east of Coucy-le-Château; Americans rout German patrol northwest of Toul; French airmen locate and bombard the gun that fired on Paris.

April 9—Germans force back the British-Portuguese centre on the River Lys between Estaires and Bac St. Maur, and take Richeboucq-St. Vaast and Laventie; British repulse attacks at Givenchy and Fleurbaix.

April 10—Germans cross the River Lys at several points between Armentières and Estaires; British forced back north and south of Armentières; French repulse Germans in the Hangard region; first American troops reach the British front.

April 11—Germans hurl troops at British front from La Bassée to the Ypres-Comines Canal, and force the British to give ground at some points, notably at Estaires and Steenwerck.

April 12—Germans launch heavy attacks against the French in the Hangard-en-Santerre sector, penetrate Hangard, but later lose half of the village to the French; Americans help to repel an attack in the Apremont Forest; British forced back west and northwest of Armentières to Neuve Eglise; Merville lost.

April 13—French advance northwest of Orvilles-Sorel and repulse attack near Noyon; British regain Neuve Eglise, but beat off German attacks southeast of Bailleul; Americans repulse two attacks in force in the Toul sector, winning the first all-day battle in which they have been engaged.

April 14—British hold Neuve Eglise against repeated German assaults; Germans attack near Bailleul and Merris; Americans repulse attacks north of St. Mihiel; bombardment of Paris by long-range gun continues.

April 15—Germans take Neuve Eglise, and hurl huge forces toward Bailleul and Wulverghem; British straighten out their salient around Wytschaete; definite announcement made of the appointment of General Foch as Commander in Chief of the allied armies in France, with enlarged powers.

April 16—Germans take Wytschaete and Spanbroekmolen, after forcing the British out of Bailleul; sixteen killed, forty-five wounded in long-range bombardment of Paris.

April 17—British re-enter Wytschaete and Meteren, but are forced out; Germans occupy Poelcappelle, Langemarck, and Passchendaele.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

March 21—British advance in Palestine, taking Beit Rima, Kefrut, and Elowsallabeh.

March 22-23—British advance nine miles on the left bank of the Jordan; Arabs destroy Turkish camel corps company near Jedahah.

March 26—British carry Turkish main positions north of Khan-Baghdadi; entire Turkish force in the Hit area captured or destroyed.

April 1—British advance seventy-three miles beyond Anah and menace Aleppo.

April 4—Armenians recapture Erzerum from the Turks.

April 7—Turks take Ardahan from the Armenians.

April 11—British in Palestine advance their line to a depth of one and a half miles on a front of five miles, and capture the villages of El Kefr and Rafat.

April 17—Turks capture Batum.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

March 22—Fighting becomes more active along the entire front; Italians drive back patrols on the Trentino front and eject an Austrian detachment from an advanced post in the Frenzela Valley sector.

March 28—Artillery engagements east of Badeneoche; forty Austrian divisions transferred to the Italian front.

AERIAL RECORD

James Ian Macpherson, Parliamentary Secretary of the British War Office, announced in the British Commons on March 19 that 255 flights into Germany, constituting 38 raids, had been made since last October, and that forty-eight tons of bombs had been dropped.

Italians bombed Metz on the nights of March 17 and March 23 and the railway station at Thionville on March 24.

Paris was raided on the night of April 12 and twenty-six were persons killed and seventy-two wounded.

Bombs were dropped on the east coast of England on the night of April 12. Five persons were killed and fifteen injured.

NAVAL RECORD

Ostend was bombarded by British monitors on March 21. On the same day two German destroyers and two torpedo boats were sunk off Dunkirk by British and French destroyers.

The Alexander Agassiz, a small boat formerly of American registry, which was outfitted by the Germans at Mazatlan for service as a raider, was captured in the Pacific Ocean by an American cruiser on March 19.

The Belgian relief ship Flandres was sunk by a mine on April 11.

The German transport Frankland struck a mine and sank at Noorland, March 22, and all on board, including Admiral von Meyrer, were drowned.

Ten German trawlers were sunk by the British in the Cattegat on April 15.

RUSSIA, RUMANIA, AND POLAND

Leon Trotzky asked the American military mission for ten American officers to aid as inspectors in organizing and training a new volunteer army, and requested the aid of American railway engineers and transportation experts in the reorganization of the railways, March 20. The same day he addressed the Moscow Soviet, calling for a new army of from 300,000 to 750,000, commanded by trained officers.

Japanese and British marines were landed at Vladivostok on April 5, following the invasion of a Japanese office by five armed Russians, who killed one Japanese and wounded two others. The Siberian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates protested to the Consular Corps, but the Japanese representatives at Vologda explained that the landing was only a local incident and that Admiral Kato had acted on his own inititative.

The Trans-Caucasian Constituent Assembly, in session at Tiflis on March 21, refused to ratify the peace treaty with Germany, and urged immediate war. On March 29 the Caucasus Diet approved the basis of a separate peace agreement with Turkey, including autonomy for Armenia and the restoration of old frontiers.

The Armenians and Georgians refused to

recognize the cession of territory made under the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and on April 3 fierce fighting broke out in the districts of Batum, Kars, and Ardahan, as the Turks began military occupation. The Georgians seized most of the Russian warships in the Harbor of Batum and took them into the Black Sea. On April 4 the Armenians recaptured Erzerum from the Turks, and on April 7 the Turks took Ardahan from the Armenian forces.

Alexander Marghiloman, leader of the Conservatives, was appointed Premier of Rumania March 20. On the same day Germany announced the extension of the armistice until March 22.

On March 21 Germany increased her demands on Rumania, calling for the surrender of all war munitions. Austria demanded the surrender of all territory west of a line extending from a point east of Red Tower Pass to a point on the Danube near Ghilramar, and also a strip of country eighty miles long and ten miles wide in the region of Predeal. On March 23 Germany again extended the armistice because of a delay in the formation of the Rumanian Cabinet. On March 29 Germany demanded that the Rumanian oil wells be turned over to a German-controlled corporation.

German forces continued their advance in Ukraine, taking Kherson on March 21 and burning Poltava on March 31. The Ukrainian Rada protested against the German demand for 85 per cent. of the country's grain supply and practically all of the sugar supply, March 27. On April 5 the Bolshevist Government protested against the invasion by German and Ukrainian troops of Kursk Province.

Finland protested to the German Government, March 29, against the arrest of Major Henry Crosby Emery, representative of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, and his detention on the Aland Islands.

British and French troops were reported on March 31 to be co-operating with the Bolshevist troops in the defense of the Kola and Mourmansk troops against the Finnish White Guards. German troops were landed in Finland April 3, and on the same day the Finnish White Guards captured Tammerfors. The Russian fleet escaped from Helsingfors on April 7. On April 8 Germany sent an ultimatum demanding the removal or disarmament of all Russian warships in Finnish waters by April 12, and on April 11 a German squadron, with several transports, arrived at Lovisa.

On April 14 German troops took Hyving and Finnish White Guards took Bjoerneborg. Helsingfors was occupied by the Germans on April 15.

Abo was evacuated by the Red Guards on April 16.

MISCELLANEOUS

President Poincaré refused to pardon Bolo Pacha, April 7, and the next day the condemned man made a statement concerning other treason cases, thus gaining a reprieve. He was executed on the morning of April 17.

Holland refused the Allies' terms for the transfer of Dutch ships and demanded guarantees that they would not be used for troops or munitions. On March 20 President Wilson issued a proclamation ordering their seizure. The Netherlands Government protested in a statement which appeared in the Official Gazette March 30. On April 1 President Wilson issued an order authorizing the Navy Department to take possession of all equipment and cargoes. Secretary Lansing replied to the Netherlands Government in a statement issued on April 13.

Premier Lloyd George addressed the British House of Commons on April 9 on the military situation and the man-power problem. He asked that the services of every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 50 be placed at the disposal of the Government and advocated conscription in Ireland. Leave to introduce the man-power bill was carried in the House. The next day the second reading was carried, and on April 12 the bill was passed. On the same day Sir Horace Plunkett submitted to Lloyd George his report on the Irish Convention's plan for home rule. The third reading of the man-power bill was passed by the House of Lords April 17.

Mme. Despina Davidovitch Storch, a woman of Turkish birth; Baron Henri de Beville, Mrs. Elizabeth Charlotte Nix, and a man who called himself Count Robert de Clairmont were arrested in New York City on March 18 on suspicion of being members of an international spy system working in the interests of Germany. President Wilson ordered their deportation to France. Mme. Storch died of pneumonia at Ellis Island on March 30.

Lieutenants Calamaras and Hodjopoulos, who landed in Greece from a German submarine to act as agents of ex-King Constantine, and who planned to arrange a spy system and establish a naval base, were executed on March 30.

The Supreme War Council of the Allies issued a statement on March 18 condemning German political crimes against the Russian and Rumanian peoples, refusing to acknowledge Germany's peace treaties with them, and announcing their purpose to establish a reign of organized justice.

General Ferdinand Foch was made Generalissimo of all the allied forces on the western front on March 28. A definite official announcement of his appointment as Conmmander in Chief, with enlarged powers, was made on April 15.

Russia Under German Domination

Record of a Month's Events

THE Russo-German peace treaty, signed by the Bolshevist plenipotentiaries on March 3, 1918, and ratified at a session of the All-Russian Soviet Congress held in Moscow on March 14-16, was approved, after a prolonged discussion, by the Main Committee of the German Reichstag on March 22.

Discussing the situation created in Russia by the Brest-Litovsk pact, a Petrograd daily remarks that, while the rest of the world has secret diplomacy and open war, Russia has open diplomacy and secret war. In fact, the final ratification of the "peace" instrument by both sides did not put an end to the military operations of the Central Powers in Russia. Nor did the Russians cease to make feeble and sporadic attempts at resistance.

In the third week of March the fall of Petrograd seemed imminent, but the transfer of the Government to Moscow and the partial evacuation of the northern capital by the civil population apparently changed the objective of the invading German troops to the ancient Russian metropolis. They began to march on Moscow from northwest, west, and southwest, but stopped within the distance of approximately 150 miles from that city. For the last three weeks practically no fighting has been going on in the north of Russia, except occasional guerrilla skirmishes and punitive expeditions, conducted by the Germans and the propertied classes. On the other hand, in the south the Austro-German invaders have been vigorously pushing on, ostensibly under the pretext of assisting the friendly Ukrainian nation in its struggle against the Soviet power.

By March 20 the Teutons were in possession of the whole of Western Ukraine west of the Dnieper. Among other cities they held Zhitomir, Kiev, Nikolayev, and Odessa. The latter city, the most important commercial seaport in Russia, was reported to have been occupied by four Austro-German regiments without a shot. Kherson was taken March 21. On March 27, the semi-official Russian news agency announced that the Soviet and Ukrainian troops, assisted by naval forces, recaptured Odessa. According to an earlier report, Kherson, Nikolayev, and Znamenka were also recaptured by Red Guards and armed civilians. The retaking of Odessa was officially denied by Vienna, and the city is apparently in the hands of the Teutons at this writing, (April 18.) They are reported to have seized large stores of war materials at Odessa, and 2,500 ships at Nikolayev, which is a port on the Black Sea, with vast docks for building warships. The Austro-Germans also took Poltava, situated midway between the Dnieper and Donetz, and set it on fire. The capture of Poltava was followed (April 8) by that of Yekaterinoslav and Kharkov, the former seat of the Bolshevist Rada.

On April 11 the invaders occupied the small city of Lgov, 130 miles northwest of Kharkov, and an ultimatum was sent to the City of Kursk, demanding its surrender. Both towns are situated in the province of Kursk, which lies beyond the Russo-Ukrainian border as defined by the Central Powers.

The march of the Teutons, coupled with their requisitions of food products, seemed to arouse a good deal of dissatisfaction among the peasants and workmen in the Ukraine. It is reported that the Rada, which had invited the Germans, requested them to stop the advance of their troops, but their request was not heeded. The behavior of the Teutons in Kiev led to a clash between the Ukrainian authorities and the German commandant. The demand of the Austro-Germans that the Ukraine should furnish them 85 per cent. of its grain and all its sugar except that needed for local consumption was particularly resented. On April 7 the Bolshevist Foreign Minister Chicherin signified

to the German Government his willingness to open peace negotiations with the Ukraine. According to some advices the Rada wished to form a federated alliance with the Russian Republic.

IN THE CAUCASUS

Article 4 of the Russo-German treaty provides for the evacuation by the Russian troops of the districts of Erivan, Kars, and Batum, (in the Caucasus,) and the reorganization of these districts in agreement with Turkey. The Transcaucasion Constituent Assembly, meeting in Tiflis, refused to recognize the peace with the Central Powers and pronounced itself in favor of a war against them. On March 29 it was reported that the local Diet declared the independence of the Caucasus and approved the project of a separate peace with Turkey. But when, several days later, the Turks began the military occupation of the Caucasian districts mentioned in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Armenians and Georgians rose against the invaders. On April 4 the Armenians were said to have recaptured Erzerum, in Turkish Armenia, which Russia evacuated after the conclusion of peace. Before the Caucasian uprising Turkey officially announced its intention to send troops to restore order in the Crimea. It was reported that massacres of Armenians were resumed by the Turks and that many thousand women and children had been butchered.

On April 14 the Russian Government forwarded to Germany a protest of the Armenian National Council, addressed to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the President of the Reichstag. The document reads in part:

> Following upon the withdrawal of the Russian troops Turkish troops already have invaded the undefended country and are not only killing every Turkish Armenian, but also every Russian in Armenia.
>
> In spite of the terms of the peace treaty, which recognizes the right of self-determination for these Caucasian regions, the Turkish Army is advancing toward Kars and Ardahan, destroying the country and killing the Christian population. The responsibility for the future destiny of the Armenians lies entirely with Germany because it was Germany's insistence that resulted in the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Armenian regions, and at the moment it rests with Germany to prevent the habitual excesses of the Turkish troops, increased by revengefulness and anger.

INTERNAL SITUATION

The internal situation in Russia proper remains uncertain, nor have any definite changes taken place in the mood of the people or in the Governmental policies of the Bolsheviki. It is charged that the Bolshevist Government suppressed the full text of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. On April 10 the Commissioner of Commerce of the Bolsheviki announced that under the terms of the peace treaty Russia had suffered the following losses:

> Seven hundred and eighty thousand square kilometers (301,000 square miles) of territory.
>
> Fifty-six million inhabitants, constituting 32 per cent. of the entire population of the country.
>
> One-third of Russia's total mileage of railways, amounting to 21,530 kilometers, (13,350 miles.)
>
> Seventy-three per cent. of the total iron production.
>
> Eighty-nine per cent. of the total coal production.
>
> Two hundred and sixty-eight sugar refineries, 918 textile factories, 574 breweries, 133 tobacco factories, 1,685 distilleries, 244 chemical factories, 615 paper mills, 1,073 machine factories.
>
> These territories, which now become German, formerly brought in annual revenue amounting to 845,238 rubles, and had 1,800 savings banks.

The alarming sweep of the Teutonic invasion, together with the growing realization of what the Brest-Litovsk agreement really means to Russia, seemed finally to arouse some spirit of resistance in the Russian masses. Patriarch Tikhon declared that the Russian Church could not recognize a peace dismembering the country and subjecting it to a foreign power. Since the ratification the spokesmen of the Bolshevist Government have not ceased talking of organizing a large army for a new war. The prevalent Bolshevist opinion is that the new revolutionary army should be used, in the words of the semi-official Bolshevist organ Pravda, "not to strengthen, as "the imperialists calculate, this or that "bourgeois front, but to turn the front "of the world war into a front of the "workers' and soldiers' revolution."

The United States Congress in wartime, including nearly all the members of the House, on the steps of the Capitol

(© Harris & Ewing)

An American first aid station in the trenches in France

(© Committee on Public Information)

TALK OF NEW ARMY

In March it was reported that four of the People's Commissaries had gone south to organize troops for guerrilla warfare. This idea, however, was soon abandoned. Trotzky insisted upon the necessity of having a strictly disciplined army of 300,000 to 750,000 men, under regular officers. "We cannot," he said, "preserve the illusion that European capital "will patiently suffer the fact that in "Russia the power is in the hands of "the working class. * * * We are "surrounded by enemies on all sides. "If it were proposed to France to return Alsace, the French Bourse would "sell Russia tomorrow." On April 2 M. Podvoisky, Assistant Commissary of War, stated that Russia would form an army of 1,500,000 men, and that the Red Army of Volunteers was steadily growing. The army organization has been changed with a view to limiting the application of the elective principle. According to some reports the Bolsheviki are hoping to have an army of 500,000 by the Fall. Some of the leaders went so far as to advocate compulsory military service. On April 10 Leon Trotzky was appointed joint Minister of War and Marine.

On the previous day the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets unanimously passed a resolution ruling that henceforth Russia's national flag would be a red banner bearing the inscription: "*Rossiyskaya Sotzialisticheskaya Federativnaya Sovetskaya Respublika,*" (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.) Proposing the measure, the Chairman said: "The Russian "flag will have to wave over the embassies in Berlin and Vienna and we cannot have the old tricolor, so I think it "most proper to adopt the red flag under "which we fought and gained victory."

BESSARABIA AND RUMANIA

An important event has taken place in the southwestern corner of the former Russian Empire, in the rich province of Bessarabia, where separatist tendencies have recently made themselves strongly felt. A Berlin dispatch, dated April 11, announced that the Bessarabian Diet had voted, 86 against 5, that Bessarabia should join the Kingdom of Rumania. Thereupon, the Ukrainian Premier filed a protest in Russia against this act, stating that the Ukraine must have her say in the settlement of Bessarabia's fate in view of the fact that this province has a large Ukrainian population and that the Ukraine is controlling an important region on the Black Sea adjacent to Bessarabia.

The Council of the People's Commissaries was notified on April 9 that the Province of Kazan, situated in the east of European Russia and having a population of 2,000,000, had been proclaimed an independent republic by the Congress of Peasants of that region.

RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES

The Entente did not acknowledge the Russo-German peace. In a statement issued March 18 through the British Foreign Office the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy voiced their protest against "the political crimes which, "under the name of a German peace, "have been committed against the Russian people." Ambassador David R. Francis, when asked whether he would leave Russia in consequence of the ratification of the peace treaty, gave the following reply:

> I shall not leave Russia until compelled by force. The American Government and people are too deeply interested in the prosperity of the Russian people for them to abandon Russia to the Germans. America is sincerely interested in the liberty of the Russian people and will do everything possible to safeguard the real interests of the country.
>
> If the brave and patriotic Russian people will forget political differences for the time being and act resolutely and vigorously, they will be able to drive the enemy from their territory, and by the end of 1918 bring a lasting peace for themselves and the whole world. America still counts itself an ally of the Russian people, and we shall be ready to help any Government which organizes a vigorous resistance to the German invasion.

The French, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Serbian, Belgian, Brazilian, Greek, Portuguese, and Siamese representatives, who left Russia when the treaty with Germany was signed, joined the American Ambassador (who did not leave the

country) at Vologda, 300 mile s northeast of Moscow, late in March. A dispatch dated March 20 says: "There has "been a marked change in the attitude "of the Allies toward the Soviet Govern- "ment. * * * There are many "signs of renewed co-operation between "Russia and the Allies." The dispatch also quotes M. Chicherin, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, as saying that "Russia's relations with the Entente are unchanged."

At the same time Trotzky approached the American military mission, established in Moscow, asking it to assist Russia in organizing a volunteer army and in improving the country's transportation. On March 27 the Petit Parisien published a statement to the effect that Trotzky had also asked the French to assist him in organizing military resistance to the Germans. A leading article in Premier Clemenceau's L'Homme Libre contained the following statement: "The "Entente, as long as the war lasts, will "regard Russia, the one and indivisible "Russia which signed the pact of Lon- "don, as an ally."

Russia also reckons on the Allies, especially America, for support in rehabilitating her industries and developing her resources. A large order for agricultural machinery has been placed in the United States, and the shipping of the goods has already begun. According to a London dispatch the Bolsheviki are sending a commission to the United States to settle Russia's accounts with American firms and make arrangements for future trade relations.

THE JAPANESE LANDING

After Russia's collapse, and especially after her capitulation, Japan's intervention in Siberia was a subject of lively discussion in the allied countries. Persistent rumors were circulated by the press to the effect that large masses of armed and organized Teuton prisoners, numbering at least 150,000 men, were ready to seize the Trans-Siberian railroad and menace the military stores accumulated in Vladivostok. These rumors were declared by the Bolshevist authorities to be a part of the propaganda to bring disrepute on the Soviet power and encourage Japanese intervention, which Lenine's Government regards as an encroachment of world imperialism upon Socialist Russia.

On Friday, April 5, two companies of Japanese sailors landed at Vladivostok. According to the report of the President of the Vladivostok Soviet, the landing was effected in the presence of the Japanese Consul and Admiral Kato, Japanese Marine Minister, without the consent of the other allied Consuls. Later in the day fifty British armed sailors were landed. There was also an unconfirmed report that American marines, too, were landed. On the next day 250 more Japanese sailors entered the city. In a proclamation issued at Vladivostok Admiral Kato explained that the step was taken because of the murder of a Japanese soldier and in order to protect the life and property of Japanese and allied subjects. The Vladivostok Soviet protested to the Consular Corps. Resolutions of protest were also passed by the Municipal Council and the local Zemstvo.

The news of the landing produced much excitement in the Bolshevist headquarters in Moscow. In spite of the statement of the allied diplomats that the act was a purely local affair of no political importance, the Bolsheviki construed it as the beginning of the rumored Japanese invasion. A statement issued by the Commissaries on April 6 declared that the killing of the Japanese soldier was part of a prearranged scheme, and that "Japan had started a campaign against the Soviet Republic." The following day the Izvestia spoke of the invasion as the continuation of "the crusade against revolutionary Russia" begun by imperialistic Germany. In a speech at Moscow on April 8 Premier Lenine said: "It is possible that after a short time, perhaps even within a few days, we shall have to declare war on Japan." Two days later it was reported that the Russian Government had requested Germany to permit the postponement of the demobilization of the Russian Army in view of the Japanese landing at Vladivostok.

On April 11 the Consular Corps of

Vladivostok officially informed the local Zemstvo that the landing of allied sailors had been made necessary by conditions of anarchy in the port, and that the troops would be withdrawn as soon as order had been restored.

On March 16 the American Ambassador, Mr. Francis, made the following statement:

> The Soviet Government and the Soviet press are giving too much importance to the landing of these marines, which has no political significance, but merely was a police precaution taken by the Japanese Admiral on his own responsibility for the protection of Japanese life and property in Vladivostok, and the Japanese Admiral, Kato, so informed the American Admiral, Knight, and the American Consul, Caldwell, in Vladivostok. My impression is that the landing of the British marines was pursuant to the request of the British Consul for the protection of the British Consulate and British subjects in Vladivostok, which he anticipated would possibly be jeopardized by the unrest which might result from the Japanese landing.
>
> The American Consul did not ask protection from the American cruiser in Vladivostok Harbor, and consequently no American marines were landed. This, together with the fact that the French Consul at Vladivostok made no request for protection from the British, American, or Japanese cruisers in the harbor, unquestionably demonstrates that the landing of allied troops is not a concerted action between the Allies.

The Czar's Loyalty to the Allies

An Autograph Letter

A LETTER written by Nicholas II. to President Poincaré in the Spring of 1916 has recently been made public. Its interest lies in its expression of absolute loyalty to the Allies. It is as follows:

> DEAR AND EXALTED FRIEND: At a moment when France and Russia are more closely bound than ever in the unprecedented struggle of which they are supporting the weight with their faithful allies, it has been a great pleasure to me to see the arrival of members of the French Government in Russia. I have had much pleasure in once again meeting M. Viviani, whom I already know, and in recalling the last interview that I had with you. At the time our one idea was to insure the peaceful development of our two countries, while the enemy was already preparing his attack against the peace of Europe in the hope of securing the hegemony of the world. It also gives me great pleasure to meet M. Albert Thomas, the Minister of Munitions, whose talents have rendered such great services to his country and to the cause of the Allies.
>
> Having always attached great importance to an intimate collaboration between the two Governments, I attach even greater importance to this collaboration at the present time, now that we are thoroughly determined only to disarm by common agreement after gaining the final victory. It is therefore more necessary to co-ordinate our effort in order that our common action may be more effective. It is unquestionable that each of the Allies is animated by a single desire—that of placing its fullest effort at the disposal of the common cause.
>
> It is with this desire that my Government and my officers have devotedly studied, in association with members of the French Government, the methods that should be taken to insure that the greatest possible assistance should be given to our various allies. I hope, consequently, that M. Viviani and M. Thomas will leave here with the absolute conviction that so far as it is materially possible Russia will hesitate before no sacrifice to insure the triumph of the allied cause at the earliest possible moment. My warmest wishes are that our united efforts may soon be crowned with the most striking success, and I am anxious to express to you my admiration of France, which has covered itself with fresh glory in the heroic defense of Verdun.

Pershing's Army Under General Foch

American Troops in France Brigaded With French and British Units for the Great Battle in Picardy

GENERAL PERSHING, in a cablegram to General March, Acting Chief of Staff, announced on March 29, 1918, that the American expeditionary force in France had been placed at the disposal of General Foch, the allied Generalissimo. The message read:

Have made all our resources available, and our divisions will be used if and when needed. French are in fine spirits, and both armies seem confident.

(*Signed*) *PERSHING.*

General Pershing had called on General Foch at Headquarters on the previous day, March 28, and made the offer of American troops. His words were reported by the Paris newspaper, L'Information, as follows:

"I come to say to you that the American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle. I ask it of you, in my name and in that of the American people. There is at this moment no other question than that of fighting. Infantry, artillery, aviation—all that we have are yours to dispose of as you will. Others are coming which are as numerous as will be necessary. I have come to say to you that the American people would be proud to be engaged in the greatest battle in history."

In a statement given out at the American Headquarters in France on March 30, Secretary Baker said:

"I am delighted at General Pershing's prompt and effective action in placing all the American troops and facilities at the disposal of the Allies in the present situation. It will meet with hearty approval in the United States, where the people desire their expeditionary forces to be of the utmost service in the common cause. I have visited all the American troops in France, some of them recently, and had an opportunity to observe the enthusiasm with which officers and men received the announcement that they would be used in the present conflict. One regiment to which the announcement was made spontaneously broke into cheers."

THE OFFER ACCEPTED

General Foch placed General Pershing's offer before the French war council at the front, which included Premier Clemenceau, French Commander Pétain, and Louis Loucheur, Minister of Munitions. An official note, issued in Paris on March 31, dealing with the operation of American troops with the French and British, said:

The French Government has decided to accede to the desire expressed by General Pershing in the name of the United States Government. The American troops will fight side by side with the British and French troops and the Star-Spangled Banner will float beside the French and English flags in the plains of Picardy.

Further information showing that the time had come for the active participation of the American Army in the new campaign was contained in the following British official announcement, issued in London on April 1:

As a result of communications which have passed between the Prime Minister [Lloyd George] and President Wilson; of deliberations between Secretary Baker, who visited London a few days ago, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Derby, and consultations in France, in which General Pershing and General Bliss participated, important decisions have been come to by which large forces of trained men in the American Army can be brought to the assistance of the Allies in the present struggle.

The Government of our great Western ally is not only sending large numbers of American battalions to Europe during

the coming critical months, but has agreed to such of its regiments as cannot be used in divisions of their own being brigaded with French and British units so long as the necessity lasts.

By this means troops which are not yet sufficiently trained to fight as divisions and army corps will form part of seasoned divisions until such time as they have completed their training and General Pershing wishes to withdraw them in order to build up the American Army.

Arrangements for the transportation of these additional forces are now being completed.

Throughout these discussions President Wilson has shown the greatest anxiety to do everything possible to assist the Allies and has left nothing undone which could contribute thereto.

This decision, however, of vital importance as it will be to the maintenance of the allied strength in the next few months, will in no way diminish the need for those further measures for raising fresh troops at home, to which reference already has been made. It is announced at once because the Prime Minister feels that the singleness of purpose with which the United States have made this immediate and, indeed, indispensable contribution toward the triumph of the allied cause should be clearly recognized by the British people.

The action of the United States in thus merging its troops with the other armies was hailed with gratitude and praise by the press and official spokesmen of all the Entente nations.

The first mention of Americans in the battle of Picardy was contained in the War Department's weekly review of the war situation, issued on April 7. American transport sections, it said, had taken an active part in the battle, and the American Aviation Section was co-operating with the British.

THE FIGHTING ENGINEERS

American engineers also took part in the battle, particularly during the first days of the German offensive. Three companies belonging to two regiments of the American Railway Engineers were reported in the German War Office statement as operating in the areas of Chauny and the Crozat Canal. This statement was confirmed in a report from General Pershing to the Acting Chief of Staff at Washington. The Americans had been working in the rear lines with Canadian engineers, under Canadian command. When the German attack came, they threw down their tools and seized the weapons with which they had been armed for some months, and formed themselves into a fighting unit. The Germans came on, and finally reached the positions where the Americans were waiting. The number of the engineers was comparatively small. They had no intention of retreating, however, and were bent upon killing all the Germans possible.

As the first enemy wave advanced, the American forces let them come until they were within certain range: then opened fire, pouring in a storm of bullets. Gaps appeared in the advancing lines at many places, but the German waves came on, without firing a single shot. The Americans were unable to understand these tactics. By this time their weapons were so hot that they could not be used effectively, and the enemy was close, so that the engineers retired, fighting, took up another position, then turned and began operations again. A British officer who witnessed the engagement is reported to have said: "They held on by their teeth until the last moment, inflicting terrific casualties on the enemy. Then they moved back and waited for the Germans, and repeated the performance." By the time the engineers reached a place somewhere near Noyon they were nearly exhausted and almost without equipment. There they had a chance to rest and re-equip.

On the sectors where American troops had been stationed before the decision to place them at the disposal of General Foch intensive training operations in the front-line trenches, with artillery fire and raiding of the enemy's positions, had been proceeding along much the same lines as during the previous month. A dispatch dated April 3 reported that American troops on a certain sector other than that in the region of Toul had been subjected to an extraordinarily heavy gas attack.

With the acceptance of the American offer to join in the battle of Picardy, troops began to be withdrawn from the sectors thus far occupied and from the American training camps in France, and hurried as rapidly as possible to points

where the French and British required reinforcements.

Casualty lists showed that the Rainbow Division, (composed of troops from nearly every State in the Union,) the first of the National Guard divisions to cross the Atlantic, had been engaged in the fighting. The 150th Machine Gun Battalion, made up of guardsmen from the old 2d Wisconsin Infantry, had suffered heavily; of the sixty-eight men named as severely wounded in one list fifty-six were identified as members of the Wisconsin machine-gun unit.

AMERICAN WAR CROSSES

General Pershing approved, according to an announcement on March 19, the awarding of the first American military crosses for extraordinary heroism. The recipients were Lieutenant John O. Green, Sergeant William Norton, and Sergeant Patrick Walsh. The crosses were awarded for "extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations against an armed enemy." The exploits of these men were described by the General commanding their division as follows:

> I recommend that the Distinguished Service Cross be awarded to the officer and men named hereafter, who distinguished themselves by acts of extraordinary heroism.
>
> Lieutenant Green, while in a dugout, having been wounded by an enemy hand grenade, was summoned to surrender. He refused to do so. Returning the fire of the enemy, he wounded one and pursued the hostile party.
>
> Sergeant Norton, finding himself in a dugout surrounded by the enemy, into which a grenade had just been thrown, refused to surrender, and made a bold dash outside, killing one of his assailants. By so doing he saved the company's log book.
>
> Sergeant Walsh followed his company commander to the first lines in spite of a severe barrage. The Captain being killed, he asumed command of the group and attacked a superior force of the enemy, inflicting severe loss upon them. Though of advanced age he refused to leave the front.

To these recommendations General Pershing appended his approval. Lieutenant Green and Sergeants Norton and Walsh had all previously received the French War Cross, Norton and Walsh being decorated personally by Premier Clemenceau on March 3.

Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, during a visit to the front-line trenches held by American troops, insisted upon going through a sap to a listening post. Peeping over the parapet into No Man's Land, he expressed his sensations in the words: "Now I am on the frontier of freedom." On the return journey from the trenches a German shell burst within less than fifty yards of Mr. Baker's motor car, hit a roadside dugout, and tore out a large crater.

TOTAL CASUALTIES

For nearly a week in the beginning of April no casualty lists were issued by the War Department, owing to a cablegram from the Secretary of War prescribing the following rules for handling publicity of matters pertaining to troops and operations:

> First—All matters pertaining to events, persons, policies, or operations abroad will only be officially given out from the headquarters, American Expeditionary Force in France.
>
> Second—Similar matters affecting forces at home will be given out from the War Department.

Suppression of the casualty lists aroused criticism throughout the country, and on April 9 the War Department, acting on cabled instructions from Mr. Baker, resumed issuing the daily list. The summarized totals up to April 11 were:

DEATHS

Killed in action	228
Killed or prisoner	1
Killed by accident	181
Died of disease	867
Lost at sea	237
Died of wounds	69
Civilians	7
Gas attack, suicide, executed, unknown causes	42
Total deaths	1,632
Wounded	1,606
Captured	43
Missing	30
Total of all casualties	3,311

Our War Machine in New Phases

Month Ended April 18, 1918

THE outstanding feature of America's part in the war during the past month has been the placing at the disposal of General Foch, the allied Generalissimo, all the men and resources of the United States now available in France. At home preparations were hastened to call up at least another 150,000 men under the draft law to replace those sent from the training camps to France.

The navy is now represented in the war zone by 150 vessels, including battleships, under the command of Admiral Sims.

Drastic changes have been made in various branches of the War Department. The Ordnance Department and Quartermaster Corps have been brought more into line with the requirements of supplying the armies at home and abroad. The Senate Military Affairs Committee has investigated the serious delay in aircraft production, and in a majority report severely criticised the work of the Signal Corps, under which the Aviation Section is organized. The War Industries Board has been reshaped, and its Chairman, Mr. Baruch, has been given very extensive powers.

The crisis which arose out of the shipbuilding program has been passed, and our 150 shipyards are accelerating the rate of production of new ships. Dutch ships in American ports aggregating 500,000 tons have been seized, and 200,000 tons of Japanese shipping has been received by agreement.

The railroads under Government control are becoming more closely adapted to the needs of wartime distribution. Several important coastwise steamship lines have been taken over and placed under the Director General of Railroads.

The food situation still demands strict conservation, and it is recognized that America will have to submit to greater sacrifices in view of the ever-growing world shortage.

Labor questions have been engaging the serious attention of the Government and Congress. The diversion of working people to industries where they are most needed for war purposes, and legislation to prevent strikes have been under consideration. In addition to the different war industries properly so-called, a large amount of labor is now necessary for agriculture, so as to plant the largest possible crop and to harvest it in the Fall.

To finance the war, and incidentally mark the beginning of the nation's second year in the war, subscriptions were opened on April 6 for the Third Liberty Loan of $3,000,000,000 at 4¼ per cent. These bonds are nonconvertible and will mature in ten years.

WAR DEPARTMENT'S GROWTH

The experience gained by officers who have been serving with General Pershing's army in France is becoming an influence in every one of the widely ramified branches of the War Department, while Secretary Baker's visit abroad to get first-hand knowledge of the requirements of the American expeditionary force has been fertile in new ideas.

One of the signs of the growth of the War Department is the appointment of a third Assistant Secretary of War. For this position Frederick P. Keppel, Dean of Columbia University, New York, was selected by the President. On April 12 the appointment was unanimously recommended by the Senate Military Committee. The nomination of E. R. Stettinius as an Assistant Secretary had already been confirmed. Dr. Keppel's duties include the supervision of the nonmilitary activities of the soldiers, their personal welfare and comfort, both at home and abroad.

To improve the work of the General Staff at Washington General Pershing, it was announced on April 12, is sending home certain officers who have become familiar with staff work at the front, and also some practical aviation experts to aid in solving the difficulties which have arisen in the production of aircraft. Other officers include representa-

tives of the Quartermaster Corps who have acquired experience under modern war conditions in France. In this way a greater measure of co-ordination with the army in France is being obtained.

An order issued by General March, Acting Chief of Staff, on April 12, consolidated the Division of Storage and Traffic with the Division of Purchases and Supplies, the one division to be known as the Division of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic. The division was placed under Major Gen. Goethals, who continued to serve as Assistant Chief of Staff and Acting Quartermaster General. Brig. Gen. Palmer E. Pierce, who has been a member of the War Industries Board and of the War Council created by Secretary Baker, was made Director of Purchases in January, 1918, but under this scheme of reorganization it was announced that while remaining on duty with the War Industries Board he would give up his post as Director of Purchases and Supplies. His successor, under Major Gen. Goethals, was Colonel Hugh S. Johnston, who has been General Crowder's right-hand man in the office of the Provost Marshal General.

TWO BILLIONS FOR GUNS

There have also been important changes in the Ordnance Department, it being announced on April 8 that Brig. Gen. Charles B. Wheeler, who recently succeeded Major Gen. William Crozier as head of the Ordnance Department of the Army with the title of Acting Chief of Ordnance, had been succeeded by Brig. Gen. C. C. Williams, Chief Ordnance Officer with the American expeditionary force in France. General Williams was ordered to return to Washington to take up the duties of Active Chief of Ordnance.

A summary of the work of the Gun Division, Bureau of Ordnance, prepared for the Secretary of War, shows that it has been necessary to equip sixteen large plants for the manufacture of mobile artillery and that the total program of the Gun Division calls for an expenditure of approximately $2,000,000,000. At the outbreak of the war the Gun Division was composed of three officers and seven civilians. At the end of 1917 it had approximately 500 officers and 3,500 civilians, since increased to 1,500 officers and more than 10,000 civilians. The Ordnance Department has also established a comprehensive repair service for artillery, motor vehicles, and other equipment.

With the creation of a Construction Division in the War Department on March 16, to handle the largest single building program in history, aggregating $1,084,000,000, a board of eminent experts appointed by Acting Secretary Crowell took over the work of the Cantonment Division, which did the preliminary work of building national army camps. The building program, involving hundreds of thousands of workmen and extensive structures for the army throughout the country, is under the immediate direction of the Chief of Staff. Headed by Professor A. N. Talbot of the University of Illinois, President of the American Society of Civil Engineers, the board includes representatives of leading architectural, engineering, business, and labor organizations.

OUR GROWING ARMY

The year of intensive recruiting for the regular army by volunteer enlistment ended on March 30, 1918. A year previously the enlisted strength of the regular army was 121,797 men, and to bring it to full war strength 183,898 additional soldiers were required. These men were obtained some months ago. The recruiting campaign, however, was continued, and on March 30 the regular army was about 501,000 strong, which represented about one-third of all the men serving under the War Department.

Major Gen. Enoch Crowder, the Provost Marshal General, on April 6 sent out a call to all the States for a total of 150,000 men in the second draft. Instructions were given for the movement of these men to begin on April 26, and for their mobilization to be complete five days later. They were selected from Class A1 of the registration lists and were to replace the men who have been sent abroad from the training camps.

A resolution providing that all young men who have reached the age of 21 years

since June 5, 1917, the first draft registration day, shall be subject to military service was passed by the Senate on March 29. About 58,000 men thus become available each month, and in the year since June 5, 1917, about 700,000 will have been brought under the selective draft law. The Senate rejected a proposal for universal military training for all males between 19 and 21 by a vote of 36 against 26.

The number of colored citizens registered on June 5, 1917, was 737,626. Of these 208,953 have so far been called up, and 133,256 rejected, exempted, or discharged, leaving 75,697 certified for service and inducted into the national army.

Shortage in Aircraft Production

Senate Committee's Report

THE shortage of aircraft for the American Army in France has been the subject of investigation by the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, following the sensational disclosures regarding German control of the air in the sector held by the Americans, [see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, April, 1918, Pp. 12-14.] The Senate Committee was not unanimous, and two reports were presented on April 12, 1918, differing as to the causes of delay in the execution of the airplane program.

The substance of the majority report is contained in the following extracts:

The Signal Corps has established and is now conducting twenty aviation training schools in the United States. Four additional schools are in process of construction and are expected to be finished in June next.

The aggregate capacity of the schools now in operation is something over 3,000 cadets; 1,926 have thus far been graduated from this primary training course and commissioned as reserve military aviators. Very few of these have received their advanced training in this country.

In addition to the above, the Signal Corps, acting upon the invitation of the several Entente Governments, dispatched some 1,200 cadets to England, France, and Italy last year, who were to receive primary and advanced training in aviation schools of those countries. The experience of a great many of these men has been most unfortunate in that at some of the schools a very serious delay has occurred in providing them with the training planes, which it was expected would be manufactured in foreign factories in sufficient numbers. As a result, several hundred of the American cadets have been practically idle and have made no progress. About 450 of them are reported as having completed the primary training, after long delay.

The Signal Corps is giving serious consideration to the advisability of bringing the remainder back to the United States to be trained. With the exception of this severe disappointment, the primary training of our aviators, according to the testimony of the aviation officials, appears to be progressing favorably.

For some time after the inception of the work the output of primary training planes in this country for use in our schools gave ground for grave concern. In recent weeks, however, the output has been greatly increased, and there seems to be no doubt of the Signal Corps having an amply sufficient number in the future. On April 1, 1918, 3,458 primary training planes had been completed. The advanced training planes are being turned out in accordance with the schedule and estimates laid down at the inception of their manufacture. In advanced training planes four types are being made, the total number up to date manufactured being 342. In these planes three types of engines will be used, of which 965 have been completed. The Liberty motor is not suitable for use in these planes.

It is apparent from the evidence that the twelve-cylinder Liberty motor is just emerging from the development or experimental stage. Since the original design and the setting up of the first completed motor in July, 1917, a large number of changes have been found necessary, many of them causing delay in reaching quantity production. Within the last two months changes of considerable importance have been made which, it is hoped, will make the motor serviceable for combat planes of the defensive type and for bombing and observation planes.

Twenty-two thousand five hundred Liberty motors have been ordered, 122 have been completed for the army, and

142 for the navy. Four have been shipped overseas. Some of those already delivered are being altered to overcome the defects ascertained during the last few weeks. It is understood, however, that these alterations will consume but a very short time.

The production of Liberty motors to date is, of course, gravely disappointing. The Government officials having the manufacture of the Liberty motor in charge have made the mistake of leading the public and the allied nations to the belief that many thousands of these motors would be completed in the Spring of 1918.

The production of combat planes in the United States for use in actual warfare has thus far been a substantial failure and constitutes a most serious disappointment in our war preparations. We had no design of our own; neither did we adopt any one of the European designs until months after we entered the war. In all, five types, at one time or another, have been adopted. Two of them have been abandoned after the expenditure of much time and money. The three remaining types still left upon our program are now in the course of manufacture. Of these the largest and most powerful is the Handley-Page heavy bombing machine, designed to carry as many as six men, eight machine guns, and a heavy load of bombs, and to be driven by two Liberty motors. The testimony before your committee shows that the Signal Corps finally decided upon the manufacture of a number of sets of parts of this machine about Jan. 1, 1918. Officials of the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps testify that they do not expect the completion of the first set of parts in this country before June, 1918.

Another type of combat plane, known as the De Haviland, is included in our program. This machine habitually carries two men, four machine guns, a moderate load of bombs and other apparatus and is driven by one Liberty motor. Fifteen have been completed; one has been shipped to France; the remaining fourteen have been very recently completed in this country.

The third type upon the program is known as the Bristol fighter. This machine is lighter and faster than the De Haviland. Its speed is expected to be in the neighborhood of 125 miles per hour. It is what is known as a reconnoissance machine. Another term which might be properly applied to it is "defensive fighter." It carries two men, four machine guns, and is driven by one Liberty motor. The decision to make this type was reached on Nov. 7, 1917. The manufacturers completed the first of these machines during the week ended March 30, 1918. The machine was tested once during that week with a Liberty motor, and, according to the testimony of the aviation officials, met its preliminary test successfully. This machine, a few hours after its flight, caught fire while standing upon the aviation ground and was entirely destroyed. The officials of the Signal Corps assured the committee that another machine would soon be finished by the manufacturer, and that if it met the tests satisfactorily quantity production might be expected within a reasonable period.

In addition to the American production of engines and airplanes as herein set forth, considerable orders for combat airplanes and engines were last Summer placed with European manufacturers by General Pershing, and we have furnished quantities of material and numbers of mechanics to aid in their construction.

Your committee is convinced that much of the delay in producing completed combat airplanes is due to ignorance of the art and to failure to organize the effort in such a way as to centralize authority and bring about quick decision.

Further light is thrown on the production of aircraft for the American Army by the minority report. One passage reads:

Soon after the war began the Signal Corps arranged with the French Government for the making of 6,100 combat planes at a total cost of $127,000,000, the planes to be produced as rapidly as American fliers could be trained to operate them. As the American aero squadrons reach the front ready for duty, battle planes are being supplied them under this arrangement. To aid in this foreign manufacture of planes for American fliers, the Signal Corps has shipped to France 11,000 tons of various materials and has sent 7,000 mechanics to release, for French factories making planes for our American fliers, the French workers on motor transports. The Signal Corps then arranged for the making of about 11,500 combat planes in the United States, the term combat plane being here used to embrace all kinds of planes, both offensive and defensive, except training planes.

Let it be said here that when the war began the United States Government had purchased altogether less than 200 airplanes in its entire history, and that of the few airplane factories in this country probably not one was making over five or six a month. It is hardly possible to grasp the magnitude of the task the factories contracting to make the 11,500 combat planes found before them.

America's First Year of War

An Anniversary Summary

APRIL 6, 1918, marked the first anniversary of the participation of the United States in the European War. The period was primarily one of preparation. If America did little actual fighting in the first year, it nevertheless achieved a great deal both in strengthening the cause of the Allies and in getting ready to play its own part on the battlefields of Europe. The increase in the war strength of the army is shown in the following figures:

APRIL, 1917	Officers.	Men.
Regulars	5,791	121,797
National Guard	3,733	76,713
Reserve Corps	....	4,000
National Army	....	....
Total	9,524	202,510

APRIL, 1918	Officers.	Men.
Regulars	10,698	503,142
National Guard	16,893	431,583
Reserve Corps	96,210	77,360
National Army	....	516,839
Total	123,801	1,528,924

Of these 1,652,725 officers and men, several hundred thousand were already in Europe in April, either in training camps or on the battle front. "Over 100,000" was the figure given by General Pershing when he announced the number of adequately trained, fully equipped American troops that were immediately available for use in the battle of Picardy. The War Department had announced its expectation of having 1,500,000 American soldiers in the war zone before the end of 1918. The progress of training in the camps in the United States was unexpectedly rapid, and at the close of the first twelve months our troops were going across the Atlantic as fast as transportation could be provided.

General Pershing and his staff arrived in France on June 15, 1917, and less than a month later the first division of American troops followed him. Exactly 187 days after the United States declared war the first American soldiers were in the trenches. The first contingents were ordered abroad well in advance of the time intended, or expected, when war was declared.

LABORS IN FRANCE

The preliminary labors in France necessitated by the presence of an ever-increasing army were both diverse and herculean. Docks had to be constructed, railways built and equipped and cantonments, hospitals, and a base constructed. American engineers went into the French forests and there did the work of the pioneers of the American Northwest, cutting down trees to build the permanent camps which were to replace the temporary cities. They built a railroad 600 miles long from the points of disembarkation to the operating base. The rolling stock it carried was all shipped across the ocean from the United States.

All this was accomplished with great rapidity. An army locomotive, for example, was built in twenty-one days and shipped to the expeditionary forces. In a few weeks after the first departures there were urgent calls for other locomotives, for cars, trucks, logging trains, sectional buildings to be assembled on arrival. All these took many ships and appreciably delayed the transport of men. There was sent everything from fabricated ironwork for buildings and trestles to nails and crossties for the railroads. Among the items of construction is an ordnance base costing $25,000,000. Most of this preliminary work was approaching completion as the first year ended. Much of it is finished

American troops occupy trench sectors of their own in the line northwest of Toul, and in the neighborhood of Verdun. They have taken up positions also in other sectors, and the main body is operating with the Allies in opposing the German advance. Casualties in the first

year of war reached a total of 2,368, distributed as follows:

Killed in battle	163
Died of disease or accident	957
Lost at sea	237
Died of wounds	52
Other causes	47
Missing and prisoners	63
Wounded	829
Total	2,368

RAISING THE NEW ARMIES

Most remarkable in the preparations for the struggle was the method of raising the new armies, namely, conscription. With comparatively little opposition the selective draft law was passed by Congress barely five weeks after the declaration of war, and three weeks later 9,600,000 young men were registered for military service. By June 30 the 4,000 local draft boards were ready to begin the task of examination and exemption. Sixteen cantonments, small cities in themselves, were already under construction in various parts of the country for the reception of the drafted men. Ninety days after this work began the initial groups of the first national army were on their way to these camps. In a steady stream since then the men have been called up, organized into military formations, and put under intensive training.

The first half million are now ready and are being sent across the ocean, to complete their training within the war zone and take their place on the battle front. As fast as the camps are emptied new men are being summoned to refill them, new battalions formed, and new forces sent forward. Another 800,000 unmarried men without direct dependents are under notice to report for duty.

The cost of raising the army under the selective draft law has been only 54 cents per registrant, $1.69 per man called up, and $4.93 per man accepted for service.

With the national army there have also been made available the 450,000 men of the National Guard, who meantime have been mustered into the Federal service and trained under their own officers. Of these three divisions, the Rainbow, (so called because almost every State in the Union is represented in its composition,) the New England, and the Sunset (Far Western) Divisions have already gone abroad, and the first two have won honorable mention in the battle zone.

TRAINING NEW OFFICERS

The National Guard had its own officers. There was none, however, to spare for the national army. The regular military establishment could provide only a handful. Two classes at West Point were graduated in advance of the usual time, but they were not enough to affect the situation. The new army was, therefore, provided with carefully selected, specially trained officers, chosen by merit rather than on the old system of political appointments, by the general adoption of the Plattsburg training camp system, initiated in 1915. When war was declared there were already in the United States some 20,000 graduates of the Plattsburg, Fort Oglethorpe, and other training camps, who had undergone at least one month's intensive military training, supplemented by military studies when out of camp.

The Plattsburg organization was taken over by the War Department, and a series of sixteen training camps for officers, in which most of the earlier Plattsburg graduates were commissioned as subaltern and company officers, was opened at advantageous points, and continued until the middle of August, 1917. Of 40,203 candidates enrolled in these camps 27,341 qualified for commissions. Sufficient officers were thus at the cantonments to receive and command the national army when the men arrived. A second series of officers' training camps was begun in August, to add to the line and staff. Approximately 23,000 candidates attended, of whom 17,237 obtained commissions. Many who failed have since been enlisted and appointed noncommissioned officers in the national army. A third series was instituted in January, 1918, to create an officers' reserve force. Only enlisted men were admitted, except for a limited number of students who had received military training in schools under army officers during the last ten years. About 18,000

are in attendance, and the problem of officering the new armies has practically been solved.

PROVIDING THE GUNS

When war was declared, the Army Ordnance Department had ninety-seven officers. It now has 5,000 in America and abroad, and in the first year of the war had spent $4,756,500,000. To its peace-time task of administering eleven small Government arsenals has been added the problem of getting quick production of shells of all calibres, rifles, ammunition, grenades, and bombs from some 1,400 private manufacturing establishments. It has acquired a total of 2,475,219 square feet of storage space, has 2,701,880 square feet more under construction, and requires 23,000,000 square feet altogether to store its supplies. It has miles of railroad sidings, all inclosed, including 50 miles of track especially built, and it handles 10,000 carloads of explosives a month, with the total steadily increasing. The complexity of the Ordnance Department's task may be seen in the fact that the number of items made and supplied to the troops totals about 100,000, ranging from the small firing pin of a rifle to a complete 16-inch gun and emplacement, or a motor truck or tractor. Reserves of all these spare parts must be maintained and ready for distribution.

The Ordnance Department has had to create organizations, build new plants, finance them and to design as well as to manufacture not only the weapons themselves, but thousands of tools, gauges, and jigs required for their manufacture. For instance, the French Government offered the secret of the recoil mechanism in the carriages of its famous .75 guns. To manufacture these it was necessary to machine steel castings so accurately that they will not be off two-thousandths of an inch in a distance of more than six feet.

BUILDING NEW PLANTS

Never had machinery been built in the United States to work on so large a scale with such a degree of accuracy. The Ordnance Department had to persuade manufacturers to undertake this difficult work, to assist them financially to build a thirteen-acre plant, to purchase and manufacture $6,000,000 worth of special tools, and develop an organization to do this. The contract was signed on Nov. 1, 1917, and today the plant is completed and is turning out the recoil mechanisms.

The Nitrate Division has under construction two plants for the manufacture of powder, costing $45,000,000 each.

The Ordnance Department itself has provided for the army 1,400,000 rifles, has brought the production of them up to 45,000 a week, or enough to equip three army divisions; has secured deliveries on 17,000 machine guns and brought the rate of production of them from 20,000 to 225,000 a year. It has increased the rate of production of field guns, heavy and light, from 1,500 to 15,000 a year, and is manufacturing 35,000 motor trucks and tractors to haul them and their ammunition. It has remodeled the British Enfield rifle so that it can be produced in quantities to take American ammunition and adopted two new types of machine guns, the Browning, heavy and light.

The United States entered the war resolved to win supremacy in the air. Congress adopted an appropriation of $640,000,000, in addition to $15,000,000 already granted, to provide the best airplane service possible. The best motor engineers in the country combined their talents to provide a motor, and the result of their efforts was the Liberty motor, asserted to be superior to anything used by any army air corps. Delivery of the new motors in quantity has been delayed by various causes. But the initial difficulties have been solved and quantity production of battle planes, as well as of training planes, is expected during the Summer of 1918. While there are more than seventy different types of airplane motors on the western allied front, the United States is relying on a single standardized type, greatly reducing the ratio of forty-seven men required on the ground by foreign service for every man in the air.

Colossal work has been done by the Quartermaster Corps, which supplies al-

most everything that a soldier needs, except ammunition; which transports those supplies as well as the soldier, feeds him, clothes him, and provides him with shelter. The war found the Quartermaster General's office without funds, Congress having adjourned without voting the Army Appropriation bill. But it tided over the interval until money was forthcoming. It has since spent $2,789,-684,778, has clothed the draft armies and fed them, supplied the oversea forces with the million things they need, and there are at present few complaints of its work. The details are seen in columns of figures all running into millions.

In this first year the Quartermaster Corps has spent $60,000,000 for horse-drawn vehicles and harness, more than $50,000,000 for horses, mules, and harness, and now estimates it will need for fuel and forage alone more than half a billion dollars.

ARMY MEDICAL CORPS

In preparation for large numbers of wounded and invalided men, the Medical Corps of the army has enlisted doctors and nurses by the thousand. In addition to the work being done for the Red Cross, which is a separate institution, the Army Medical Corps has enlarged its personnel from 8,000 to 106,-000, including orderlies, stretcher bearers, and ambulance drivers. Its 900 doctors before the war are now increased to 18,000. It had 375 army nurses a year ago; now it has 7,000. It had no ambulance service; now it has 6,000 drivers in training. Reconstruction institutions are being provided in the United States on a more comprehensive scale than any other nation at war has attempted. Already a few wounded soldiers are being reconstructed at Medical Corps hospitals so as to be able to support themselves now that they are blind or crippled. Professional men, nurses, and attendants from our most noted civil reconstruction hospitals have been added to the personnel of the Medical Corps for this work.

The hundreds of thousands of men taken from civil life into the army are now showing a death rate from disease below that of men of military age in civil life.

WORK OF THE NAVY

The navy was ready and began to take part in the war even before the formal declaration, for as early as March 12, 1917, in response to the President's order, it began arming American merchantmen and fighting their battles. Meantime, the navy gathered in recruits and set about building ships and getting in supplies ready for the more important work which followed when the nation was actually at war. At present there are 150 warships, including battleships, with 35,000 personnel, in the war zone.

In a year the navy has more than trebled its personnel. As a beginning it called up its own reserves and also the National Naval Volunteers and the Coast Guard. The following figures show the increased personnel:

APRIL, 1917

	Officers.	Men.
Regular Navy	4,366	64,680
*Naval Reserves	....	10,000
Naval Volunteers	....	10,069
*Coast Guard	....	4,500
Marine Corps	426	13,266
Total	4,792	102,515

APRIL, 1918

	Officers.	Men.
Regular Navy	7,798	192,385
*Naval Reserves	10,033	79,069
Naval Volunteers	805	15,000
*Coast Guard	639	4,250
Marine Corps	1,389	38,629
Total	20,664	329,333

*Approximately.

On May 4, twenty-eight days after the declaration of war, United States destroyers arrived at a British port to assist in patrolling European waters, and on the following day Admiral Sims attended an allied war conference at Paris. The first of the regular armed forces of the United States to land in France were units of the naval aeronautic corps. They arrived on June 8. The first contingent of the army transported and convoyed by the navy was landed safely at a French port early in July. Night and day since then American warships have convoyed transports and supplies across the Atlantic and brought the ships safely

back. Only one empty transport in its care has succumbed to an enemy attack, and only two naval vessels have been sunk by enemy U-boats—the destroyer Jacob Jones, torpedoed Dec. 6, and the patrol vessel Alcedo, a converted yacht, sunk Nov. 5, 1917. The small destroyer Chauncey was sunk in collision with a British transport. The Cassin was torpedoed, but reached port under her own steam, was repaired, and returned to service. Casualties in the navy have been 144 killed or died and 10 wounded; total, 154.

NAVAL AUXILIARIES

At first there was a shortage of the small vessels required for minor naval duties. Some 800 craft of various kinds have been taken over and converted into the types needed, thus providing the large number of vessels required for transports, patrol service, submarine chasers, mine sweepers, mine layers, tugs, and other auxiliaries. Hundreds of submarine chasers have been built besides the new destroyers put into service. There are now four times as many vessels in the naval service as there were a year ago. The destroyer fleet now building in record time is at least as large a fleet of this type of craft as England is believed to have.

The United States battle fleet has grown to twice the size of the peace-time fleet. As schools in gunnery and engineering they are training thousands of gunners and engineers required for the hundreds of vessels added to the navy and the many merchantmen furnished with arms and gun crews. Target practice in past years had been devoted mainly to practice with the big guns. Special attention during the past year has been devoted to the guns of smaller calibre, effective against submarines.

When war was declared there were under construction, or about to be started, 123 new naval vessels:

Battleships	15
Battle cruisers	6
Scout cruisers	7
Destroyers	27
Submarines	61
Fuel ships	2
Supply ship	1
Transport	1
Gunboat	1
Hospital ship	1
Ammunition ship	1

Most of these have now been completed and the few remaining are well under way. Meantime contracts have been placed for 949 new vessels, including submarine chasers designed here which have done good service. Altogether there have been added to the navy since April 6, 1917, vessels to the number of 1,275, aggregating 1,055,116 tons.

When the Government seized the 109 German-owned ships lying in American ports, the German engineers believed that their vessels had been damaged beyond repair for a year at least. Within six months the ships were in running order and have since carried numbers of American troops and huge quantities of supplies to the fighting lines in France. The damage was repaired by navy artificers and engineers under the jurisdiction of naval officers.

BUILDING NEW SHIPS

The vital question of shipping was assigned early in the year to the United States Shipping Board, now headed by E. N. Hurley, while the Emergency Fleet Corporation, since made subordinate to the board, was intrusted with the execution of the building program. Congress appropriated $1,135,000,000 for this purpose, and on March 1, 1918, $353,247,000 of this sum had been spent. Friction and consequent delay, however, at the outset caused vital changes in the composition of the Shipping Board. General Goethals, manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, resigned after a controversy with Mr. Denman, the first Chairman of the Shipping Board, over the comparative merits of wooden and steel ships. There have been other causes—labor troubles, lack of material, and of building facilities, of which America had few.

Meantime the seized German ships, with an aggregate of more than 700,000 tons dead weight to manage, have been put in service, vessels under construction in private shipyards have been commandeered and completed, and at least three new ships planned and constructed

by the Shipping Board have been finished and are now at sea. The seizure of 150,000 tons of Dutch shipping in American ports has further added to the Government's immediate resources, while an agreement with Japan has made another 200,000 tons of shipping available.

America's shipping industry had run down, until in the year before war was declared the total output of shipyards in the United States was only 250,000 tons. The Shipping Board drew up a program to construct 8,164,508 tons of steel ships, 1,145 ships in all, and 490 wooden ships, with a total tonnage of 1,715,000. Only a small part of this enormous total could be constructed in the first year of the war with the shipyard facilities available, and it has been necessary to build new shipyards on an enormous scale. Volunteer shipworkers have been enlisted from all quarters, and in April, 1918, work was proceeding at 150 shipyards in various parts of the country.

The following figures show the actual number of ships put into the water since the Shipping Board took control of the situation:

Steel ships requisitioned on ways, completed by Emergency Fleet Corporation and now in service	85
Steel ships requisitioned on ways, turned back to former owners and now completed and in service	15
Steel ships requisitioned on ways, hulls of which have been launched	65
Steel ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation which have been completed and put into service	6
Steel ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation, hulls of which have been launched	9
Wooden ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation, hulls of which have been launched	11
Total	188
Steel ships requisitioned which are now actually in service	100
Steel ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation now actually in service	3
Total	103

By April, 1918, the Government has been able to put 2,762,605 tons of shipping into the transatlantic service to carry men and munitions to France.

FINANCING THE WAR

The United States has been a great financial factor since entering the war. The Government lent to the Allies on the security of their bonds $4,436,329,750. For America's own expenses Congress has already authorized $2,034,000,000, of which one item alone, merchant shipping, accounted for more than $1,000,000,000. The total expenses in the first year were more than $9,800,000,000, but about $800,000,000 of this went for normal activities not connected with the war, so that its total cost has been about $9,000,000,000, of which more than $4,000,000,000 has been in loans to the Allies. Expenditures for aircraft alone have amounted to more than $600,000,000. Naval appropriations, made and pending, are more than $3,000,000,000; the War Department has taken $7,464,771,756. The army's annual payroll now exceeds $500,000,000 and the navy's $125,000,000, and these items are trifling compared with the cost of ships, ordnance, munitions, airplanes, motor trucks, and supplies of every kind, to say nothing of food. Allotments and allowances to soldiers' and sailors' dependents paid by the Government in the month of February alone amounted to $19,976,543.

Bonds, certificates of indebtedness, War Savings Certificates, and Thrift Stamps issued by the Treasury up to March 12 totaled $8,560,802,052.96. To meet expenses the Government has successfully floated two Liberty Loans with total subscriptions of $6,616,532,300, and on April 6, 1918, the first anniversary of America's entrance into the war, a third loan campaign for $3,000,000,000 was begun.

TAXES AND PRICES

The income tax has been greatly increased and the exemption limit lowered. New taxes have been imposed on corporate and individual profits, all profits arising out of the war have been penalized, and the old levies greatly increased. War taxes, customs duties, and internal revenue collections have brought in nearly $1,500,000,000. While the greater part of the war income and excess profits taxes are not due until June, the Treas-

ury had collected in internal revenue taxes a total of $566,267,000 to March 12, 1918, and had sold $1,255,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness, which are receivable in payment of internal revenue taxes.

The Government has taken possession of and is operating all enemy-owned enterprises. At the same time, through a Federal Farm Loan Bureau, assistance is being given to farmers at reasonable rates of interest in providing the means for raising crops, needed in greater abundance than ever to feed the army and navy and civilian population and the peoples of the allied countries.

One of the first acts of the Administration after the declaration of war was aimed at putting a curb on the rising prices of the necessities of life. Herbert C. Hoover was appointed National Food Administrator, and after long delay his appointment was confirmed by the Senate. It was criticised, but Mr. Hoover has succeeded not only in bringing down the price of such necessaries as wheat, flour, sugar, coffee, meat, and lard, but by various devices and appeals to public sentiment has brought about a voluntary reduction of consumption and a consequent great increase in the amounts of food which America has been able to send abroad.

FOOD PROBLEMS

When the present Food Administration was created in August, 1917, the 1917 crop, in so far as productiveness was concerned, had already been planted and partly harvested. The available foodstuffs it produced were not sufficient, on the basis of normal consumption, to feed the people dependent on it, and the question of conservation became paramount. So far, "wheatless days," "meatless days," and appeals for food conservation have tided the nation over a dangerous period. The fixing of prices under a Presidential proclamation has greatly aided, speculation in wheat has been wholly eliminated, and the prices of flour and bread have been stabilized at a reasonable level.

Hand in hand with food conservation has gone the gradual control of industry of all kinds in order to concentrate the nation's resources for the purposes of war. The prices of metals necessary to war industries have been brought down by negotiation. Coal and fuel oil are controlled by Government agents, and it is not believed that the suffering caused by the fuel scarcity during the Winter of 1917-18 can be repeated.

The Government has taken over control of the railways and a number of coastwise steamship lines. It now operates 260,000 miles of railway, employing 1,000,600 men, and representing investments of $17,500,000,000.

The War Trade Board, created for the purpose of cutting off supplies to Germany through the adjacent neutrals, has developed into a powerful economic weapon in the execution of the nation's war policy.

Five Million Soldiers' Garments Made by American Women

A recent bulletin of the American Red Cross contains a report showing that up to Feb. 1, 1918, this organization had supplied 3,431,067 sweaters, mufflers, wristlets, helmets, and socks to the soldiers and sailors of the United States. Of this total 1,189,469 articles were delivered to the fighting services in January of this year. Though official figures were not available for later months, it was estimated that the total to the end of March was in excess of 5,000,000 garments, all knit by American women for the Red Cross. The same bulletin reported the distribution of 5,000,000 francs contributed by Americans for the relief of those French soldier families which have suffered most from the war.

War Department's Improved System

Summary by Benedict Crowell

Assistant Secretary of War

A year of war has changed the United States War Department from a military group to a closely organized business concern. The vast difference between its methods at the time of our entry into the war and at the beginning of our second year of hostilities is summarized in the appended statement and chart, which were given to THE NEW YORK TIMES *by Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, in March, 1918. Mr. Crowell is one of the business experts called into the department last Autumn to reorganize it. In describing the changes made he said:*

A YEAR ago there were eleven officers, all strictly military men, and about 1,000 privates in the aircraft work. Now in that branch of the war business we have thousands of officers and 100,000 men. But 96 per cent. of those officers are trained business men and engineers from big civil enterprises. Most of them are in military uniform, but that is merely a matter of form that does not go to the substance of the business.

The great military work of America, the work of the soldiers, is being done in France. In this country we have settled down to the purely business undertaking of producing men and material out of which to form the armies.

This chart (here reproduced) shows the latest readjustment of General Staff functions and activities. A very significant change from what used to be is indicated in that line of rectangles under the Chief of Staff, each one representing an Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of a major division of the war work. These divisions, indicated on the chart by the words "storage and traffic," "purchases and supplies," &c., used to be committees, in which every vital question had to be settled by a vote, with lesser officers having as much power in the matter as their chiefs. Now the Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of one of those divisions, which is no longer a committee, has power to act on his own initiative. His subordinates in the division are his expert advisers on the various problems which he must decide, thus eliminating criticisms in the earlier period of the war that too much time was lost in getting decisions.

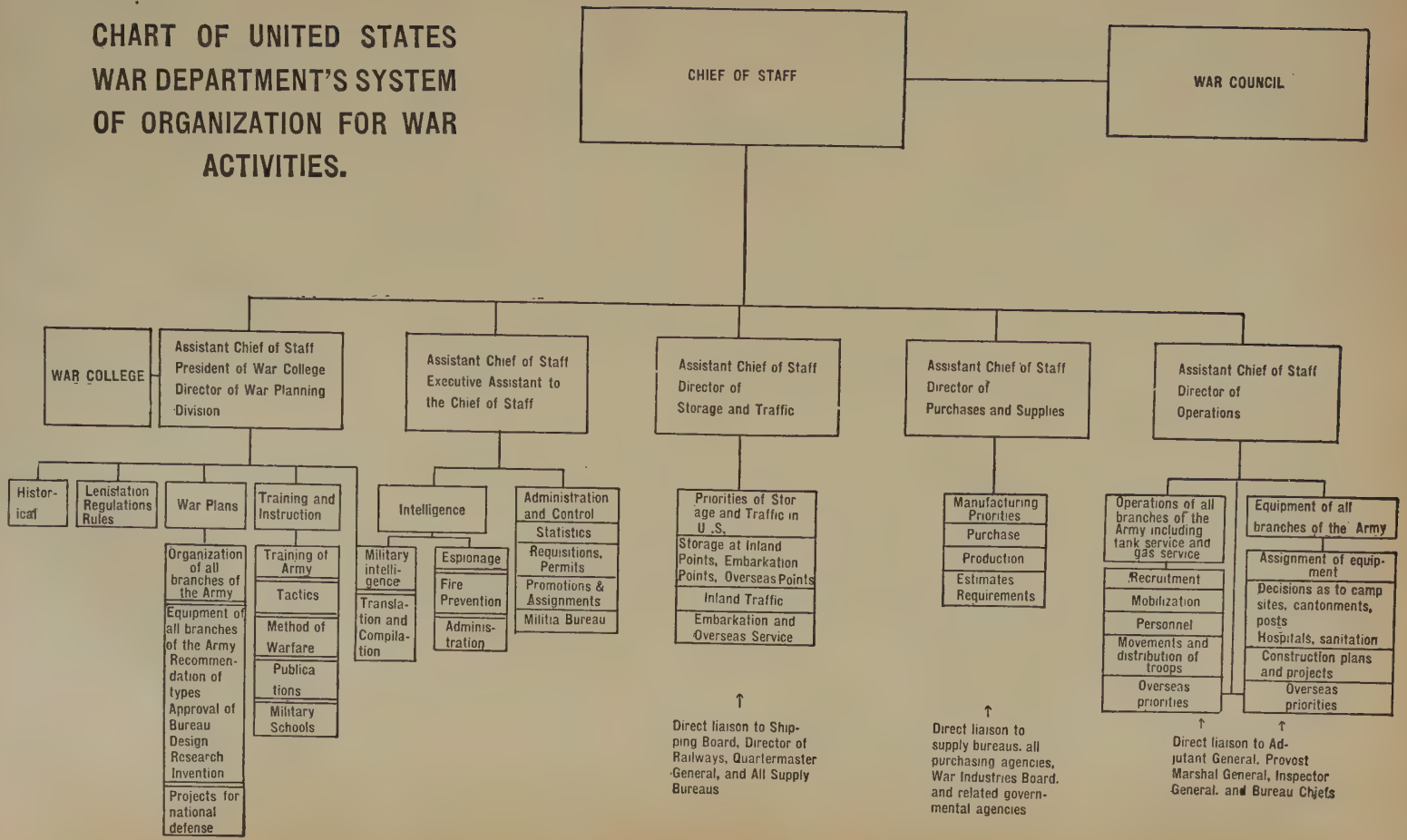
One of the modifications that may be made in this chart of the General Staff in the near future will have to do with that division now in charge of General Pierce, the Assistant Chief of Staff, who is director of purchases and supplies and has authority over manufacturing priorities, purchases, and production based on estimates and requirements. That division, which now leads direct into the office of the Chief of Staff, may later on be short-circuited around the Chief of Staff direct to the office of a new Assistant Secretary of War in so far as its problems have to do with purchases or industrial facilities.

A bill creating two additional Secretaries of War has been passed by Congress. One of these assistants will have to do with social and welfare activities for the benefit of the troops. The other will deal exclusively with purchases and supplies, and the division of the General Staff now under General Pierce will be made a part of it.

The direct lines of connection on this chart are as interesting and as promising as anything else about it. They indicate smooth-working co-ordination and perfected team work. For example, the line of liaison from the division of purchases and supplies is to all supply bureaus and purchasing agencies of the army, to the War Industries Board, and all related Government agencies.

Further co-operation of the War Department, reorganized on a business basis, with those organizations vital to

CHART OF UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT'S SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION FOR WAR ACTIVITIES.



the movement of all equipment to troops here and abroad, is shown by the liaison line from the Director of Storage and Traffic. That line connects the storage and traffic business of the War Department directly with the Shipping Board, the Director General of Railways, and the Quartermaster General.

Major Gen. Goethals is the Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of storage and traffic, and, as such, has full control over all priority of both storage and traffic at and to inland, embarkation, and overseas points. General Goethals is also still acting as Quartermaster General, a place now not so vital under the reorganization as his office of Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of storage and traffic.

The War Council was created because it was necessary to have a group of experts in the War Department who would have time to study. Up to the time of its organization there had been little time to think about big problems and do nothing else. Everybody was rushed with some form of executive or administrative work.

This council is in session every day and is one of the most effective war agencies that the Government has. There is no man on it who does not bring to its deliberations and conclusions some vital contribution to the welfare of the country and the army. It consists of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, General March, Acting Chief of the General Staff; General Crowder, Judge Advocate General and Provost Marshal General of the Army, one of the nation's great lawyers, who is devoting his life to the military welfare of his country; Generals Crozier, Sharpe, Weaver, and Pierce, and Charles Day, an able engineer drafted from the Shipping Board to render expert counsel to the War Department as a member of its War Council.

The Surgeon General's Great Organization

By Caswell A. Mayo

[This account of the first year's work of the United States War Department in mobilizing the medical talent of the nation was prepared in March, 1918, for THE NEW YORK TIMES, publishers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IN April, 1917, the executive offices of the Surgeon General of the United States Army occupied four rooms in the great War, State and Navy Building at Washington, and the functions of the office were performed by six officers and twenty clerks. Now there are attached to the Sugeon General's office 165 officers, who employ 545 clerks, and the staff fills five entire buildings and parts of other buildings, exclusive of the Surgeon General's library, the Army Medical Museum, and the Army Medical School. Within a day 6,000 telegrams and 5,000 other communications have been received, replied to, and filed. The latest and most approved systems of filing records and correspondence have been installed under expert supervision, for the Surgeon General has called to his aid specialists in other fields as well as in the field of medicine. He has called chemists and statisticians, bankers and efficiency engineers, sanitarians and electrical experts, architects and engineers, and assigned them to duty in his office.

The Surgeon General himself, Major Gen. W. C. Gorgas, was appointed to the office in recognition of the invaluable services rendered by him as Chief Sanitary Officer of the Panama Canal Zone. The story of his work there in protecting the laborers in the Panama Canal from infectious diseases is one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of American medicine. Without that work the efforts of Goethals would have been as fruitless and as costly in lives and money as those of De Lesseps. The Surgeon General's still greater task now is to provide against every emergency

which may affect the health and lives of millions of men taken from the fields, the farms, the factories, and the counting houses of the country, gathered into camps for organization and sent across 3,000 miles of ocean. He must know how many men will be taken sick, and where. He must know how many men will be wounded, and where, and he must have at those points adequate provision of expert surgeons and enlisted men, of medical and of surgical supplies, of food and of clothing, of housing and of transportation, so that at no time will any American soldier be sick without succor, or lie wounded without aid.

In carrying out this gigantic task the Surgeon General has mobilized the medical forces of the country, calling into his office the leaders in every specialty of medicine and of surgery. At their desks as early as 7 o'clock in the morning will be found medical specialists whose professional incomes are written in five and six figures, but who have abandoned these incomes for the modest pay of a Major, who have given up their luxurious homes for a Washington boarding house, and who, instead of enjoying a well-earned leisure, toil ceaselessly from early morning until late at night in their efforts to co-ordinate most effectively the work of the doctors in the war. It is for the purpose of doing justice to the attainments of these men that General Gorgas is advocating scores of new commissions of high rank in the national army.

Every morning at 7:30 the Surgeon General's truck delivers his mail at the Mills Building, at Seventeenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, in which are situated the central executive offices. The mail is distributed and on the desks of the officers for final disposition not later than 9:15. Within twelve working hours practically every communication received will have been acted upon and returned to permanent files. Here, as in every other phase of the work, a specialist has been employed, Captain J. L. Gooch having been called from his position as subscription manager for the Butterick Company to organize the office routine. The most approved mechanical devices, including statistical machines, have been installed under Captain Gooch's direction.

A complete medical history is kept of every soldier and of every officer from the time he enters the service until he retires, resigns, or dies. A special fireproof building is now being erected which will be devoted exclusively to the care of these records, the preservation of which may be a matter of vital importance fifty years hence.

Attached to the Surgeon General's office are three representatives of the Royal Army Medical Corps of Great Britain—Colonel T. H. Goodwin, C. M. G., D. S. O.; Captain John Gilmour of the Royal Army Medical Corps, and Lieut. Col. J. J. Aitken of the Royal Veterinary Corps—and two representatives of the French Army Medical Service—Colonel C. U. Dercle and Major Edouard Rist. These four surgeons act as liaison officers, keeping the Medical Department of the United States Army in touch with the medical services of Great Britain and France. They have made many informing addresses to medical societies all over the United States and have given lectures at the Army Medical School.

The immediate staff of the Surgeon General comprises his personal aid, Major M. C. Furbush, M. R. C., of Philadelphia; Colonel George E. Bushnell, M. C., (Medical Corps of the regular army;) Colonel Deane C. Howard, M. C., and Lieut. Col. James V. Van Dusen, M. C. Colonel Bushnell, besides being chief assistant to the Surgeon General, has devoted his special attention to the field in which he has won a unique reputation, that of the treatment of tuberculosis.

General Gorgas has enlisted the co-operation of the leading surgeons of the United States as members of the "Rotary Surgical Staff." Among those Medical Reserve Corps officers who have already served for a period at the Surgeon General's office and who are still subject to call from time to time as occasion requires are Major William J. Mayo, former President, and his brother, Major Charles H. Mayo, now President of the American Medical Association.

The work of the Surgeon General's office is divided up among seventeen general main divisions. The work of each division is practically independent of the others, though the work of all is co-ordinated. At the head of each of these divisions is an expert in that particular field, usually a medical officer of the regular army, who has around him a group of expert associates, many of whom are drawn from civil life.

On April 1, 1917, there were 700 medical officers and about 10,000 enlisted men in the Medical Department of the United States Army. There are now more than 17,000 medical officers in active service and about 150,000 enlisted men in the Medical Department.

War Work of the American Red Cross

Summary of a Year's Activities

[Data Furnished by Red Cross Headquarters, Washington, D. C.]

PRESIDENT WILSON, as President of the American Red Cross, on May 10, 1917, appointed a War Council of seven members to direct the work of the organization in the extraordinary emergency created by the entrance of the United States into the war. The original appointees were Henry P. Davison, Chairman, of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York; Charles D. Norton, Vice President First National Bank, New York; Major Grayson M. P. Murphy, Vice President Guaranty Company, New York; Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., of Bliss, Fabyan & Co., New York, and Edward N. Hurley, Chicago.

Mr. Hurley resigned from the War Council when he was appointed Chairman of the Shipping Board, and was succeeded by John D. Ryan, President of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. Major Murphy, after organizing the Red Cross work in Europe, resigned to re-enter the United States Army, and was succeeded on the council by Harvey D. Gibson, President of the Liberty National Bank of New York, who has been the General Manager of the Red Cross since it began its war activities. Mr. Norton resigned in the Spring of 1918, and was succeeded by George B. Case of the law firm of White and Case, New York, who previously had been legal adviser to the War Council.

The first war fund campaign took place the week of June 18, 1917, which was designated "Red Cross Week" by a proclamation of President Wilson. The Finance Committee, which had charge of the campaign, was headed by Cleveland H. Dodge of New York; Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo was the fund Treasurer. One hundred million dollars was the mark set, and the week's contributions ran slightly above that figure.

At the establishment of the Red Cross organization on a war basis its membership was approximately 500,000. Six months later there were, in round numbers, 5,000,000 members, and the number of chapters had increased from 562 to 3,287. The "Christmas Membership Drive," during the week ended with Christmas Eve, 1917, swelled the membership rolls to more than 23,000,000.

In the period between the birthday anniversaries of Lincoln and Washington—Feb. 12-22, 1918—the school children of the country were brought into the Junior Red Cross organization.

Immediately following the war organization and the raising of the first war fund commissions were sent to the various countries in Europe where war was in progress. Major Grayson M. P. Murphy was appointed General Commissioner for Europe and assumed direct charge of the commission to France, where the greater burden of American Red Cross work has fallen. The commission to France reached Paris during June. Eighteen men constituted the original working force. From this nucleus there developed before the end of the year an organization that oper-

ated all the way from Sicily up the whole western front and into Great Britain.

MILLIONS FOR FRENCH RELIEF

Appropriations from the Red Cross war fund to March 1, 1918, including those to cover budgets to April 30, totaled $77,721,918.22. Of this amount sums aggregating $30,936,103.04 were for relief work in France. A chain of warehouses has been established behind the lines all the way across France, from the coast to Switzerland. The greatest motor transport organization there is in the world, outside of those actually operated by the armies, also has been developed. The workers actually engaged in the organization in France number more than 3,000, a large percentage of them being volunteers who are serving without financial compensation, and most of them paying their own expenses as well.

Relief work in France is divided between a Department of Military Affairs and a Department of Civil Affairs. The former department, in addition to maintaining a hospital supply service that provides for 3,800 hospitals, a surgical dressings service that turns out and distributes hundreds of thousands of dressings every week, and three American Red Cross military hospitals, has concentrated a large amount of attention on canteen work, in the interest of both the American and French Armies.

Twelve canteens at the front have been in operation for the French Army, and recently the same service was installed to supply coffee and refreshments to American soldiers in the trenches. It is likely that the twelve canteens will be increased to forty. The record of the front line canteens for a five month period was 700,000 soldiers served. In line of communication canteens, located at railroad junction points, eighty-eight American women workers have served an average of 20,000 soldiers daily. At the metropolitan canteens, in Paris, more than 3,000,000 soldiers have been served since the American Red Cross entered this field of work.

Preliminary to the arrival of the American expeditionary force in France, the American Red Cross did important work in improving the sanitary conditions in the zone which the United States troops were to occupy. This work is constantly kept up to meet the situation as the army abroad increases in size.

CIVILIAN RELIEF WORK

Civilian relief work in France has embraced a campaign against tuberculosis, care of refugees and repatriés, care of children, reconstruction and repair work in devastated areas and home service among the families of French soldiers. While much of the work in behalf of refugees has been done in the zones of comparative safety to which people have fled from the war areas, the German offensive launched in March found American Red Cross men in large numbers performing actual rescue work in villages that were under fire of the enemy. With the aid of the motor transport service, hundreds of noncombatants were removed to places of safety.

At Evian, on the Swiss border, a corps of workers has been maintained for several months, together with a children's hospital, disinfecting plant, &c., for the care and relief of the children and aged and infirm persons who have been sent back by the Germans from the occupied portions of France and Belgium at the rate of 1,000 or more a day.

Relief for the families of French soldiers has had for its object the double purpose of providing for the wants of the sick and destitute, and strengthening the morale of men at the front. In respect to the latter objective a success has been achieved which has called forth many expressions of praise from the highest French military and civil authorities. A gift of a lump sum of $1,000,000 for distribution among 50,000 needy families was one of the initial acts in this particular line of relief.

FOR WOUNDED AND PRISONERS

Minor Red Cross activities in France have included assistance in the care of mutilated soldiers, aid in re-educational work and care of the blind, and maintenance of plants for the manufacture of splints, anaesthetic, &c. An important

work in connection with the prosecution of medical research has been the carrying on of experiments to ascertain the cause of trench fever, which in point of wastage is responsible for more than any other sickness.

Since air raids on Paris and other French cities have become a regular feature, the American Red Cross has established a day-and-night service to respond to air raid alarms, perform rescue work, and remove the injured to the hospitals. On many occasions the effectiveness of this work has commanded widespread interest.

Among the newer developments is the establishment of a casualty service, for the gathering of detail information regarding American soldiers who are killed in battle, sick or wounded in the hospitals or taken prisoner by the enemy. The information collected is transmitted to relatives at home.

Prisoner relief is administered through a central office at Berne, Switzerland, where ample supplies of food are stored for shipment to German prison camps as the need requires. Recently plans were started to have emergency rations stored in prison camps, so that American prisoners could have the benefit of them on their arrival there. Through the arrangements made all prisoners in enemy camps will receive rations in plenty at frequent intervals, and special rations will be provided for invalids.

IMPORTANT WORK IN ITALY

Appropriations for relief work in Italy have totaled $3,588,826. Emergency relief work, rendered at a time when no permanent commission had been established in Italy, stands among the most notable of the Red Cross achievements of the first year of the war. When the Teuton hordes swept into the plains of Northern Italy in October, 1917, driving thousands of panic-stricken men, women, and children before them, American Red Cross veterans from France rushed into the breach, helped to stop the rout, relieved the acute distress, and contributed in no small measure to the saving of the country from complete subjugation. What the American Red Cross did for Italy in this crisis was made the subject of official commendation on various occasions, and elicited thanks from the King, Prime Minister, and other dignitaries. A most important result accomplished was the cementing of friendship for America on the part of the Italian people, who previously, largely through German propaganda, had been skeptical of the good faith of the United States in the war.

At the outset the American Consuls throughout Italy were supplied with money to afford emergency relief. Forty-eight carloads of supplies were dispatched to the scene from storehouses in France. Several sections of ambulances also were started from France. Soup kitchens were opened, from which the refugees were given the first food they had received since the flight from their homes. Transportation for the refugees was arranged from the north, warehouses were opened at central points, manufacture of surgical dressings was undertaken on a mammoth scale, hospitals for the concentration of contagious diseases were opened, and then, four days after the United States declared war against Austria, the first Red Cross ambulances left Milan for the Italian front, cheered by thousands of persons there and at all towns through which they passed.

By the time the permanent commission reached Rome, in the early Winter, a complete survey of the whole Italian situation had been made by experts and all the more serious emergencies had been met. The American Red Cross was able to supply great quantities of equipment to replace the stores that were lost when the Teuton drive destroyed upward of a hundred hospitals. The present relief work is being continued along the lines of the work in France.

BELGIAN RELIEF WORK

Belgian relief work has called for appropriations aggregating $2,086,131. There has been a program for improving conditions among the Belgian troops, and to provide recreation and medical service outside the scope of the Belgian war budget. The initial Red Cross gift was half a million francs to the Belgian Red

Cross, to be applied for the cost of the military hospital at Wolveringham. Contributions also have been made to the active field service of the army, in the form of surgical and medical equipment.

In civilian relief work in Belgium the American Red Cross placed its resources at the command of organizations already in the field to care for children and feeble persons, and get them away from the places of greatest danger. In order to have supplies ready at hand for emergencies twenty barrack warehouses were contracted for last Fall.

Special aid has been given to the schools and colonies for children. Establishment of health centres and a 250-bed hospital for the Belgian colony at Havre are among the other activities. A gift of 600,000 francs was made for the construction of a temporary village for refugees near Havre.

AIDING BRITISH WOUNDED

American Red Cross appropriations on account of work in Great Britain have amounted to $3,078,875. This includes two gifts of $953,000 and $1,193,125, respectively, to the British Red Cross and a gift of $500,000 to the Canadian Red Cross. The gifts to the British Red Cross will be used for relief and comforts to sick and wounded in hospitals, for the maintenance of auxiliary hospitals and convalescent homes in England, and for institutions for orthopedic and facial treatment and for general restorative work for disabled British soldiers. The British orthopedic hospitals serve as training schools for American surgeons. The gift to the Canadian Red Cross was given in recognition of the part Canada has played in the war. The money will be used to alleviate the suffering of wounded and sick Canadian soldiers.

The regular work of the American Red Cross in England includes the maintenance of a hospital at an English port for sick American soldiers and sailors, and support of a hospital at South Devon and of another for officers at Lancaster Gate, London.

Commissions have been maintained in Serbia, Rumania, and Russia, where relief has been administered according to the needs of the situation in each instance. In Rumania the active relief work was abandoned only when the Red Cross representatives were forced to leave the country following the Ukraine peace. At the present writing [April, 1918] a special commission, accompanied by several medical units, is on its way to take up relief work in Palestine.

The appropriations for Serbian relief have totaled $875,180.76; for Rumania, $2,676,368.76, and for Russia $1,243,845.07. All other foreign relief work, miscellaneous in character, has involved appropriations amounting to $3,576,300.

IN THE UNITED STATES

For camp service in the United States there was appropriated, up to March 1, a total of $6,451,150.86. The sweaters, helmets, socks, and other supplies and comforts for distribution to the army and navy had a value of $5,653,435.86.

There had been appropriated for Red Cross convalescent houses at camps and cantonments throughout the United States $512,000, and plans for additional houses and nurses' homes at the various camps will call for aggregate expenditures of about $1,750,000.

More than 19,000 graduate nurses have been supplied to the United States Army for service in this country and abroad by the Red Cross Nursing Service. A total of 25,000 must be supplied before the end of the present year to meet the needs of the growing army and the greater activities of the forces in France.

Fifty base hospital units have been organized, each unit consisting of twenty-two surgeons and dentists, sixty-five nurses, and 152 men of the enlisted reserve corps. Nineteen of these units are now in service in France. The Red Cross has supplied the personnel for ten other units.

Red Cross chapters have organized and are maintaining more than a thousand canteens at railroad stations to serve troops passing to and from camps and to ports of embarkation. In nearly every city, also, women's motor corps service has been established by volunteer workers. Throughout the country plans

have been made on an extensive scale to carry on home service in the interest of the families of soldiers who may need assistance, material or otherwise.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Although war activities required its greatest energies, the American Red Cross rendered prompt relief in cases of overwhelming disaster outside the war zones during the year. There were three major disasters, widely separated, in 1917. They were, respectively, the Tientsin flood, which made 1,000,000 people homeless and caused a crop and property loss amounting to $100,000,000; the Halifax explosion, which wrecked a large part of the city and resulted in the killing and maiming of thousands of persons, and the Guatemala earthquake, which caused destitution and disease, in addition to the property damage and the toll of death and injury.

In the case of the flood in China, the Red Cross cabled to the American Minister to draw for sums sufficient to meet emergency needs, and later assisted the Chinese Government in providing labor for 10,000 refugees for a period of several months. The appropriations for relief in connection with this disaster totaled $125,000.

Within a few hours after the extent of the Halifax disaster was known, special Red Cross trains left New York, Providence, and Boston for the scene, carrying tons of bedding, clothing, food, and medical supplies, as well as doctors, nurses, and experts in relief administration. Every anticipated need was provided for, and unlimited resources were pledged to the stricken city.

Urgent relief needs following the earthquake in Guatemala were met through the Guatemala Red Cross chapter, which purchased $100,000 worth of supplies from the Government stores in the Canal Zone. A shipload of medical, food, and other supplies was sent from New Orleans at the earliest possible moment, and a Medical Director was appointed to take charge of work on the ground. Expert workers and sanitary engineers also were dispatched from the United States to look after special phases of the situation.

An Example of U-Boat Brutality

One day in the first week of March, 1918, a small Belgian fishing smack was sighted by a German U-boat and was fired upon without the slightest warning. Her masts and sails were shot away, and the skipper was severely wounded. The smack carried a crew of only four men, three of whom entered their small boat and endeavored to persuade the skipper to come with them; but he was so badly injured that he refused to leave. He, however, urged his men to save their own lives. Meanwhile the submarine had come closer to its prey, and a German officer called to the men in the small boat to convey a couple of German sailors on board the smack, in order that they might sink her with bombs. The Germans proceeded to board the smack, and then, finding the wounded skipper, one of them drew his revolver and shot the helpless man dead through the head. The dastardly act was committed in full view of the Belgian fishermen, one of whom was the unfortunate skipper's son. Having placed their bombs in position, the Germans returned to the submarine and cast the remaining three Belgians adrift in their cockleshell of a boat without food or water, and with no means of reaching land, from the nearest point of which they were twenty miles distant. The unfortunate men suffered severely from cold and hunger before they were picked up by a British patrol boat.

Great Britain Faces a Crisis

Historic Speech by Premier Lloyd George on the Picardy Battle and Its Fateful Consequences

The British Government introduced a bill April 9, 1918, to raise the military age up to 50, and in special cases to 55, and to provide for conscription in Ireland. Premier David Lloyd George, in introducing the measure in the House of Commons, delivered an important address, in which he reviewed the battle of Picardy up to that time and gave interesting details of the conduct of the war in the preceding months. The address opened a new phase in the world conflict as affected by the posture of affairs in Great Britain. The full speech was sent by special cable to The New York Times and is reproduced herewith as a historic document of the war:

WE have now entered the most critical phase of this terrible war. There is a lull in the storm, but the hurricane is not over. Doubtless we must expect more fierce outbreaks, and ere it is finally exhausted there will be many more. The fate of the empire, the fate of Europe, and the fate of liberty throughout the world may depend on the success with which the very last of these attacks is resisted and countered.

The Government, therefore, propose to submit to Parliament today certain recommendations, in order to assist this country and the Allies to weather the storm. They will involve, I regret, extreme sacrifices on the part of large classes of the population, and nothing would justify them but the most extreme necessity and the fact that we are fighting for all that is essential and most sacred in our national life.

Before I come to the circumstances which led up to our submitting these proposals to Parliament, I ought to say one word as to why Parliament was not immediately summoned. Since the battle began the Government have been engaged almost every hour in concerting with the Allies the necessary measures to assist the armies to deal with the emergency.

The proposals which we intend submitting to Parliament required very close and careful examination, and I think there is this advantage in our meeting today, rather than immediately after the impact of the German attack, that we shall be considering these proposals under conditions which will be far removed from any suggestion of panic.

THE BATTLE OF PICARDY

I shall now come to the circumstances which have led to the present military position. It is very difficult at this time to present a clear, connected, and reliable narrative of what happened. There has been a great battle on a front of fifty miles—the greatest battle ever fought in the history of the world. Enormous forces have been engaged; there was a considerable retirement on the part of the British forces, and under these conditions it is not always easy for some time to ascertain what actually happened.

The House will recollect the difficulty we experienced with regard to Cambrai. It was difficult to piece together the story of the event for some time, and Cambrai was a very trivial event compared with this gigantic battle.

The Generals and their staffs are, naturally, engaged and have to concentrate their attention upon the operations of the enemy, and until the strain relaxes it would be very difficult to institute the necessary inquiries to find out exactly what happened, and to furnish an adequate explanation of the battle.

However, there are two or three facts which stand out, and in stating them I

should like to call attention to two things which I think above all must be avoided. The first is that nothing should be said which could give information to the enemy; nothing should be said which would give encouragement to the enemy, and nothing should be said which would give discouragement to our own troops, who are fighting so gallantly at this very hour. And the second question is that all recrimination at this hour must be shut out.

GERMANS SLIGHTLY WEAKER

What was the position at the beginning of the battle? Notwithstanding the heavy casualties in 1917 the army in France was considerably stronger on Jan. 1, 1918, than on Jan. 1, 1917. Up to the end of 1917—up to, say, about October or November—the German combatant strength in France was as two to the Allies' three. Then came the military collapse of Russia, and the Germans hurried up their released divisions from the eastern front and brought them to the west. They had a certain measure of Austrian support, which had been accorded to them.

Owing to the growth of the strength of our armies in 1917 when this battle began the combatant strength of the whole of the German Army on the western front was only approximately, though not quite, equal to the total combatant strength of the Allies in infantry. They were slightly inferior in artillery. They were considerably inferior in cavalry, and, what is very important, they were undoubtedly inferior in aircraft.

The Germans, therefore, organized their troops so as to produce a larger number of divisions out of the slightly smaller number of infantry and slightly smaller number of guns. They had fewer battalions in a division and fewer men in a battalion. That is entirely a question of organization, and it yet remains to be seen that their organization is better than ours. It is necessary to explain that, in order that the House should realize why, with approximately the same number of men, the Germans have a larger number of divisions on that front.

According to all the facts which have come to hand as to the losses of the battle, that roughly represents the relative strength of the combatants on both sides at this moment. The Germans had, however, one or two important advantages. The first, the initial advantage, which is always commanded by the offensive, is that they know where they mean to attack. They choose the ground, they choose the location, they know the width of the attack, they know the dimensions of the attack, they know the time of the attack, they know the method of the attack. All that invariably gives the initial advantage to the offensive.

Concentrated on the British

The defense has a general advantage, as, owing to air observation, concealment is difficult. At the same time, in spite of all that, owing to the power of moving troops at night, which the Germans exercised in a very large extent, there was a large margin for surprise, even in spite of air observation, and of this the enemy took full advantage.

I should like to say one word here as to the difficulty which the allied Generals were confronted with in this respect. Before the battle the greatest German concentration was in front of our troops. That was no proof that the full weight of the attack would fall on us. There was a very large concentration opposite the French lines. There was a very considerable concentration—I am referring now to the German reserves—on the northern part of our line.

After the battle began, or immediately before the battle, the Germans by night brought their divisions from the northern part to the point where the attack took place. They also took several divisions from opposite the French in the same way and brought them to our front. But it would have been equally easy for them, while concentrating troops opposite our front, to manoeuvre them in the same way opposite the French. I am only referring to that in order to show how exceedingly difficult it is for Generals on the defensive to decide exactly where, in their judgment, the attack is coming and where they ought to concentrate their reserves.

General Wilson's Forecast

I may just say a word here. This problem was considered very closely by the military staff at Versailles, and I think it right, in justice to them, to point out that after a very close study of the German position and of the probabilities of the case, they came to the conclusion, and they stated their conclusion to the military representatives and to the Ministers in the month of January, or the beginning of February, that the attack would come south of Arras; that it would be an attack on the widest front ever yet assailed; that the Germans would accumulate ninety-five divisions for the purpose of making that attack; that they would throw the whole of their resources and their strength into breaking the British line at that point, and that their objective would be the capture of Amiens and the severance of the British and French forces.

That was the conclusion which Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, came to, and which was submitted at that time, two

or three months ago, and I think that it was one of the most remarkable forecasts of enemy intentions ever made.

As a matter of fact, the attack was made up, I think, by about ninety-seven divisions. It was an attack on the widest front that had ever been engaged. Its object undoubtedly was the capture of Amiens and the severance of the British and French forces. So that, almost in every detail, that very remarkable forecast has been verified in the event.

Another remarkable prediction was that it might probably succeed in penetrating the British line to the extent of half the distance of the front attacked. They came to the conclusion from a close examination of the offensives of the war.

Advantage of United Command

There was another advantage. There was, first of all, the advantage which the Germans had from having the initiative. There was a further advantage they had, and this undoubtedly was the greatest advantage, from having a united command opposed to a dual one. The Germans undoubtedly relied on this to a very large extent for their success. They owe much of the success of this attack to this.

It was reported to me on good authority that the Kaiser informed ex-King Constantine: "I shall beat them, for they have no united command." Which shows that that was what they were relying in the main upon; that, although their numbers were slightly inferior, they knew the importance that was to be attached to the fact that they had a perfectly united command.

And that is an obvious advantage, for if the risks in one particular part of the line are great, and in another part of the line are great, but substantially less than in the former, with one command there is no hesitation in the mind of the Commander in Chief as to which risk he will make the greatest provision against.

With two separate commands the problem is a different one. It is more difficult to adjust the balance of risk, and the General is always naturally inclined to give himself and his army the benefit of any doubt. That may be because if anything goes wrong there he alone is to be held responsible to his own countrymen for the safety of his army.

Weather Favored Germans

The enemy had another incidental but, as it turned out, very important advantage—that of the weather. Exceptional weather favored his designs. It was both dry and misty. The attack which succeeded was made on that part of the line where under ordinary Spring conditions the ground would have been almost impassable.

A wounded officer told a friend of mine today, a General, that under ordinary conditions no one could walk across the part which was traversed by the Germans at this time of the year. But it just happened to be absolutely dry and firm, and they walked across ground which no one had any right to expect at this time of the year would be in that condition.

Not only that, but the fact that it was warm increased the mist, and the Germans were actually in some parts within a few yards of our front line before any one knew of their approach. It was quite impossible to observe them. This was a special disadvantage to us, inasmuch as our scheme of organization in that particular part of the line depended largely upon the cross-line fire of machine guns and artillery. They had, therefore, a very special advantage, of which they made the fullest use.

Closed Up Gap in Armies

With regard to the battle itself, as I have already stated, it will take some time to ascertain the whole facts. At one time it was undoubtedly very critical. The enemy broke through between our 3d and 5th Armies, and there was a serious gap, and the situation was retrieved owing to the magnificent conduct of our troops. They retired in perfectly good order, re-establishing the junction between the two armies and frustrating the enemy's purpose.

The House can hardly realize, and certainly cannot sufficiently thank—nor can the country—our troops for their superb valor and the grim tenacity with which they faced overwhelming hordes of the enemy and clung to their positions. They retired, but were never routed, and once more the cool pluck of the British soldier, that refuses to acknowledge defeat, saved Europe.

I am referring to the whole army, Generals, officers, and soldiers. I mean the whole army, and I draw no distinction. Their conduct has been one of incredible courage and great coolness under the most trying conditions. I do not think that any distinction can be drawn between officers and men. I am referring to the British Army, and that means all.

Praises General Carey's Feat

And I specially refer to what one Brigadier General did. Some reference has been made in the press already to it, where at one point there was a serious gap, which might have let the enemy into Calais.

[At this point the Prime Minister spoke of the critical situation which developed when the German attack began. He said the gap on the way to Amiens was held by Brig. Gen. Carey, who for six days stood off the enemy with engineers, laborers, signalers, and anybody who could hold a rifle. The Premier continued:]

Until the whole circumstances which led to the retirement of the 5th Army and its failure to hold the line of the Somme, at least till the Germans brought out their guns, and

perhaps the failure adequately to destroy the bridges—until all these are explained it would be unfair to censure the General in command of the army, General Gough. But until those circumstances are cleared up it would be equally unfair to the British Army to retain his services in the field. It is necessary to recall him until the facts have been fully ascertained and laid before the Government by their military advisers.

After the retirement of the 5th Army the French reserves came up with remarkable rapidity, when their position before the battle is borne in mind. In fact, the speed with which, when the final decision was taken as to the real designs of the enemy, the French reserves were brought up is one of the most remarkable feats of organization in this war, and between the courage of our troops and the handling of the army—the way the 3d Army held, never giving way a hundred yards to the attack of the enemy—I think it right that it should be said about the army commanded by General Byng—that between the efforts of our soldiers and the loyal assistance given in true spirit of comradeship by the French Army, the position is for the moment stabilized. But it is clear that the Germans, having gained an initial success, are preparing another, and perhaps an even greater, attack on the allied armies.

Teutons Fail in Main Objects

Up to the present the enemy has undoubtedly obtained a great initial success. There is no good in not accepting the facts. It is from that basis we must begin to build. But he has failed so far in his main objects. He failed to capture Amiens. He failed to separate the French and British armies. But we should be guilty of great, it might be fatal, error if we were to underestimate the gravity of the prospect.

The enemy has captured valuable ground, which is too near Amiens for comfort or security, and he has succeeded for the time being in crippling one of our great armies.

I will now tell the House something of the measures adopted by the Cabinet to meet the emergency. I have already explained what was done about the French reserves. The Cabinet took every step to hurry up reinforecements in order to fill up the gap in our armies. No such large numbers of men ever passed across the Channel in so short a time.

As the emergency was great it was impossible to allow those who were summoned to France the usual leave to visit their relatives. It was with the greatest regret that we found it necessary to cancel this permission, and nothing but the gravity of the position would have justified so harsh a proceeding. But the troops accepted the position in a manner which is worthy of the fortitude, courage, and patriotism they have shown throughout.

There was an understanding that boys under 19 years would only be used in case of emergency. We felt that the emergency had arisen, and in so far as those who were over 18 were concerned, those who had already received six months' training, we felt it necessary that they should be sent to France.

As to the guns and machine guns which were lost, the numbers are grossly exaggerated by the enemy. I am assured that they have also exaggerated very considerably the number of prisoners they have taken. The Commander in Chief assured me last week that it was a gross exaggeration.

I am very glad to be able to say that the Ministry of Munitions were able not merely to replace those guns and machine guns, but that they still have got a very substantial reserve. The same thing applies to ammunition. There is an ample reserve of ammunition both in this country and in France.

Our aircraft strength is greater now than before the battle, and we all know what brilliant service our airmen rendered in this battle. Until the whole story of the battle is told it will be almost impossible to estimate the services they rendered in retarding the advance of the enemy, in destroying his machinery, and in making it difficult for him to bring up his guns and ammunition. We feel confident that our armies, Generals, and soldiers will be quite equal to the next encounter whenever it comes.

America's Dramatic Assistance

The next step to which I should like to call the attention of the House is the material and dramatic assistance rendered by President Wilson in this emergency—one of the most important decisions in the war. In fact, the issue of the battle might very well be determined by this decision.

In America there is a very considerable number of men in the course of training, and the Allies looked forward to having a large American army in France in the Spring. It has taken longer than was anticipated to turn those soldiers into the necessary divisional organizations. If America waited to complete these divisional organizations it would not be possible for these fine troops in any large numbers to take part in this battle in this campaign, although it might be very well the decisive battle of the war.

This was, of course, one of the most serious disappointments from which the Allies had suffered. It is no use pretending it was not one of our chief causes of anxiety. We depend upon it largely to make up the defection of Russia.

For many reasons—reasons, perhaps of transport, reasons connected with the time it takes, not merely to train troops and their officers, but to complete the necessary organization—it was quite impossible to put into France the number of divisions every one had confidently expected would be there. Under the circumstances we, therefore, submitted to the President of the United States a definite proposal. We had the advantage

of having the Secretary of State for War in this country within two or three days after the battle had commenced. Mr. Balfour and I had a long conversation with him upon the whole situation, and we submitted to him certain recommendations which we had been advised to make to Mr. Baker and the American Government.

Proposal of Earl of Reading

On the strength of the conversation we submitted proposals to President Wilson, with the strong support of Premier Clemenceau, to enable the combatant strength of the American Army to come into action during this battle, inasmuch as there was no hope of it coming in as a strong separate army. By this decision American battalions will be brigaded with those of the Allies.

This proposal was submitted by the Earl of Reading on behalf of the British Government to President Wilson, and President Wilson assented to the proposal without any hesitation, with the result that arrangements are now being made for the fighting strength of the American Army to be immediately brought to bear in this struggle—a struggle which is only now beginning—to this extent, and it is no mere small extent, that the German attack has been held up. It has stirred up the resolution and energy of America beyond anything which has yet occurred.

Another important decision taken by the allied Governments I must also call the attention of the House to. It became more obvious after the battle than ever before that the allied armies were suffering from the fact that they were fighting as two separate armies and had to negotiate support with each other. Valuable time was thus lost. Some of us had been deeply impressed by this peril for some time and had done our best to avert it.

But the inherent difficulties to be overcome are tremendous. There are national prejudices, national interests, professional prejudices and traditions. The inherent difficulties of getting two or three separate armies to fight as one are almost insurmountable, and it can only be done if public opinion in all these countries insists upon it as one condition of success.

The Versailles conference was an effort at a remedy. How were the Versailles decisions carried out, and the extent to which they were not carried out? This is not the time to inquire.

Foch Made Generalissimo

I respectfully suggest to the House that no good would come at this stage in discussing this question. But if any one needed conviction as to the wisdom of that policy, this battle must have supplied it. The peril we passed through, by establishing the conviction without challenge, may, I think, be worth the price we paid for it.

A few days after the battle commenced there were present not merely the Government, but the commanders in the field. We had not merely Field Marshals but army commanders present. We were so convinced—and the same thing applied to the French—of the importance of more complete strategic unity that they agreed to the appointment of General Foch to the supreme direction of the strategy of all the allied armies on the western front.

May I not say just one word about General Foch? It is not merely that he is one of the most brilliant soldiers in Europe, but there is this to be said about him: Foch is the man who, when we were attacked and were in a similar plight at the first battle of Ypres, rushed the French Army there by every conceivable expedient—buses, cabs, lorries, anything he could lay his hands upon. He crowded French divisions through, and undoubtedly helped to win the great battle.

There is no doubt about the loyalty and comradeship of General Foch. I have no doubt that this arrangement will be carried out not merely in the letter but in the spirit. But it is the most important decision that has been taken in reference to the coming battle. This strategic unity is, I submit to the House, the fundamental condition of victory. It can only be maintained by complete co-operation between the Governments and the Generals and by something more than that—the unmistakable public opinion behind it.

Asks Support for Foch

Why do I say that? For this reason: A Generalissimo in the ordinary and full sense of the term may be impracticable. There are three functions which a General wields—strategical, tactical, and administrative. What does administrative mean? It means control of organization, the appointment and dismissal of officers and Generals, and that is a power which it is difficult or almost impossible to give to Generals of another country with a national army.

Therefore, in spite of all the arrangements made, unless there be not merely good-will, but the knowledge that the public of France, Great Britain, and America will assist in co-ordination and in supporting the authority in the supreme strategical plans chosen by the Governments, and in supporting the Governments in any action they may take to assert their authority, any arrangements made will be futile and mischievous. I make no apology for dwelling at some length upon this point. I have always felt that we were losing value and efficiency in the allied armies through lack of co-ordination and concentration.

We have sustained many disasters already through this, and we shall encounter more unless this defect in our machinery is put right. Hitherto, I regret, every effort at amendment led to rather prolonged and very bitter controversy, and these great inherent difficulties were themselves accentuated and

aggravated. There were difficulties of carrying out plans and other obstacles, and, what is worse, valuable time is lost.

I entreat the nation as a whole to stand united for the united control of the strategical operations of our armies at the front. We know how much depends upon unity of concentration. We are fighting a very powerful foe, who, in so far as he has triumphed, has triumphed mainly because of superior unity and the concentration of his strategic plans.

BRITISH FORCES IN ASIA

There is another matter to which I should like to refer, and it is the suggestion that our forces have been dissipated on a subsidiary enterprise. Not a single division was sent from France to the East. With regard to Italy, had it not been for the fact that there are battalions of French and British divisions there, the Austrian Army would have been free to throw the whole of its strength on the western front. If there were not some there now the Austrian Army would be more powerfully represented than it is on the western front.

With regard to Saloniki, the only thing the present Government did was to reduce the forces there by two divisions. In Mesopotamia there is only one white division in all, and in Egypt and Palestine together there are only two white divisions, and the rest are either Indians or mixed with a very small proportion of British troops. I am referring to infantry divisions.

I want the House really to consider what that means. There is a menace to our Eastern empire through Persia, because through Persia you approach Afghanistan, and through Afghanistan you menace the whole of India. Had it not been for the blows inflicted upon the Turks, what would have happened? Before these attacks there were Turkish divisions helping the Germans in Russia. They would have been there helping the Germans on the west, exactly as they helped them on the east.

Germans Sent to Help Turks

But what has happened? They were attacked in Palestine and Mesopotamia and two Turkish armies were destroyed. If we had remained in Egypt and defended Egypt by remaining there on the canal and allowing the Turks to hold us with a small force while they were putting the whole of their force in Mesopotamia and menacing our position in India by that means, the Turks could now have been assisting the Germans in the west as they did in the east.

What is happening now? German battalions at this moment have been sent to assist the Turks instead of the Turks sending divisions to help the Germans. The Germans now have sent battalions to help the Turks in Palestine. After all, if you have a great empire you must defend it.

There was a great empire which withdrew its legions from the outlying provinces of the empire to defend its heart against the Goths and those legions never went back. The British Empire has not been reduced to that plight yet. We can defend ourselves successfully in France, and we can also hold our empire against any one who assails it in any part of the world at the same time.

May I, before I leave this topic, say how much gratitude we owe to India for the magnificent way in which she has come to the aid of the empire in this emergency?

It is not the fact that we have got three British divisions in Egypt and Palestine and one in Mesopotamia that has enabled us to hold our own, but it is the fact that we have had these splendid troops from India. Many of them volunteered since the war, and they have been more than a match for their Turkish adversaries on many a stricken field.

Great Losses in France

It is too early to state yet with accuracy our losses, because in the case of a battle over such a wide front, fought with such intensity for over a fortnight, with vast numbers of men engaged, the losses sustained must be considerable. The claims of the enemy as to prisoners have been grossly exaggerated, and Field Marshal Haig has assured me that they were quite impossible from the figures at his disposal, and which he showed me, and the enemy's claims seem quite preposterous from the statement he made to me.

But still our losses are very great and our reserves have been called upon to a considerable extent to make up the wastage and refit the units, and if the drain continues on this scale, a drain on the resources of reserves and of man power, it must cause the deepest anxiety, unless we take immediate steps to replenish it.

The immediate necessity is relieved by the splendid and generous way and promptitude with which America has come to our aid, but they are simply lent to receive their training, with a view to their incorporation at the first suitable moment in the American Army in France, and even if they remain with the British right through the battle, the time will come when we shall need large reinforcements, if this battle continues.

I want the House to consider for a moment what the plans of the enemy may be as they are now revealed. It was never certain he would take this plunge, because he knows what it means if it fails. But he has taken it. The battle proves that the enemy has definitely decided to seek a military decision this year, whatever the consequences to himself.

Reasons for German Effort

There is no doubt he has overwhelming reasons. There is the economic condition of his country and the critical economic condition of his allies. He is now at the height

Representatives of the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk (from left to right): Gen. Hoffmann of the German Army; Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister; Talaat Pasha, Turkish Grand Vizier, and von Kuehlmann, German Foreign Minister

(International Film Service)

Panorama of Venice as seen from an airplane in wartime

of his power, and Russia is at the least, while America has not yet come in in its strength. So this year the enemy may put forth something which approaches his full strength. But soon he will grow feebler and weaker in comparison with the allied forces.

Everything, therefore, points to the definite determination of Germany to put the whole of her resources into seeking a military decision this year, and this means a prolonged battle from the North Sea to the Adriatic, with Germany and Austria throwing in the whole of their strength.

There are still seven or eight months within which the fighting can continue, and everything depends upon keeping our strength right to the end, whatever the strain upon our resources may be.

With American aid we can do it. But, even with American help, we cannot feel secure unless we are prepared ourselves to make even greater sacrifices than we have hitherto made. I know what the Government wish. I know also what will happen if the demand which the Government is putting forward is not responded to.

It is idle to imagine, as some people very lightheartedly seem to think, that you have got an unlimited reservoir of man power in this or in any belligerent country. We have already raised in this country for military and naval purposes very nearly six million men. We cannot raise here the same proportion of men per population as you can in other belligerent countries. I have repeatedly emphasized that in the House of Commons.

We have the greatest navy in the world, the command of the seas depends not merely for ourselves, but for our allies, upon the efforts we put forward. That is not only a question of manning the fleet: it is also a question of building, of adding to the numbers of ships, and of repairing the ships. Then you have got a mercantile marine, without which the Allies could not continue the struggle for a single month.

Navy and Shipping First

All that must be borne in mind, and whatever happens and whatever proposals we put forward today, it would be folly to do anything which would interfere with the one fundamental condition of success to the Allies—that the navy and shipping must be first.

We have also got to supply coal largely to our allies, as well as steel. But, owing largely to improved organizations in the various industries, to the way they are adapting themselves from day to day to new conditions, and to the increased numbers and greatly increased efficiency of woman labor, there is a reserve of men which, consistent with the discharge of these obligations, may yet be withdrawn in great emergency for our battle line; not without damage to industry—I do not forget that—and not without, to a certain extent, weakening the economic strength of the country, and not without imposing restrictions and perhaps privations, but without impairment to the striking power of the country for war. Nothing could justify such drastic action except an overwhelming emergency precipitated by a great military crisis.

I want to point out especially why the steps taken now are steps which will be useful in this battle. First of all, it is a battle which may last for months. The decision may be taken not now or next month, but may be months hence. But, beyond that, the Allies at the present moment have the same reserves of man power to reinforce their armies as Germany has, without taking into account those great reserves in America.

The German Age Limit

The Germans, however, are calling up another class, which will produce 550,000 efficient young men. These will be prepared to be thrown into the battle line. This is the 1920 class, aged 18½. These can be thrown into the battle line before this fight is over, and we must be prepared for their advent in this struggle this year.

Therefore, I have to submit to Parliament the totals for increasing, and increasing very materially, the reserves which will be available for reinforcing our armies in the field during this prolonged battle, upon which we are only just entering. I will now give roughly some of the proposals we intend to make in order to increase the number of men available.

We already have raised for armed forces during the first quarter of the year more than the quarter's proportion of the original number of men which it was estimated was the minimum required for the present year. We are also effecting a very strict comb-out of some of the essential industries. Very large levies have been taken from munition works. They will amount, I think, to something like 100,000 grade 1 men.

New Call on the Miners

That has been done already this year, and it will, of course, involve the utilization of other labor to a very large extent in munition works. A call for 500,000 has been made already on the coal industry, and these men have been rapidly recruited. I regret to say that military needs will necessitate the calling up of another 150,000 men from this industry. These men can be spared, we are convinced, after entering into the matter very carefully, without endangering the essential output of coal for national industries.

No one is likely to forget the fine response made by the miners at the beginning of the war, or the splendid part they have taken in hundreds of battles since then. They have been loyal in meeting the present demand of 50,000 men, and I am confident they would meet a further call upon them in the same spirit, in view of this great national emer-

gency under which we are making it. The transport services also have been called upon to release the greatest possible number of fit men.

Combing Out Civil Service Under 25

Further calls are to be made upon the civil service. I do not think it is realized how much the civil service has done already. On one hand, it has had to release a large number of men for the army, and, on the other, it has to meet and is meeting the increased strain of work. But even at the risk of some dislocation we must call upon it to do more, and a clean cut of young, fit men must be made.

It is proposed that no fit men below the age of 25 should be retained. That is the clean-out. We comb out beyond that. I shall explain it later. It is proposed that it should be applied to other industries as well.

When we are adding to the age and when we are extending the military age, it should not be said that there are fit young men of 25 who are employed in the various industries of the country. This will bring the civil service into line, and on a general level, so far as a clean-out is concerned, with the munitions industries.

Under an act passed in January of this year, we are issuing orders canceling all occupational exemptions by age blocks in specified occupations. That is the clean-out. The first of these orders is being laid on the table in the House today and other orders of the same power will follow.

I know that the House will appreciate that it is not merely necessary to have men, but to have them quickly. It is no use raising them unless they are raised in time to take part in the struggle this year, when we shall be short of drafts, if the battle is a prolonged one.

The Government, therefore, has shortened the length of the calling up notice from fourteen days to seven and have authorized the sending of notice by whatever method is the most expeditious and convenient. It may be necessary even to curtail the rights of appeal on medical grounds, but for the moment it is not proposed to do so. We have had a good many frivolous appeals, which have wasted a good deal of time, and if that goes on, it will be absolutely necessary, in the interest of the security of the country, that the rights of appeal should be curtailed in this respect.

Military Age Raised to 50

There is another consideration. The strain upon the medical profession has been great already. We are very short of medical men, and we may be driven to do it by the hard necessities of the case.

I now turn to the new proposal embodied in the bill, which I beg leave to introduce today. Our first proposal is to raise the military age up to 50, and in certain specified cases we ask for powers to raise it to 55, but that only when a man with special qualifications is needed.

For instance, it may be necessary to do it, in the case of medical men, in order to secure their services. It may be necessary in certain special classes, with special training and special experience, to secure their services for the army. When you come to the question of raising the age to 50, it does not mean that men between 42 and 50 are necessarily to be taken in order to put them into the fighting line. It may be that there are men of that age who are just as fit as men of 25, but I am sorry to say that that is the exception, and we cannot, therefore, depend upon men of that age altogether to make the finest fighting material.

There are a good many services in the army which do not require the very best physical material, and it would be very helpful to get men of this age to fill those services, in order to release younger and fitter men to enter the fighting line. There is also to be borne in mind the fact that we have to prepare for our home defense, so as to be able to release men from this country and fill their places by men between 42 and 50, who, I have no doubt, would fight very tenaciously for their own homes if there were an invasion.

The proportion of men from 42 to 50 years of age whom we expect to be available is not very high—something like 7 per cent. That is only 7 per cent. of men from 42 to 50 will be available for the army.

I only want to reassure people between 42 and 50 that all the men of that age are not going to be called up to the fighting line. I gave a sort of rough estimate that it would be only a small percentage of men of this age who would be likely to come under the provisions of the bill.

[The Premier then took up the system of exemptions, which is revised in the bill. He explained that the King, under the provisions of the bill, could cancel former exemptions, and that men would be exempted on medical grounds only, with provisions also for speeding up the procedure of appeal tribunals. He continued:]

We have to choose between either submitting to defeat or taking the necessary measures to avert it. We will never submit to accepting defeat.

I need hardly say that this provision will not be used to set aside the pledges given to discharged soldiers. They will be carefully observed.

CONSCRIPTION IN IRELAND

I now come to the question of Ireland. When an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to put men of 50 and boys of 18 into the army in the fight for liberty and independence—[Joseph Devlin here interrupted]—"and small nationalities," the Premier resumed: Especially as I am re-

minded, to fight for liberty and independence and small nationalities, I am perfectly certain it is not possible to justify any longer the exclusion of Ireland.

John Dillon—You will not get any men from Ireland by compulsion, not a man.

The Premier—What is the position? No home rule proposal ever submitted in this House proposed to deprive the Imperial Parliament of the power of dealing with all questions in relation to the army and navy. These invariably are in every home rule bill I have ever seen and are purely questions for the Imperial Parliament, so that I am claiming no more as a national right than was ever claimed in the House. The Defense of the Realm act also was extended to Ireland.

The character of the quarrel in which we are engaged is just as much Irish as English. May I say it is more so? It is more Irish, Scotch, and Welsh than it is even English. Ireland, through its representatives at the beginning of the war, assented to it.

Mr. Devlin—Because it was a war for small nationalities.

The Prime Minister—Ireland, through its representatives, assented to the war, voted for the war, supported the war. Irish representatives and Ireland, through its representatives, without a dissenting voice committed the empire to this war. They are as responsible for it as any part of the United Kingdom. May I just read the declaration issued by the Irish Party on Dec. 17, 1914, shortly after the war began?

Mr. Byrne—We have had a revolution since then.

The Prime Minister—This is the Declaration of the Irish Party:

> A test to search men's souls has arisen. The empire is engaged in the most serious war in history. It is a just war, provoked by the intolerable military despotism of Germany. It is a war for the defense of the sacred rights and liberties of small nations and the respect and enlargement of the great principles of nationality. Involved in it is the fate of France, our kindred country and the chief nation of that powerful Celtic race to which we belong; the fate of Belgium, to whom we are attached by the same great ties of race and by the common desire of small nations to assert their freedom, and the fate of Poland, whose sufferings and struggles bear so marked a resemblance to our own.
>
> It is a war for the high ideals of human government and international relations, and Ireland would be false to her history and to every consideration of honor, good faith, and self-interest did she not willingly bear her share in its burdens and its sacrifices.

It is not merely illogical that Ireland should not help, it is unjust. If it were merely England's battle, the young men of Ireland might regard that fact with indifference, but it is not. They are just as much concerned as the young men of England. Therefore, it is proposed to extend conscription on the same conditions as in Great Britain.

As there is no machinery in existence and no register has as yet been completed in Ireland, it may take some weeks before active enrollments begin. As soon as arrangements are complete the Government will put the act into immediate operation.

Irish Members Raise Uproar

[When Mr. Lloyd George referred to Ireland, Alfred Byrne, Nationalist member from Dublin, shouted: "We won't have conscription in Ireland!" An uproar followed. The Premier said the report of the Irish Convention was adopted by a majority only, and therefore the Government would take the responsibility for such proposals for self-government as were just and could be carried out without violent controversy. It would be some weeks before enrollment in Ireland began, the Premier continued. One Nationalist cried out: "It will never begin." Michael Flavin, Nationalist member from Kerry, said: "You come across and try to take us." Another Nationalist exclaimed: "It is a declaration of war against Ireland."]

When the Premier was referring to Ireland, John Dillon, the successor of the late John Redmond as leader of the Irish Nationalists in Parliament, said: "If Irish liberty were at stake I would not hesitate to support that policy. I never challenged the justice of war. I don't challenge it now."

Mr. Lloyd George began: "I don't want to cause trouble—"

"You will get plenty," interrupted an Irish member.

Resuming, Lloyd George said: "While we have one ship afloat we should not accept a German peace. The men being taken now may be the means of a decisive issue."

Mr. Asquith said he would suspend judgment until he saw the bill in print. He invited every one to keep his mind and ears accessible to reasonable argument. At the conclusion of Mr. Asquith's speech, Joseph Devlin moved an adjournment and warned the Government that it was entering upon a course of madness if it endeavored to inforce conscription on Ireland. His motion was defeated later by a vote of 323 to 80.

Mr. Dillon said he hoped for the sake of the war and for the sake of the empire that the methods of the War Cabinet in dealing with the war were different from its methods in dealing with Ireland. A bill applying conscription to Ireland, Mr. Dillon continued, would plunge the country into bloodshed and confusion and would open a new war front in addition to the western front. He urged the War Cabinet to inform itself as to the state of Irish feeling before proposing conscription to Ireland.

Leave to introduce the Government's Man-Power bill was carried after further hot debate by 299 to 80.

Russia and the Allies

The Russian and the French Revolution Compared—The Gloomy Outlook of Russia

By Arthur J. Balfour

British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

[From an Address Delivered in Parliament March 14, 1918]

THE inference that Russia would have been kept in the war if we had announced that we proposed to go in for the status quo ante and readjustments is wrong. Pronouncements made by Russian statesmen always included self-determination. Self-determination can never be squared with mere adjustments. It may be that self-determination might conceivably receive a large measure of fulfillment, I agree, up to a certain point, but that Russian statesmen by their declarations have materially limited the scope of the war I believe to be inaccurate. But whether accurate or not, one is entirely misrepresenting the political and social forces of Russia if he thinks that the reason Russia went out of the war was that our war aims were not publicly or semi-publicly reconsidered in concert with the Allies.

I do not profess to have a remedy for the misfortunes that have occurred—as I think to civilization itself—from the fact that the Russian revolution occurred in the middle of a European war. I welcome the change from autocracy to what we hoped and still hope, what we believed and still believe, is going to be a reign of ordered liberty. But the revolution, unfortunately, came at a time when Russia was weary with the sacrifices of a great war, and it was mixed up and almost overshadowed on its political side by the pacifist influences which were allowed to reign uncontrolled in the army and navy and all the other forces which might and should have been co-ordinated to resist the common enemy.

There are resemblances between the Russian revolution and the French Revolution, but from our point of view, and from the point of view of the war and of how we are to secure in the future the freedom of small nationalities, and how we are to save the world from the domination of one overgreedy power, from that point of view no greater misfortune could have occurred than the coincidence between the Russian revolution and the fact that a war was being conducted in which Russia was one of the great Allies. I personally am an optimist about Russia, but I am not an optimist about the immediate future of Russia, because it seems to me that difficulties are thrown in Russia's way by the fact that the war raged before the revolution. Russia is only nominally out of the war at the present time, but is still suffering from the invasion of her enemies. The French Revolution was associated with great military operations. It ended in the production of an army whose fiery efficiency was the wonder of Europe and which overturned all the decrepit monarchies in the Central European States. Contrast that with what has happened in Russia since the revolution. There is not a single fighting instrument possessed by Russia which the Russian revolutionaries have not deliberately but absolutely and completely destroyed.

RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Russian Army no longer exists and the Russian Navy no longer exists. The Rumanian Army—that most gallant and most unfortunate body, which might have and would have co-operated to preserve both Russia and Rumania from the tyranny of the Central Powers—had been betrayed by Russia itself. The unhappy results of the revolution from the military point of view are quite plain and

obvious to the most casual observer. The actual course pursued by the Bolsheviki has rendered them completely helpless in the face of German aggression. Now they express the desire—I am sure they express it genuinely and earnestly—that they should reconstitute the Russian Army for the purpose of Russian defense, and they would welcome our assistance, doubtless, in carrying out this object. But can you reconstitute it for purposes of national defense? Can you improvise a new instrument when fragments of the old instrument are lying shattered around you? It cannot be done in a day.

Had Russia not been at war I believe it would have taken many years to complete what I hope and believe is to be the beneficent course of the Russian revolution. Autocracy—and it is very difficult to see how the Russia we know could have been created without it—showed itself quite incapable of bringing into existence that frame of mind which makes a great self-conscious nation indepedent of the particular form which its institutions may have at the moment. Autocracy was destroyed, and immediately Russia fell into chaos.

I am not sure that it was not my honorable friend (Mr. MacCallum Scott) who said exactly the same thing happened in France. The same thing really did not happen in France. I do not say we cannot find in this or that episode parallels to the French Revolution, but the total effect of the Revolution was not the disintegration of France but its integration. The units out of which modern France was constructed were no doubt compacted into a nation under the old monarchy, but the divisions between these units were still obvious; they still remained in the institutions of the country, and it was not until the Revolution that France became homogeneous from end to end and all the old provincial distinctions were swept away.

Precisely the opposite has happened in Russia. The revolution comes and immediately all the old divisions between populations, between different regions, between different creeds, suddenly become marked and prominent. First this body and then that body threatens to fall way, and it must inevitably take time before we see the end of that process and know clearly how much of the old Russia, if any, ought to cease to form part of the new Russia and how the new Russia will be constituted. A very difficult process in time of peace, a very difficult process in time of prosperity, but how are you going to carry it out in time of war when you have at your gates an enemy remorseless, persevering, quite unscrupulous, like that which is dealing at its own sweet will with Russia at the present moment? That is the real difficulty which we have always had to deal with and to think over to the best of our ability when we consider some of the problems raised by the honorable gentleman who initiated this debate.

JAPAN AND SIBERIA

[The speaker then took up an inquiry regarding a suggestion of Japanese intervention in Siberia. He said the hypothesis that whenever one country sends troops into another country those troops invariably stay where they are sent, and annexation is the result, was false; if such were the case there would be a bad outlook for the north of France. He argued that if the Japanese did intervene it would be as friends of Russia and enemies of Germany, to preserve the country from German domination, and he proceeded thus:]

Russia lies absolutely derelict upon the waters, and now it has no power of resistance at all; there can be a German penetration from end to end of Russia, which, I think, will be absolutely disastrous for Russia itself, and certainly will be very injurious to the future of the Allies. I suspect that at this moment a German officer is much safer traveling at large through Russia than an allied officer. Why? Not because the Russians love the Germans, but because, as a matter of fact, the German penetration has really struck at the root of Russian power. I was informed the other day that only one bank was allowed at Moscow. That bank is a German bank.

The Bolshevist Government, I believe,

sincerely desire—I hope not too late, though I fear it may be so—to resist this German penetration. How can they resist it when they themselves or their predecessors have destroyed every instrument which makes resistance possible?

Inevitably Russia's allies have to ask themselves whether, if Russia herself has destroyed every instrument of self-protection which she once possessed, they cannot themselves among themselves supply that which she now lacks. We do that in Russia's own interests and for Russia's own sake, if it is done. It is not done to satisfy the greed of this or that power. That is the Allies' point of view. May I ask the House to consider the question from the Russian point of view? It is impossible to penetrate the future. Russia has always been a country of surprises, and that she remains at the present moment. What are the things which most of us fear for Russia when we look to the future? Frankly, I tell the House what I myself fear for Russia is this: Under the impulse, under the shadow of the great revolution, the cataclysm of social order has been shaken to its foundations, and many disasters, and I fear many crimes, have been committed.

DIVIDE AND GOVERN

It is Germany's interest, I believe, to foster and continue and promote that condition of disorder. Those who watch her methods throughout the world know that she always wishes to encourage disorder in every other country but her own. If the country is a republic she wishes to introduce absolutism; if it is an absolutist Government then she seeks to encourage republicanism. She counts it her gain that other Governments should be weak, and she knows that there is no better way of making other countries weak than by making them divided—a house divided against itself. Therefore I believe that Germany unchecked will do her best to continue those disorders which have unhappily stained the path of the Russian revolution.

What must be the result? The result must be—especially in a country where the sense of national unity appears, at all events, for the moment to be singularly weak compared with that which prevails in other civilized countries—that men will at last look around and say to themselves, "This disorder is intolerable; it makes life impossible; human effort cannot go on; something must be done, good or bad, to put an end to mere chaos." There will therefore be classes in Russia, some with patriotic motives, but some with personal and selfish motives, who will welcome anything in the world which gives them the semblance of a stable, orderly, and civilized Government.

When that time comes, then I can see Germany will say, Now we will step in; we will, by both the open and subterranean methods which we have developed and cultivated, now exercise our power in the country. We will re-establish, possibly in the same form, possibly in some new form, the autocracy which we in this House hoped had gone forever; and you will have in a Russia shorn of some of its fairest provinces set up again an autocracy far worse than the old autocracy, because it will lean upon a foreign power to continue its existence. Then, indeed, if that prophecy came to pass—and I most earnestly hope I am in this a false prophet—all our dreams of Russian development and Russian liberty would be gone. Russia under this Government would be a mere echo of the Central Powers; she would cease to be a make-weight in any sense to German militarism. She would have lost all that initiative, all that power for self-development that we so earnestly hoped the revolution had given her.

A GLOOMY HOROSCOPE

I admit that this picture is dark and sombre. Will anybody have the courage to say he can draw a horoscope for the future more likely to be fulfilled, if Russia remains, as I fear she is at this moment, absolutely helpless in face of the German penetration? It all turns upon that. If Russia could only rouse herself now and offer effective resistance to the German invader, that might give her a national spirit and sense of unity,

and make her future far more splendid than her past. Therefore the question will inevitably be asked: Can any of the Allies give to Russia in her extremity that help and that sympathy of which she so sorely stands in need? It is help and sympathy which the Allies desire to give, and not invasion and plunder. I agree that there may be circumstances, prejudices, and feelings which render assistance in the East by the only country which can give it in the East a question of difficulty and doubt—a question which must be weighed in every balance and looked at from every point of view; but that the Allies—America, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—should do what they can at this moment to help Russia, if she fails to help herself, through the great crisis of her destiny, appears to me to be beyond doubt, and I will not reject, a priori, any suggestion which seems to offer the slightest solution of our doing any good in that direction.

THE LOYALTY OF JAPAN

I do not think this debate should finish without repudiating the suggestion made that Japan is moved by selfish and dishonorable motives in any course which may have been discussed in Japan, either among her own statesmen or the Allies. Japan has maintained perfect loyalty. She has kept all the promises made to the Allies. I hope I have said enough to indicate the general problems as they present themselves to this Government, and at the same time also to show that we recognize to the full how difficult this problem is, how hard it is to help a nation which is utterly incapable for the moment of helping itself. The House will feel, I think, that the decisions which the Allies may have to give are not without difficulty, and the principles upon which those decisions will be come to are neither ungenerous, unfair, nor hostile to Russia or the Russian revolution; but on the contrary that our one object is to see Russia strong, intact, secure, and free. If these objects can be attained, then, indeed, and then only, will the Russian revolution bring forth all the fruits which Russia's best friends desire to see.

President on the Russian Treaties

Declares Germany Has Repudiated Her Peace Avowals and Will Be Met With "Force to the Utmost"

President Wilson delivered an address at Baltimore on April 6, 1918, in which he denounced the terms which the Central Powers had exacted from Russia and Rumania, and defined the attitude of the United States toward all peace proposals offered on such a basis. The text of his speech in full is as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: This is the anniversary of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free, and for the sacred rights of freemen everywhere. The nation is awake. There is no need to call to it. We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men, and, if need be, all that we possess.

The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meagre earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who demand a higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come, therefore, to

urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means, because the cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least can now see plainly how the cause of justice stands, and what the imperishable thing he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own, and that, if it should be lost, their own great nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

OUR VERDICT DELIBERATE

I call you to witness, my fellow-countrymen, that at no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause, for we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered—answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice, but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

GERMANY'S REAL RULERS

The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said—in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent—that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles which we had declared would be our own in the final settlement.

At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We cannot mistake what they have done—in Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Rumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest.

They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement, and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

Are we not justified in believing that

they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

Their purpose is, undoubtedly, to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic Peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East.

DEMOCRATIC IDEALS FLOUTED

In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations, upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the world—a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden underfoot and disregarded and the old, age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies have meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

AMERICA ACCEPTS CHALLENGE

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear.

Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

American Liberty's Crucial Hour

By William E. Borah

United States Senator From Idaho

[Delivered in the Senate, March 18, 1918, at the Climax of a Debate Over the Fixing of Wheat Prices]

MR. PRESIDENT: The German historian, Professor Meyer, in a book writen since the beginning of the war, in which he sums up the issues involved, or rather the issue, because it all resolves itself into one, uses this language: "The "truth of the whole matter undoubtedly "is that the time has arrived when two "distinct forms of State organization "must face each other in a life-and-death "struggle."

That is undoubtedly the understanding and belief of those who are responsible for this war. It is coming to be the understanding and belief of those who have had the war forced upon them. We have finally put aside the tragedy at the Bosnian capital and the wrongs inflicted upon Belgium as the moving causes of the war. They were but the prologue to the imperial theme. We now see and understand clearly and unmistakably the cause at all times lying back of these things. Upon the one hand are Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the principles of human liberty which they embody and preserve. Upon the other hand is that peculiar form of State organization which, in the language of the Emperor, rests alone upon the strength of the army and whose highest creed finds expression in the words of one of its greatest advocates that war is a part of the eternal order instituted by God. We go back to Runnymede, where fearless men wrenched from the hands of power habeas corpus and the trial by jury. They point us to Breslau and Molwitz, where Frederick the Great, in violation of his plighted word, inaugurated the rule of fraud and force and laid the foundation for that mighty structure whose central and dominating principle is that of power.

It is that power with which we are at war today. Shall men, shall the people, be governed by some remorseless and

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH

soulless entity softly called the "State" or shall the instrumentalities of government yield alone and at all times to the wants and necessities, the hopes and aspirations, of the masses? That is now the issue. Nothing should longer conceal it. It is but another and more stupendous phase of the old struggle, a struggle as ancient and as inevitable as

the thirst for power and the love of liberty, a struggle in which men have fought and sacrificed all the way from Marathon to Verdun.

It seems strange now, and it will seem more extraordinary to those who come after us, that we did not recognize from the beginning that this was the issue. But, obscured by the débris of European life, confused with the dynastic quarrels and racial bitterness of the Old World, it was difficult to discern, and still more difficult to realize, that the very life of our institutions was at stake, that the scheme of the enemy, amazing and astounding, was not alone to control territory and dominate commerce, but to change the drift of human progress and to readjust the standards of the world's civilization. Perhaps, too, our love of peace, our traditional friendship for all nations, lulled suspicion and discouraged inquiry. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt now.

Whatever the cause, however perverse the fates which bring us to this crisis, we are called upon not to settle questions of territory or establish new spheres of national activity, but to defend the institutions under which we live. Who doubts should we fail that the whole theory and system of goverment for which we have labored and struggled, our whole conception of civilization, would be discredited utterly? Who but believes that, should we lose, militarism would be the searching test of all Governments and that the world would be an armed camp harried and tortured and decimated by endless wars?

No; we can no longer doubt the issue, and, notwithstanding some discouraging facts, we must not doubt the result. We are simply meeting the test which brave men have met before, for this issue has been fought over and over again for 3,000 years. Islam's fanaticism was grounded in the same design and made of the same stuff, but it broke upon the valor of Charles Martel's men at Tours. But the conflict was not conclusive. The elder Napoleon was obsessed by the same dream of world dominion, the same passion for military glory, that now obsesses those against whom we war. But he, too, saw his universal sceptre depart when chance and fate, which sometimes war on the side of liberty, turned from him on the field of Waterloo. And now the issue is again made up, and again this dream of world dominion, this passion for military glory, torments the souls of our would-be masters. And now again somewhere on the battlefields of Europe the same fate awaits the hosts of irresponsible power. In such a contest and with such an issue we cannot lose; it would not harmonize with the law of human progress.

It has been the proud belief of some that not only would this war result in greater prestige and greater security for free institutions, but that it would effectuate the spread of democracy throughout Europe. We all hope for great things, for we believe in the ultimate triumph of free institutions, but we must not expect these things out of hand. The broken sobs of nations struggling to be independent and free so often heard in that part of the world and then heard no more, the story of Russia just now being written in contention and blood, admonishes anew that the republican road to safety and stability is encompassed by all kinds of trials and beset by countless perils. Democracy is the severest test of character which can be put upon a people, and must be learned and acquired in the rigid school of experience. It cannot be handed whole and complete to any people, though every member of the community were a Socrates.

But what we have determined in this crisis, as I understand it, is that we will keep the road of democracy open. No one shall close it. If any nation shall hereafter rise to the sublime requirement of self-government and choose to go that way, it shall have the right to do so. Above all things we have determined, cost what it may in treasure and blood, that this experiment here upon this Western Continent shall justify the faith of its builders, that there shall remain here in all the integrity of its powers neither wrenched nor marred by the passions of war from within nor humbled nor dishonored by military power from without, the Republic of the fathers; that since

the challenge has been thrown down that this is a war unto death between two opposing theories of government we are determinined that whatever else happens as a result of this war this form of organization, this theory of state, this last great hope, this fruition of 130 years of struggle and toil, " shall not perish from the earth."

So, Sir, stripped of all incidental and confusing things, the problem which our soldiers will help to solve is whether the theory of government exemplified in the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns or the theory of government exemplified in the faith of Abraham Lincoln shall prevail. It is after all a war of ideals, a clash of systems, a death struggle of ideals.

Amid the sacrilege of war it is our belief that the old order passeth. In such a contest there is little room for compromise. We can no more quit than Washington could have quit at Valley Forge. We can no more compromise than Lincoln could have compromised after Chancellorsville.

We can and should keep the issue clear of all selfish and imperialistic ambitions, but the issue itself cannot be compromised. Cost what it may in treasure and blood, the burden, as if by fate, has been laid upon us, and we must meet it manfully and successfully. To compromise is to acknowledge defeat. The policies of Frederick the Great, which would make of all human souls mere cogs in a vast military machine, and the policies of Washington, which would make government the expression and the instrument of popular power, are contending for supremacy on the battlefield of Europe. Just that single, simple, stupendous issue, beside which all other issues in this war are trivial, must have a settlement as clear and consclusive as the settlement at Runnymede or Yorktown. To lose sight of this fact is to miss the supreme purpose of the war, and to permit it to be embarrassed or belittled by questions of territory is to betray the cause of civilization. And to fail to settle it clearly and conclusively is to fail in the most vital and sublime task ever laid upon a people.

We need not prophesy now when victory will come. Neither is it profitable to speculate how it will come. If it is a real and not a sham peace, we will have no trouble in recognizing it when it does come. Whether it shall come in the bloody and visible triumph of arms or, as we hope, through the overthrow and destruction of militarism by the people of the respective countries, we do not know. But that it will come we confidently believe. Indeed, if the principles of right and the precepts of liberty are not a myth, we know it will come.

It has been said by some one that it was not possible for Napoleon to win at Waterloo, not on account of Wellington, not on account of Blücher, but on account of the unchanging laws of liberty and justice. Let us call something of this faith to our own contest. Let us go forward in the belief that it is not possible in the morning of the twentieth century of the Christian civilization for militarism, for brute force, to triumph. It would be in contravention to every law, human and Divine, upon which rests the happiness and preservation of the human family. It would be to place brute force first in the Divine economy of things. It would be to place might over right, and in the last and final struggle that cannot be done.

No; we cannot lose. We must win. The only question is whether we shall, through efficiency and concerted and united action, win without unnecessary loss of life, unnecessary waste of treasure, or whether we shall, through lack of unity in spirit and purpose, win only after fearful and unnecessary sacrifices.

It has often been said since the war began, Mr. President, that a republic cannot make war. I trample the doctrine under my feet. I scorn the faithless creed as the creed of cowards and traitors. If a republic cannot make war, if it cannot stand the ordeal of conflict, why in the name of the living God are our boys on the western front? Are they there to suffer and die for a miserable craft that can only float in the serene breeze of the Summer seas and must sink or drive for port at the first coming on of the storm? No; they are there to defend a craft which is equal to every conflict and superior to every foe—the tri-

umph and the pride of all the barks that have battled with the ocean of time.

A republic can make war. It can make war successfully and triumphantly and remain a republic every hour of the conflict. The genius who presided over the organization of this Republic, whose impressive force was knit into every fibre of our national organization, was the greatest soldier, save one, of the modern world; and the most far-visioned leader and statesman of all time. He knew that though devoted to peace the time would come when the Republic would have to make war. Over and over again he solemnly warned his countrymen to be ever ready and always prepared. He intended, therefore, that this Republic should make war and make war effectively, and the Republic which Washington framed and baptized with his love can make war. Let these faithless recreants cease to preach their pernicious doctrine.

Sir, this theory, this belief that a self-governing people cannot make war without forfeiting their freedom and their form of government is vicious enough to have been kenneled in some foreign clime. A hundred million people knit together by the ties of a common patriotism, united in spirit and purpose, conscious of the fact that their freedom is imperiled, and exerting their energies and asserting their powers through the avenues and machinery of a representative Republic is the most masterful enginery of war yet devised by man. It has in it a power, an element of strength, which no military power of itself can bring into effect.

The American soldier, a part of the life of his nation, imbued with devotion to his country, has something in him that no system or mere military training and discipline as applied to automatons of an absolute Government can ever give. The most priceless heritage which this war will leave to a war-torn and weary world is the demonstrated fact that a free people of a free Government can make war successfully and triumphantly, can defy and defeat militarism and preserve through it all their independence, their freedom, and the integrity of their institutions.

Defending the World's Right to Democracy

By James Hamilton Lewis

United States Senator from Illinois

[From a Recent Speech in the United States Senate]

NO democracy was ever founded in any Government of earth that did not have to fight to continue its existence or maintain its ideals. Hear Goethe proclaim to Prussia, "Those who have liberty must fight to keep it." The test of every free land that tries out its worthiness or unworthiness to exist as a Government of freedom has been its willingness or refusal to fight and die for its faith. No Government that has not exhibited a capacity to sacrifice all it has for the theory for which it was founded, and to prove its ability to protect and perpetuate the institutions it has created, has ever yet existed for a length of time sufficient to be recorded in history as having fostered liberty or transmitted democracy to men. No Government has yet been accorded by civilization a place among the nations of the earth until it had first demonstrated its worthiness to administer justice by doing justice to itself, and then to prove its power in conflict to overcome its natural enemies, whether from within or without. * * *

Our United States, too, must pass under the rod. America's institutions of freedom, inspiring mankind to her example and awakening oppressed lands to follow her course if they would know liberty, inflamed the souls of the royal rulers of Prussia with fear and fired them to war of destruction upon all that America stood for and was living for. * * *

Whatever riches America has amassed

from her industry, whatever wealth gathered from her commerce, what harvests garnered from her fields, are all as but the least of offering compared to that which she brings to civilization in the growth of liberty, the perfection of

SENATOR J. HAMILTON LEWIS

justice, and the expansion of freedom with which she has been able by her example and her power, through her religion and her generosities, to endow mankind. Other nations have risen in triumph of power and lived for a while in the glory of arms, but by selfish achievement—conquest through the slash of swords—they have fallen. As these wrenched victory by strength and success by power, they but showed the way to the rival wherein to multiply and by these same standards prevail. That which was victor yesterday was the conquered of today, and thus one after the other the powerful nations of the world, resting only upon the achievement of riches, the multiplication of wealth, and the power of the sword, have broken and melted away, leaving nothing enduring to which mankind appeals as example to follow or the children of men turn to as gods to be worshipped or praised. Hear Ruskin echoing this truth:

> Riches of Tyre, Thebes, and Carthage; yea, I say also the once Rome and great Persia are left for our beholding in the periods of their decline. They are ghosts upon the sands of the sea. Theirs was power, riches, grandeur; much for a country—nothing for man. They rose; they shined, yea glowed, laughed, persecuted, and oppressed, and then they died, and man asks not, where are they? nor cares that they live not among nations. As among men, there is to nations a justice of God and the vengeance of time.

Mr. President, refined civilization as it increases in its purpose of equality among men and justice to all peoples scorns the suggestion of accepting these dead nations of the past as models of national education or guides of personal conduct. The people of the modern world shun them and hold as their boast before earth how they disdain to pattern after them, and turning the face of all those that are new and hopeful to the one standard, approach the United States of America, and bowing in admiration, ask but to follow her past growth, hold her guiding hand, and walk beside her in the light of approving heaven.

Then who are they who misrepresent the purpose of democracy under Wilson that they may defeat all democracy to all men? These charge that America, under Wilson, would continue war to force Governments and people of foreign lands to take our form of government. Let the world know that as George Washington fought for democracy as a right to America and Thomas Jefferson proclaimed it as a necessity to mankind, while Lincoln made it his creed of emancipation for all color and all climes—so, too, Wilson fights for democracy as a right of the whole world. The promise of Wilson to "make the world safe for democracy" is no threat to make the world take democracy. It is but the assurance of the effort to give to the world its chance to take democracy. This war of America is the announcement that we, by our entrance into the conflict, will prevent any despot from depriving any people of the right to exercise their free will in rejecting despotism and choosing democracy. The United States does not fight

to force any Government to adopt the theory of our Government, nor does the United States fight to force any foreign people to take our form of government against any form of government they may choose for themselves. But America does fight to prevent any foreign Government from thwarting any land from enjoying democracy if it so wills by the voice of its own people. And this United States fights now and will ever fight to the expenditure of its last dollar and the sacrifice of every son, rather than submit to any monarch wresting our democracy from us, to the death of our liberty and the end of our Republic.

Messenger Dogs in the German Army

How They Are Trained

THROUGH captures made in the battle of the Chemin des Dames the French General Staff has obtained precise information regarding the German Army's use of dogs as war couriers. The training of the animals is divided into two periods—the training at school and that at the front. At school the men receive detailed instructions as to the care and treatment of dogs, after which they begin a rigorous drill, training each dog to run daily over a longer and longer course, accompanied by his masters; then the dogs must run over the same courses alone, while the two trainers are posted one at each end. The longest course is about three miles.

On the battle line there is similar training. On Sept. 1, 1917, for instance, the 52d Meldehundetrupp left the school at Wiegnehies to join the 52d Infantry Division, near the Hurtebise Farm, in Champagne. The troup consisted of one officer, six sub-officers, thirty-six men, and twenty-one dogs. It was divided at once among the units of the division, the level sectors receiving a larger contingent than the hilly sectors, where communications are less difficult. Marshy ground, where human messengers might be mired, and positions heavily pounded by artillery also were favored.

In their respective sectors the dogs are subjected to local training. Little by little they are drilled to run as couriers between the company and the battalion, on the one hand, and the battalion and the regiment on the other. Thus the courier that has to keep up connection between the company and the battalion is sent by one trainer, who stays with the company commander, to the other, who is quartered with the chief of the battalion. In twenty or thirty days, it appears, the dogs are broken to their work as couriers, and have become familiarized with the tunnels, trenches, shelters, and officers' posts, as well as with the roar of cannonade and the rat-tat-tat of machine guns.

As for the practical results of all this training and ingenious organization, the French officers say these are still in doubt. They indicate the nature of the doubt by citing the case of two trained dogs at Pinon. When the French attacked with a heavy bombardment, one dog disappeared in terror and the other was made sick and useless by a French gas bomb. The fact remains, nevertheless, that canine messengers are doing useful work in dangerous places on both sides of No Man's Land, and to some extent conserving human lives.

Full Record of Sinkings by U-Boats

Statement by Sir Eric Geddes

First Lord of the British Admiralty

Sir Eric Geddes in a speech before the House of Commons on March 20, 1918, for the first time revealed the total shipping losses of Great Britain and the other Allies and neutrals from the beginning of the war up to Jan. 1, 1918. His summary was followed next day by a statement from the Admiralty Office giving the figures in fuller detail. This was made public simultaneously at London and Washington. The essential portions of both utterances are presented below. Sir Eric Geddes said:

THE world's tonnage from the commencement of the war until Dec. 31, 1917, exclusive of enemy-owned tonnage, has fallen by a net figure of, roughly, 2,500,000 gross tons. This is out of 33,000,000 estimated allied and neutral ocean-going tonnage, which is arrived at after deducting small craft, river and estuary craft, and a considerable amount of lake tonnage, tugs, &c., so that with a net loss of 2,500,000 tons we, the allied and neutral world, have suffered about 8 per cent. reduction in ocean-going tonnage of the world, excluding enemy countries. The total world's tonnage, exclusive of enemy tonnage, is 42,000,000, and the deduction is made after careful consideration and investigation. The percentage of net loss in British tonnage alone is higher than this, and reaches 20 per cent. for British tonnage, the more favorable allied and neutral tonnage percentage being, of course, due largely to a credit brought in by the United States of interned German ships.

The main submarine attack is upon us. It was to starve these islands that the enemy instituted this form of warfare. In 1915-16 the output of new tonnage was very low—it was lowest in 1916. In fact, before the intense submarine warfare commenced we were over 1,300,000 tons to the bad from all causes since the beginning of the war. Then our shipping has been in the war zone to a far greater extent and far longer than has that of some of our allies, and our navigational risks and losses, which are included, are greater, because of the absence of lights in the waters around our coast and elsewhere.

With regard to enemy exaggeration: For the twelve months of unrestricted submarine warfare, from Feb. 1, 1917, to Jan. 31, 1918, the enemy has proclaimed in his public notifications that he has sunk over 9,500,000 tons of British, allied, and neutral shipping. The actual figures of vessels sunk by submarine action, including those damaged and ultimately abandoned, amount roughly to 6,000,000 tons, so that we have an exaggeration of 3,500,000 tons in twelve months, or well over 58 per cent. In January the exaggeration was 113 per cent. It is rather amusing that since I publicly showed up this grossly false declaration of results the usual return of submarine sinkings for February has not been issued by Berlin. It is now overdue. I think, if any proof of the failure of the campaign is needed, this exaggeration and Berlin's reticence would show it.

TO THE SHIPBUILDING TASK

For the first two years of the war or more the shipyards of the country had lost their men and the work had become dislocated. Hulls had been on the slips for very long periods and there was no material in existence to finish them. Vessels were lying in the yards awaiting engines, but the engines had never been built, because up to 1917 the Admiralty had made use of the engine shops for naval work. There was great confusion in the shipbuilding industry, not due to the fault of the industry, not really due to any one's fault, but due to war conditions. The output had been checked by urgent work being placed in the same works by different departments. With the introduction of the Controller's Department it was imme-

HENRY P. DAVISON

Chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross Society

(© *Harris & Ewing*)

The actual surrender of Jerusalem, Dec. 9, 1917, when two British outposts met the Mayor (carrying a cane) and his party with the white flag. The formal surrender took place next day

(© *American Colour Photographers*)

diately realized that this policy was bad for output as a whole. It was accordingly arranged to allocate yards or separate sections of yards, so that one class of tonnage only would be produced. The result is that forty-seven large shipyards, containing 209 berths, are wholly engaged on ocean-going merchant vessels. That is entirely apart from the large private warship building establishments, which are obviously most suited for naval work. But there are in addition eleven —and only eleven—other yards suitable for large merchant tonnage which have at the present time naval craft on the stocks.

I now give the figures of output in the yards. In the fourth quarter of 1914 the merchant tonnage produced in the United Kingdom was 420,000. From that date it steadily fell, and it must be noted that the fall was concurrent with our great munitions effort. In the fourth quarter of 1915 it had fallen to 92,000. It then began to rise, and the rise is as follows:

1916

	Tons.		Tons.
1st quarter..	95,000	3d quarter...	125,000
2d quarter...	108,000	4th quarter..	213,000

1917

	Tons.		Tons.
1st quarter..	246,000	3d quarter...	248,000
2d quarter...	249,000	4th quarter..	420,000

These figures refer to the British Isles alone. In the fourth quarter of 1917 foreign construction was 512,000 tons, giving a total output for the world, exclusive of enemy countries, of 932,000 tons for the last quarter of last year. Against that we have the losses due to enemy action and to maritime risk.

THE MONTHLY DEFICIENCY

These losses amounted for the last quarter of last year to 1,200,000 tons. That was by far the lowest quarter of sinkings we have had since unrestricted submarine warfare began, and it looks as if this quarter was going to be lower still. So that we have the fact that by increase in output and decrease in sinkings for the last quarter of last year the Allies were within 100,000 tons, on the average per month, of making good the loss due to enemy action and marine risks. Considering British losses and output alone, the proportionate deficiency is somewhat higher. We lost on the average 260,000 tons per month during the last quarter of 1917, and we built 140,000 tons per month, an average deficiency of 120,000 tons per month. We must all regret that the British position has suffered most among the Allies, but we have contributed the greatest naval effort, and have sustained the greatest attacks, and I do not think we, as a nation, will bemoan our stars or our naval efforts in this great war.

The net result of maritime risk and enemy action, whether by surface, air or submarine craft, from the beginning of the war until the end of last year is a reduction of 2,500,000 tons of shipping, and from the last quarter of last year the Allies and neutrals are replacing 75 per cent. of the lost tonnage, or only 100,000 tons a month below the losses from all causes.

It is well within the capacity of the allied yards, or even our own yards, before very long, with a proper supply of material and man power entirely to make good the world losses.

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS

I do not think I am divulging information which should not be made public when I say that the output of guns and ammunition of all calibres in 1917 is not far short of twice the output in 1916. I need not remind the House of the special effort being made in the output of airplanes. These, I understand, are nearly two and a half times the output of 1916, and arrangements for labor and material to secure a still greater output this year were in progress during the later months of 1917. We have been able to accomplish what I think must be admitted as an enormous development in the shipbuilding industry. We have reached in 1917 a total warship and merchant tonnage output practically equal to the biggest shipbuilding year this country has ever known. We have multiplied by ten the number of naval craft repaired and refitted, and in six months we have in-

creased the merchant ship repaired tonnage by 80 per cent.—an increase of 237,000 tons per week. I would ask the House to notice this fact, that, notwithstanding all these great extensions of work in many directions, and notwithstanding all these great extensions of power of the country, we ended 1917 with an output of new merchant tonnage of 420,000 for the last quarter, against 213,000 for the last quarter of 1916. That was done, moreover, with a dislocated industry, with yards only gradually being cleared of unfinished work, and with large numbers of unskilled personnel in the yards.

Admiralty Summary of Shipping Losses

Record of Three Years

The British Board of Admiralty, with the sanction of the War Cabinet and the concurrence of the Allies, on March 21 published a memorandum revealing the world's total shipping losses from the beginning of the war to Jan. 1, 1918. The essential portions are as follows:

IN the Spring of 1917 the full menace of the submarine campaign was first disclosed. Since that date we have steadily increased our knowledge and our material resources for this novel warfare. Three statements are attached, showing for the United Kingdom and for the world, for the period August, 1914, to December, 1917:

1. Losses by enemy action and marine risk.

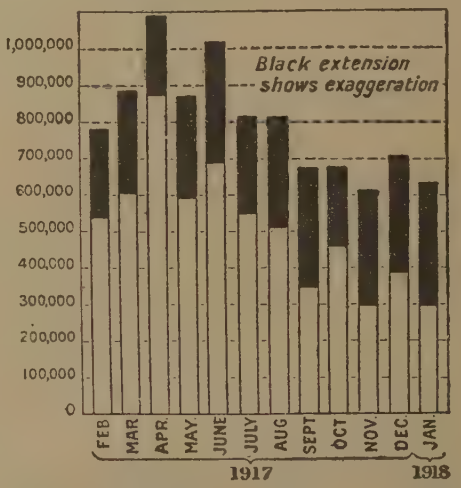
2. Mercantile shipbuilding output.

3. Enemy vessels captured and brought into service.

Diagrams showing in graphic form the losses and shipbuilding output for the United Kingdom and for the world are also attached. The situation should be viewed from the standpoint of the world's tonnage, as in these problems the mercantile navies of the whole world, excluding the enemy, may be regarded as one. It will be noticed that the diagrams record facts, and that nothing has been included in the nature of an estimate.

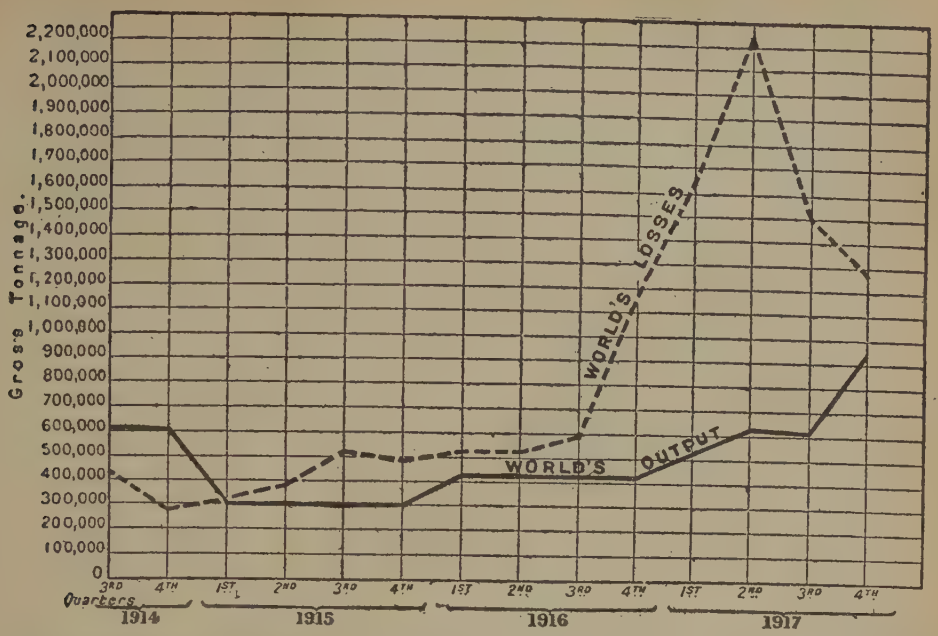
The results of the last year have shown the ability of our seamen to get upon terms with the submarine menace and gradually to gain the upper hand. This has been achieved in spite of an imperfect knowledge of a new and barbarous method of warfare and of a scarcity of suitable material. Our material resources for this warfare are already improved and are being rapidly augmented, while science is placing at our disposal means of offense and defense of which we have been in need.

With regard to the other factor, a rapid and continuous increase in the output of



WORLD'S SHIPPING LOSSES IN 1917. THE BLACK EXTENSION OF EACH COLUMN SHOWS THE GERMAN EXAGGERATION. THE AVERAGE EXAGGERATION FOR THE 12 MONTHS IS 58 PER CENT.

merchant tonnage will inevitably follow the united efforts of all engaged in merchant shipbuilding in this country. * * * During the critical period that confronts us we must rely to a large extent on our own shipyards and on ourselves. Our partners in the war are making every

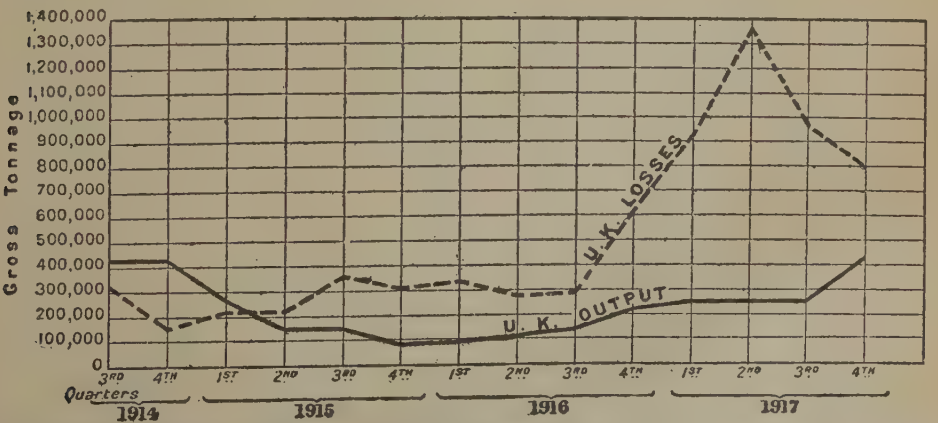


WORLD'S LOSSES OF SHIPPING IN COMPARISON WITH WORLD'S TOTAL SHIP CONSTRUCTION

effort to increase their production of ships, but a considerable time must elapse before the desired output is secured.

To produce in the United Kingdom 1,800,000 tons in 1918, and to reach an ultimate production at the rate of 3,000,000 tons per annum, is well within the present and prospective capacity of our shipyards and our marine engineering shops. But the ranks of the skilled men must be enlarged without delay by the introduction of men and women at present unskilled. The education of these newcomers, upgrading, and interchangeability of work are essential, and must be pressed on with the good-will of employers, foremen, and men.

It is to insure the vigorous co-operation of all concerned that the Admiralty has recommended the publication of the facts.



SHIPPING LOSSES OF UNITED KINGDOM AS COMPARED WITH OUTPUT OF NEW SHIPS

POSITION AT THE END OF 1917

The following table summarizes the position at the end of 1917:

	British.	Foreign.	World.
Losses	7,079,492	4,748,080	11,827,572
Gains:			
New construction.	3,031,555	3,574,720	6,606,275
Enemy tonnage captured	780,000	1,809,000	2,589,000
Total gains.	3,811,555	5,383,720	9,195,275
Net loss (world)			2,632,297

RECORD OF THREE YEARS

The following statement shows United Kingdom and world's merchant tonnage lost through enemy action and marine risks since the outbreak of war:

Period.	United Kingdom. Gross Tons.	Foreign. Gross Tons.	Total for World. Gross Tons.
1914.			
August and September	314,000	85,947	*399,947
4th Quarter	154,728	126,688	281,416
1915.			
1st Quarter	215,905	104,542	320,447
2d Quarter	223,676	156,743	380,419
3d Quarter	356,659	172,822	529,481
4th Quarter	307,139	187,234	494,373
1916.			
1st Quarter	325,237	198,958	524,195
2d Quarter	270,690	251,599	522,289
3d Quarter	284,358	307,681	592,939
4th Quarter	617,563	541,780	1,159,343
1917.			
1st Quarter	911,840	707,533	1,619,373
2d Quarter	1,361,870	875,064	2,236,934
3d Quarter	952,938	541,535	1,494,473
4th Quarter	782,889	489,954	1,272,843
Totals	7,079,492	4,748,080	11,827,572

*This figure includes 182,839 gross tonnage interned in enemy ports.

The next statement shows output of merchant shipbuilding of the United Kingdom and the world (excluding enemy countries) since the outbreak of war:

Period.	United Kingdom. Gross Tons.	Foreign. Gross Tons.	Total for World. Gross Tons.
1914.			
August and September	253,290	337,310	1,012,920
4th Quarter	422,320		
1915.			
1st Quarter	266,267	551,081	1,202,000
2d Quarter	146,870		
3d Quarter	145,070		
4th Quarter	92,712		
1916.			
1st Quarter	95,566	1,146,448	1,688,000
2d Quarter	107,693		
3d Quarter	124,961		
4th Quarter	213,332		
1917.			
1st Quarter	246,239	282,200	528,439
2d Quarter	249,331	377,109	626,440
3d Quarter	248,283	368,170	616,453
4th Quarter	419,621	512,402	932,023
Total	3,031,555	3,574,720	6,606,275

ENEMY TONNAGE CAPTURED

A further statement shows the enemy tonnage captured and brought into service by United Kingdom and by Allies since the outbreak of war:

Period.	United Kingdom. Gross Tons.	Allies. Gross Tons.	Total. Gross Tons.
1914.			
August and September	725,500	453,000	1,178,500
4th Quarter	28,000	5,000	38,000
1915.			
1st Quarter	5,000	1,000	6,000
2d Quarter	500	500	1,000
3d Quarter	3,500	6,000	9,500
4th Quarter	2,500	....	2,500
1916.			
1st Quarter	....	241,000	241,000
2d Quarter	3,500	8,000	11,500
3d Quarter	....	47,500	47,500
4th Quarter	....	....	....
1917.			
1st Quarter	....	....	....
2d Quarter	7,000	702,500	709,500
3d Quarter	4,500	266,500	271,000
4th Quarter	....	78,000	78,000
Total	780,000	1,809,000	2,589,000

The Month's Submarine Record

British merchant ships sunk during the month ended April 7, 1918, were fewer than in the preceding month, the weekly official reports showing a sharp increase followed by an unusually low record, resulting in a considerably decreased total. The British Admiralty figures were:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Mch. 17, 1918	11	6	2
Week ended March 24	16	12	1
Week ended March 31	6	7	5
Week ended April 7	4	2	2
Total for four weeks	37	27	10
Total previous 4 weeks	53	16	9

One of the largest vessels sunk was the British steamship Minnetonka, 13,528 gross tons, formerly in the New York-London service of the Atlantic Transport Line. This happened in the Mediterranean in February, 1918, while the Minnetonka was in the service of the British Admiralty. The Minnetonka was the last of the four passenger ships of the line, aggregating 55,099 gross tons, to remain afloat. The others all have been sunk since the war began. The three others were the Minneapolis, sunk March 22, 1916; Minnehaha, sunk Sept. 7, 1917, and the Minnewaska, sunk Nov. 29, 1917.

Incomplete French records show the loss of three vessels of over 1,600 tons and five under 1,600 tons. Italian losses included seven steamships of over 1,500 tons, three sailing vessels of over 100 tons, and fifteen smaller sailing craft.

Official dispatches from Barcelona reported the sinking by German submarines of two Spanish vessels, one in the Mediterranean and the other off the Canary Islands. These reports confirmed the statement that Germany had commenced a blockade of the Spanish coast to prevent the use of Spanish shipping to help the Allies.

A German submarine of the largest seagoing type on April 10 appeared in the port of Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, and bombarded the wireless and cable stations there. The submarine threw scores of shells from her deck guns into the wireless station, causing extensive damage. She had just turned her attention to the cable offices when a steamer was sighted passing the harbor mouth. The submarine left in chase and did not return. Liberia declared war on Germany Aug. 4, 1917.

Some indication of the losses sustained by the German U-boat fleet is contained in the following reports:

Nine members of the crew of a German submarine which was sunk by an American liner on March 10, when two days out from a French port, were taken prisoners. The rest of the crew perished, the Captain committing suicide when he saw that his submarine was doomed.

Under a heavy attack from three German submarines and three German destroyers, a British seaplane persisted in its efforts against another enemy U-boat and succeeded in sinking it before being damaged by the fire of the other enemy warships. Seaplanes also accounted for three other submarines.

A German U-boat while laying mines on the British coast struck one of them and was blown in two. The only survivor was the Captain, who was taken prisoner. The remainder of the crew, numbering seventeen, were drowned in the submarine.

The German submarine, it is stated in the report of the British War Cabinet, has a surface speed up to 18 knots and a submerged speed of 10 to 11 knots. She carries from fifteen to twenty torpedoes; she can travel 100 miles completely submerged; and she can remain under water on the bottom for a period up to forty-eight hours. A submarine attacking with a torpedo only shows about three inches of periscope at intervals, with the result that few ships which are torpedoed ever see the submarine which has carried out the attack. The range of the torpedoes fired by a submarine is anything up to five miles, and the speed of the torpedo is as high as 40 knots.

Typical U-Boat Methods

From British Admiralty Records

The British Admiralty on March 17, 1918, permitted publication of the logs of a number of vessels that had been sunk by German submarines. These records reveal many stories of heroism and sacrifice. Some of the incidents recorded are as follows:

IN the case of one ship, on which there were forty-seven hands, the boatswain was standing abreast of the mainmast when he saw the wake of a torpedo as it approached, and he had no time to report before the vessel was struck. After the explosion all hands were sent on deck. The ship sank stern first. There was no time to lower the boats, and practically the whole crew had lifebelts on when thrown into the water. When the submarine came to the surface a line was thown to a raft which the crew had managed to launch, and it was hauled alongside the enemy vessel. A colored man was ordered on board, and as soon as he stepped on the submarine both his wrists were seized, and he was firmly held while being interrogated. The enemy took a photograph of him and also of a man on the raft. When the interrogation was completed the colored sailor dived from the submarine and swam to the raft. As the ship was sinking the master dived off the bridge; he was not seen later. A number of men were rescued after being in the water for four hours.

Robbery was reported in connection with another attack. After the vessel had been shelled many times, the master and crew abandoned the ship, lowered the lifeboat, and rowed toward the submarine. Eight shots were fired at the lifeboat, followed by four revolver shots. It was only then that the crew saw the submarine, which was about 500 yards away. The Captain and his men were taken on board; and the commander of the submarine boarded the vessel, removed the clothes, provisions, and papers, and left bombs on board which afterward blew her up. The master was searched, and £22 5s., with his watch and chain, was taken from him. The commander of the enemy vessel said that there was no food left in the submarine, which had been six weeks out, and he also mentioned that food in Germany was very short. During the night the crew were picked up by a destroyer.

"Torpedoed, and on her beam ends, but not actually seen to sink," is the description given by a Captain of an attack on his vessel. She was struck between the stokehold and No. 2 hold, both of which were blown in. The crew had time to take to the boats. The German Captain, speaking perfect English, asked for the name of the ship and her tonnage, and verified the particulars given to him by reference to *Lloyd's Register*. The master's boat, with twenty-three men, reached shore the following day, and the mate's boat, with the remainder of the crew, was picked up. It was reported by the master that the officers and men of the submarine were "quite friendly and polite."

One night a vessel was struck by a torpedo. The engines were stopped, and all hands went to the boat stations. The port boat was lowered safely, but within three minutes the ship sank and the davit caught it and capsized it, all hands being thrown into the water. The second officer went down with the ship, but seized hold of the capsized boat and climbed on top of it. The boatswain also was taken down, and he, too, as well as a seaman, got on the boat. After they had been on the upturned boat for some minutes a submarine appeared and hailed them to come on board. They explained that it was impossible. The submarine went ahead, and about a quarter of an hour later returned, and the men were again asked, in a rough voice, to come on board. The same answer was given, whereupon

the submarine again went ahead, putting her helm over, and the men were thrown into the water. Those on the submarine must have known that there was a man under the boat, as they could easily have heard him knocking. His comrades, however, pulled out the plug and gave him air, and eventually the boat was righted and he was rescued.

One of a group of other ships was torpedoed and the crew took to the boats, one of which capsized, and seven of the men managed to reach the lifeboat. The submarine came close, flashed her searchlight on the boat and on the men in the water, and, after jeering at them, made off. The survivors were picked up by a French torpedo boat next morning.

Attacked by a U-boat, which fired two shots, the master got out the boats, left the ship, and pulled toward the enemy vessel. The commander took four or five of his own men in the ship's boat and put some bombs on board. As these failed to explode he went back for more explosives, taking with him everything out of the ship that could be carried—food, clothing, compass, and all the metal that the enemy could lay hands on. The vessel was then blown up, the crew in the meantime being on the deck of the submarine. They were treated very badly, their clothes being thrown out of the boat into the sea. Only one oar was left them, five having been flung overboard. The master begged for another, but he could not get any more.

Two submarines were sighted at a distance of about six miles attacking a bark. The master of the observing vessel altered his course and lit a smoke cowl to screen his ship, but it was not very effective. Shortly afterward he was attacked by one of the submarines. Being armed, the vessel opened fire, but the U-boat was not within range, and a shot from the submarine struck the ship. Orders were given to haul down the ensign, and steps were taken to abandon her. The boats were lowered and the ship was abandoned, the enemy still firing. The ship was hit nineteen times before the crew was properly clear. When the submarine came up the vessel was "generally looted," everything the enemy could lay their hands on being taken, including the spirits in the bonded room. Some of the Germans were seen drinking on the bridge. The enemy were alongside for about an hour, and "treated our men quite fairly, even returning some of their personal gear which they had looted." The enemy crew were very particular in getting all the leather they possibly could, even going so far as to take old boots which were long past usage. Soap was also in great request, and a tin of lard was considered a prize.

In another instance a vessel struck on the port side in the engine room went down at once, the crew having only time to launch the boats. About ten minutes before the ship was torpedoed a floating object was sighted, which appeared like a small vessel bottom upward. This was reported by flag code to another vessel close by, but no reply was received before the ship was hit. The master was of opinion that this object must have been placed there as a decoy by the submarine to draw the attention of the lookouts away from herself.

When a motor schooner was struck the ship's boat was rowed to the submarine and the master and one man were taken aboard. The submarine then towed the boat to the disabled ship, and sent two men on her with bombs. An officer asked the master, "What was the cargo? Where from? Where bound? Why did the ship not come with convoy?" The officer spoke very good English, being prompted in German by the Captain of the U-boat. The master and crew were much struck by the pallid appearance of the officers and crew of the submarine and by their nervous and excited manner. The commander was continually urging haste, and the officer who was placing the bombs on board could hardly hold them, owing to his nervous tension. One of the crew of the submarine who had lived long in England, speaking to the ship's crew, cursed the war and said that he wished it was over, exclaiming that it was not their fault, but that they had to do their duty. "You won't believe it in England," he added, "but it's true." The submarine appeared to be of an old type and to have been a long time at sea.

The Story of an Indomitable Captain

Told by Joseph Conrad

The story of a certain British steamship traveling from Lerwick to Iceland and torpedoed on the way has been told in The London Daily Mail by the British novelist, Joseph Conrad, in these words:

THE ship went down in less than four minutes. The Captain was the last man on board, going down with her, and was sucked under. On coming up he was caught under an upturned boat to which five hands were clinging.

"One lifeboat," says the chief engineer, "which was floating empty in the distance, was cleverly manoeuvred to our assistance by the steward, who swam off to her pluckily. Our next endeavor was to release the Captain, who was entangled under the boat. As it was impossible to right her, we set to to split her side open with the boat hook, because by awful bad luck the head of the axe we had flew off at the first blow and was lost. The work took thirty minutes, and the extricated Captain was in a pitiable condition, being badly bruised and having swallowed a lot of salt water. He was unconscious. While at that work the submarine came to the surface quite close and made a complete circle round us, the seven men which we counted on the conning tower laughing at our efforts.

"There were eighteen of us saved. I deeply regret the loss of the chief officer, a fine fellow and a kind shipmate showing splendid promise. The other men lost —one A. B., one greaser, and two firemen—were quiet, conscientious good fellows."

With no restoratives in the boat, they endeavored to bring the Captain around by means of massage. Meantime the oars were got out in order to reach the Faroes, which were about thirty miles dead to windward, but after about nine hours' hard work they had to desist, and, putting out the sea anchor, they took shelter under the canvas boat cover from the cold wind and torrential rain. Says the narrator:

"We were all very wet and miserable, and decided to have two biscuits all around. The effects of this and being under the shelter of the canvas warmed us up and made us feel pretty well contented. At about sunrise the Captain showed signs of recovery, and by the time the sun was up he was looking a lot better, much to our relief."

After being informed of what had been done, the revived Captain "dropped a bombshell in our midst" by proposing to make for the Shetlands, which were "only 150 miles off." "The wind is in our favor," he said. "I will take you there. Are you all willing?" This—comments the chief engineer—from a man who but a few hours previously had been hauled back from the grave! The Captain's confident manner inspired them, and they all agreed.

Under the best possible conditions a boat run of 150 miles in the North Atlantic and in Winter weather would have been a feat of no mean merit, but in the circumstances it required a man of uncommon nerve and skill to make such a proposal. With an oar for a mast and the boat cover cut down for a sail, they started on their dangerous journey, with the boat compass and the stars for their guide. The Captain's undaunted serenity buoyed them all up against despondency. He told them what point he was making for. It was Ronas Hill—"and we struck it as straight as a die."

"And there was our captain, just his usual self, as if nothing had happened, as if bringing the boat that hazardous journey and being the means of saving 18 souls was to him an everyday occurrence."

The Naval Defense of Venice

By E. M. B.

[From Information Supplied by Italian Navy Department]

The Italian Navy and the Italian 3d Army divided the honor of holding back the Austro-German forces during the retreat of October, 1917, thus enabling the main army to reorganize for defense on the line of the Piave. The navy's work was particularly difficult, as it had no means at hand to meet the attack of land forces. It was obliged, therefore, to improvise the necessary troops and material in order to hold back the invasion, to make swift and skillful use of the lighter naval craft, and to adapt all available means to the end in view. How the task was achieved is related herewith:

THE enemy advance guards met a stubborn resistance from the Italian Navy on the lower Tagliamento line. Here a small body of sailors contested the passage of the lower course of the river. Hydroplanes bombed the bridges which the Austrians were endeavoring to construct near Latisana and the troops which were gathering on the opposite bank from Latisana to the sea. Submarine chasers ascended the Tagliamento several times, as well as the Lemene and the Livenga, in order to engage and disperse the patrols which the enemy was sending out along the coast in the hope of reaching Venice before the Italian Army could construct a solid protecting ring to the north of the city. Detachments of marines opened fire at each stage of the retreat along the interior canals of the Tagliamento to Caorle, and from Caorle to the Venetian lagoons, thus helping to check the oncoming forces of Boroevic and to give time for the necessary clearing of that region. In spite of an exceptionally difficult sea, barred by mine fields and shoals, the Italian torpedo boats were finally able not only to cover the flank of all the moving forces but also to escort and protect the numerous convoys laden with war material which had been forced to go out in the Adriatic to prevent capture by the enemy.

HARD TASKS OF MARINES

The retreat was accomplished by stages. Each stopping place, where the land and marine forces were gathered and rearranged before carrying out the established plan, had to be protected during the counterattacks of the Italian rear guards, which became more frequent and vigorous with the increasing accuracy of the enemy fire. These attacks were made more difficult by the swampy nature of the ground. This flat and marshy land offers no points of defense and has no traversable and continuous roads. The marines were outnumbered by the regiments confronting them.

Every difficulty was overcome by the valor and self-sacrifice of the Italian sailors. Aviators were seen flying for several consecutive days without resting —attacking the moving enemy columns with machine guns; defending themselves against numerous enemy airplanes, or dropping messages under fire at the points of reunion of the Italian troops in order to insure co-operation between the navy and the army; and continually alternating flights of observation with those of bombardment under the most adverse conditions.

Platoons of marines stood in the mud behind guns corroded by the inundations, holding back entire companies of enemy troops for days and nights without the possibility of obtaining relief or food. Some of the gun crews dragged not only the mounts and the guns by hand across very swampy ground, with the water up to their knees, but also the munition cases, without taking time for sleeping or eating.

Armed submarine chasers threaded their way up winding and narrow canals, in which they could not even have turned around in case of a forced retreat, and

hammered a Hungarian battalion for hours, until it had to retire in disorder before the determination of a handful of men with a few cannons and machine guns. Batteries of marines prolonged the defense of Caorle, a few hundred meters from the enemy advance guards, and did not cease firing until every civilian and everything movable had been placed in security. After this they succeeded in reaching the line of the Piave with their efficiency unimpaired.

Some companies of sailors clad in gray-green held off a big group of "Honveds," [Hungarian guards,] forced back the boats which were attempting to cross the river, made prisoners of men who had succeeded in crossing with machine guns, captured their arms, defended their own flank from the continuous encircling movements of other enemy troops who had crossed the Piave further up stream, and finally formed a firm pillar of defense for the right flank of the army where it made its final stand.

This is a short summary of the work carried out by the Italian Navy during the two weeks following the evacuation of Monfalcone and Grado. When the navy was called upon not only to cooperate and to protect but to constitute an important part of the line of resistance on the lower Piave, its duties were multiplied and assumed the character of a direct participation in the land war. Its special mission was to defend the Lagoons of Venice. The work of forming the principal ring of defense around the City of the Doges was confided to the machine gunners of the navy. The duty of defending the approaches along the seacoast was given to the sailors, and that of observing the battlefields on the lagoons to the aviators. The torpedo boats were asked to guarantee the extreme right wing against surprise from the sea.

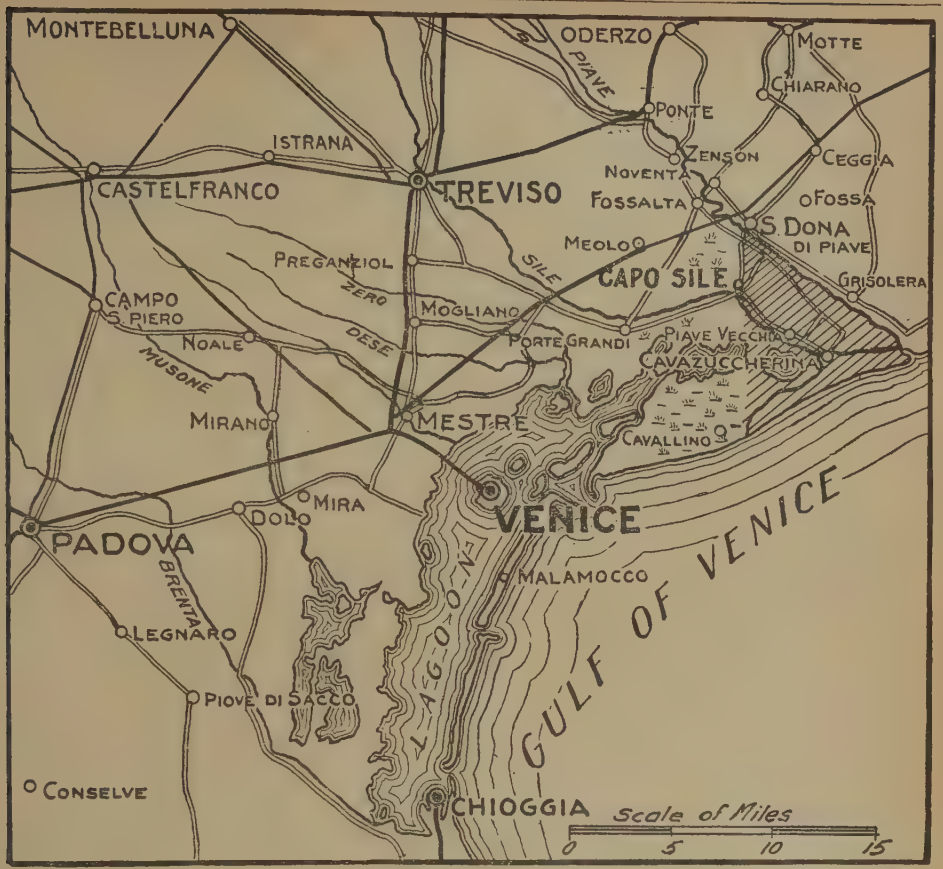
BATTERIES ON THE LAGOONS

The artillery employed by the navy in the defense of the lower Piave and of Venice may be divided into three groups: Floating batteries on pontoons, batteries set up on the ground, and armed ships. Most of the floating pontoons came from Monfalcone on the lower Isonzo and from the marine defense of Grado. The crews working these guns had given magnificent proof of their valor during all the battles of the Carso, fighting in the open in almost impossible positions. The sailors suffered great fatigue and difficulties during the retreat in transporting these floating batteries along the waterways to their present position in stormy weather; but still greater were the sacrifices the naval gunners had to undergo in order to transform the intricate canals and muddy ground into solid positions. This life in the midst of swamps is a melancholy one. The officers and men working the guns have to live and sleep inside the pontoons between the depots of powder and projectiles. The tides and currents are continuously displacing the floating batteries, and constant work, day and night, is necessary to maintain the defense.

It is due to the Italian sailors to recognize that this gigantic work, so rapidly undertaken, saved Venice and gave the army, its retreat having been accomplished, a strong support on its right wing. They helped to repel all the Hungarian attacks around Zenson. At the side of these floating batteries the British monitors held the bridges which the Austro-Hungarians were obstinately throwing across the new Piave under the fire of their guns, and destroyed them with surprising accuracy.

ENEMY BRIDGES DESTROYED

When the enemy succeeded in landing troops on the point of the island, which was mostly inundated, between the new and the old Piave, they tried to augment this advance guard by using a bridge of boats at Grisolera. But the float was shattered, the boats sunk. Enemy forces higher up the river then threw a floating bridge across at Ca' Sacco. Italy's naval guns shattered this bridge also. The enemy then ascended higher up the Piave and built three massive bridges at Agenzia Trezze. These were likewise destroyed. The Austrians descended the river and built another bridge at Tombolino; but they were also prevented from crossing here. They then endeavored to establish communication at



MAP SHOWING LAGOONS AND MARSHES BETWEEN VENICE AND THE PIAVE, WHERE THE ITALIAN NAVY IS HELPING TO HOLD BACK THE INVADERS

San Doná, but here also the shells from the big guns on the floats reached them. There is now [April, 1918] a daily struggle between the enemy desiring to force their way across the river and the great guns on the lagoons impeding the passage, defending the approach, and ruining the work they accomplish.

The Italian armed ships sometimes participate in actions against the enemy infantry. Recently one evening the ship Captain Sauro went up the old Piave, wending its way into an artificial canal which divided the Italian first line of defense from the enemy line. The sailors of the Sauro replied steadily to the riflefire of Hungarian advance posts in the houses along the canals and landed on the shore occupied by the enemy patrols, forcing them to flee and firing the abandoned shelters after taking out the captured munitions. They then returned to the ship and, though harassed by enemy fire, succeeded in returning safely to their point of departure.

WORK OF LAND BATTERIES

Some of the land batteries had equally hard tasks. In the middle of last November many batteries had to withstand continual attacks from the sea by Austrian battleships of the Monarch type, escorted by destroyers, which had been sent to the Venetian shore with the purpose of rendering the Piave untenable. One naval battery of medium-calibre guns, commanded successively by two brothers, fired ceaselessly, without resting, though subjected to the fire of enemy artillery and machine guns, not only from the front and side, but also from the Adriatic in the rear. During the

last days of the retreat, while the defense line of the Lagoons of Venice was not yet consolidated, that battery was for a long time isolated from every communication, without food, reinforcements, or support, yet it did not cede one inch, it never slackened fire, and it never asked for help. It was one of the heroic deeds of the Italian defense between Cavazuccherina and the sea. In the afternoon of Nov. 16, though attacked by the Austrian battleships Budapest and Wien, not only did these same batteries protect the return of two Italian submarine chasers which had gone out to attack the Austrian naval division, but they effectively counterattacked the battleships and their twelve destroyers until their return in the direction of Istria. The battleships never attempted this attack again.

NAVAL AVIATION

The plain extending from Zenson to the sea does not offer any elevated points for observation and the control of artillery fire. Therefore, the task of directing the shellfire had to be confided to the airplanes, and in the lagoons to the seaplanes. But in order that the seaplanes may fulfill their work of observation with safety they must be defended from enemy airplanes and must, therefore, be escorted by chasing machines.

The Italian seaplanes and their escorts did not spare themselves. The aviators of one squadron accomplished seventy-nine bombarding and observation flights in the first twenty days of November during a total of ninety-two hours of flight—not counting practice flights.

THE SUBMARINE CHASERS

Every one now knows, at least by reputation, the M. A. S., [Motoscafi Antisommergibili di Scorta,] the Italian little armored boats that are doing effective work in the Tyrrhenean and the Adriatic, but few understand the great assistance they have given in their support of the army in the marshy Venetian plain covered with watercourses.

The M. A. S. were not built to fight on rivers, but to scour the seas; yet they are frequently seen engaging some enemy advance post. Where the enemy lines border on a river or a canal the menacing prow of an M. A. S. will now and then rise under the barbed wire of the Hungarian trenches. These swift motor boats have become the cavalry of the marshes. They are slaves to their fragility, but they have the advantage of speed and surprise.

The M. A. S. attacked the moving enemy companies across the lagoons with machine guns and their little guns. They were bombarded in turn; but their bravery and their size made them often very fortunate. At Bevazzano a big column of Honveds marching along the shore was put to flight by them. Again they shelled a cyclist corps, killing a large number. They landed a few men on ground already occupied by the enemy and succeeded in destroying or in capturing various machine-gun outposts. Elsewhere they supported isolated companies of sailors, protecting the lagoons, with their small guns. With great daring they pushed up to Porto Gruaro, which had already been invaded from Lemene. Shortly after, while the present line of Intestadure-Capo Sile-Cavazuccherina-Cortelazzo was being organized, the M. A. S. ran up and down for entire days through the Piave, the old Piave, and the Cavetta Canal, undertaking frequent sporadic fights with the machine gunners and the picked shooters of Boroevic.

The armed motor boats by themselves insured the liaison between the lines for several days, and today, when the line of resistance from the lagoons is safe, the tactical use of the M. A. S. in the interior canals is still frequent and efficacious.

FIGHTING LARGER CRAFT

These armored motor boats also held the Adriatic coast, especially between the mouth of the Piave and the Venetian estuary. Nor were opportunities lacking for the little craft to fight against superior forces, as was the case on Nov. 16, 1917. The battleships of the Monarch type—Wien and Budapest—escorted by a division of torpedo boats and destroyers, appeared that morning before

ONE OF THE MANY SMALL NAVAL BATTERIES THAT ARE DEFENDING VENICE IN THE NEIGHBORING LAGOONS.

Cortelazzo and opened a violent bombardment against the Italian lines, attacking them from the flank. Assailed by seaplanes, counterattacked by Italian coast artillery, and threatened by approaching destroyers, they retired, but in the afternoon they returned and reopened fire at the mouth of the Piave.

Thereupon, the M. A. S. appeared from the open sea and plunged into the enemy formation. They intervened where the duel between the coast artillery and the battleships was most intense. When the motor boats had approached within less than a mile, the guns of the Monarch, ceasing to fire on land, turned a violent fire against the audacious newcomers. The enemy destroyers threw themselves on the two Italian chasers, shooting with every gun on board, while the battleships were manoeuvring to retire eastward. The M. A. S. approached the large ships within a few hundred meters, fired their torpedoes, and reversed their course. The Monarchs were able to avoid the torpedoes by rapid evolutions and returned toward the Istrian coast, while even the turret guns continued their fire against the minute Italian chasers.

The battleships having withdrawn, the chasers found themselves surrounded by five adversary torpedo boats, which were attempting to cut off their retreat. They gave a good account of themselves, however, meanwhile gaining the protection of the coast batteries; the enemy destroyers retired, while the M. A. S. returned to their base with insignificant damage and with crews unhurt.

THE NAVAL BATTALIONS

When the news of the Austro-German invasion first spread through the Italian naval bases, the Captains of the battleships saw an unusual procession passing before their cabins, all asking the same thing—to be moved into the infantry and sent to the front. Special orders of the day were necessary to make the rank and file understand that each man could best play his part by remaining at his own post. It was announced, however, that those whose services were not absolutely necessary at their bases would be given full satisfaction. The first naval infantry companies were thus formed in a few days. Sections of the navy belonging to the defense of Monfalcone and Grado were under fire on foot from the first days of the resistance between the Tagliamento and the Livenza, and many others wished to join these gray-green companies.

The first battalion of sailors, perfectly

equipped and organized for trench warfare, went into the front line the 1st of November. Most of these men were not experiencing land firing for the first time, as they had participated with small groups in the defense of Monfalcone and Grado, but they had never before been used as real naval infantry. The lower Piave, where it forms a zigzag before flowing into the Adriatic, was assigned to the naval battalion as its line of defense. At dawn on Nov. 13 the battalion underwent a tremendous shock from the advance guard of the left flank of Boroevic's army. The attack was definitely repulsed. However, a few kilometers to the west, where the line of the Piave was held by battalions of territorials, the enemy succeeded in throwing a bridge of boats across the river near Grisolera and getting an armed patrol with machine guns to the opposite shore.

The territorials withdrew to Case Molinato, in the direction of Cavazuccherina, and groups of Honveds crossed the large watery island between the old and new Piave. The naval battalion, therefore, found its left flank suddenly exposed and had to face both front and lateral attacks. The Italians were commanded by an officer of great strength of character, Lieut. Commander Starita, who decided to hold and to counterattack in spite of the difficult position. The enemy was therefore unable to enlarge the breach and was energetically held in the delta of the river.

"ARDITI" OF THE NAVY

In the meantime the Hungarian machine gunners who had crossed the Piave fortified themselves in the houses, barricaded the doors and windows with sandbags, and, supported by these machine gunners, other enemy patrols crept over, especially at night, through the dense vegetation of the delta, and with riflefire and bombs tormented the sailors, who had remained without any contact with the army. Lieut. Commander Starita, though having only a few hundred men at his disposal, held a front of several kilometers on three sides and organized a special corps of "braves" to clean out the infested zone. He improvised the "Arditi" of the navy and led them into action. Near Case Allegri a platoon of Hungarians had established themselves in an old guardhouse and had made a small fort with several machine guns. A patrol led by Captain Starita was able to surround them and to penetrate and kill the commanding officer despite the heavy fire of the machine gunners. The twenty surviving Hungarians, as soon as they saw their leader fall, raised their hands and called out "Kamerad!" The marines disarmed them, bound them with their puttees, captured the machine guns, and conducted them to the main battalion.

The same day, near Revedoli, a boat full of enemy soldiers attempted to cross the river and to outflank the marines on the right, aided by a bend in the river. The outlook post discovered what was happening and another Italian patrol came to the rescue and engaged the Honveds. The Hungarians were almost all captured and the boat taken. The following day the Starita battalion, which in the meantime had remained isolated from the rest of the army with a dismounted squadron of cavalry and with a company of Alpine machine gunners, was put under a hard strain, as the left flank of Boroevic's army was renewing the attack with great strength. The enemy was repulsed, and the marine patrols took new prisoners and fresh booty. As these operations had produced appreciable losses, the line of the battalion was withdrawn on the evening of Nov. 14 from Case Allegri to the mouth of the river, without any communication with the rest of the front.

The Italian troops of the lagoon section also had established a definite line on the Sile and the old Piave, covering Cavazuccherina with a bridgehead. The retirement of the naval battalion to the new line of the Cavetta Canal from Cavazuccherina to the sea was then decided upon. Lieut. Commander Starita received orders to reach the final positions on the night of the 15th. It would have been an unnecessary sacrifice to continue an isolated fight on the new Piave, as the sailors wished to do. Therefore, the battalion made an orderly re-

tirement with their booty and all their prisoners to the line of Cavetta.

Between the 16th and 17th the enemy succeeded in sending some chosen fighters with machine guns and hand grenades to the houses of Cortelazza, north of the bend of the river. As the distance between the two banks is only a few yards, the sailors opened a heavy fire on the enemy advance guards, intensifying it at night. The battalion did not have sufficient material to undertake a strong counterattack and to repulse the advance guards beyond Cortelazza. On the 18th the necessary material and hand grenades began to arrive. The counterattack was immediately opened with great energy, the houses were retaken, and so the marines were able to throw a bridgehead beyond the Cavetta Canal and Cortelazza, which, consolidated, represents the extreme point of the land resistance toward the sea.

This first naval company, which did so much to arrest the progress of the Austro-Hungarians toward the Lagoon of St. Mark, now gives a veteran's greeting to every new group of marines that comes to add its strength to the ring around Venice.

DWELLING HOUSES IN VENICE RUINED BY AIR-RAID BOMBS

Venice Under the Grim Shadow

The City's Wartime Aspects

[A Rotogravure Etching of Venice Appears in This Issue Opposite Page 269]

WHEN the Austro-German armies swept down through the Venetian plain last October and November, leaving ruin in their wake, they were stopped at the Piave River, whose waters flow into the lagoon a few miles east of Venice. Though the Italian Army and Navy made a ring of steel around the City of the Doges, and have held the enemy at bay from that time to the present, the sounds of battle have been constantly in the ears of the inhabitants, and frequent air raids have left jagged scars on many buildings and even in the pavement of the Piazza San Marco.

Throughout the Winter of 1917-18 Ven-

ST. MARK'S CATHEDRAL IN WAR GARB: THE BRONZE HORSES HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM OVER THE MAIN ENTRANCE, AND PARTS OF THE FACADE ARE PROTECTED

ice remained a city without tourists, its population dwindling from 150,000 to about 40,000, its canals silent and almost empty of life, yet full of a new and wistful beauty. The first days of peril had brought the enemy within twelve or thirteen miles of Venice. From the Fondamento Nuovo, at the northern end of the city, the people could see the flash of guns and the bursting of shells. The roar of guns disturbed their work by day and their sleep by night.

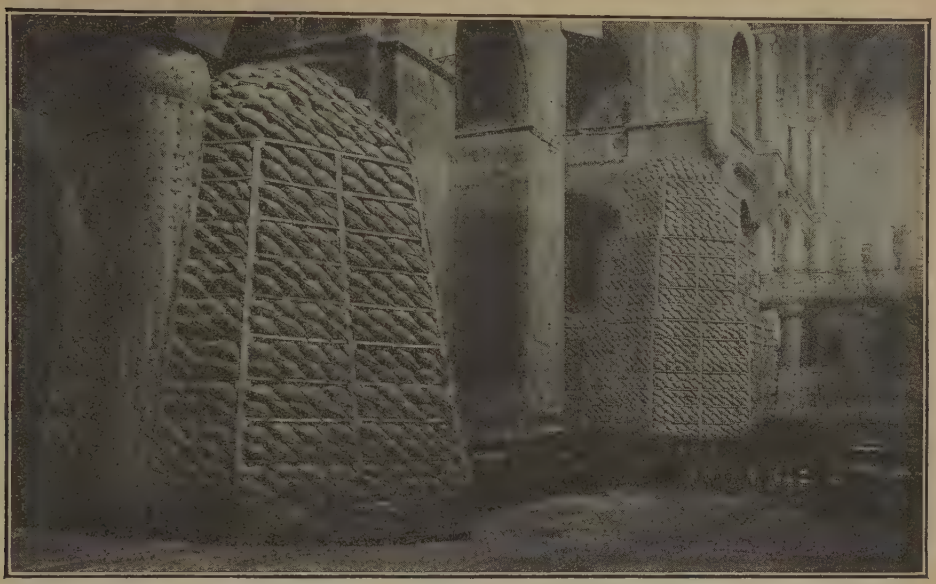
EVACUATING THE CITY

The civilian population was a hindrance rather than a help to the defenders, so the Admiral in command (for Venice is under naval, not military authority) thought it well to arrange for the partial evacuation of the city. In conjunction with the Syndic, Count Erimani, he first asked all foreigners to remove themselves to places of safety. Then offices were opened in each of the thirty parishes, and the people were ordered to report within forty-eight hours. This census was taken, so that railway facilities for traveling might be provided for all, and that places of safety might be found for those who were too poor to go away at their own expense, and pay their way afterward.

In a few days nearly half the population, some 70,000, had gone, the majority to Florence, Rome, and other places in Central and Southern Italy, and the others to Genoa and the Riviera. Some were sent by sea to the Ancona coast. After this first rush the exodus went on more leisurely, some 3,000 leaving each day. Institutions of all kinds, offices, shops, restaurants, and cafés, closed their doors, even the Café Florian, which had been open day and night continuously for over 100 years. Banks and offices transferred their businesses to other towns.

There are no cellars in Venice, nor can the inhabitants have any dugouts in which to conceal valuables, for at a depth of two or three feet below the ground floors of all buildings water is reached. Accordingly the authorities at the Municipal Building, at St. Mark's Library, at the Ducal Palace, at the Archives, as well as at banks and insurance offices, had their documents and valuables conveyed to places of security by boat and rail.

When Italy first went into the war



INTERIOR OF ST. MARK'S: CHAPEL OF THE CRUCIFIX PROTECTED BY SANDBAGS AND MATTRESS-LIKE SHEATHS

precautions had been taken to protect the public monuments of Venice against aerial bombardment. The Doges' Palace and the Church of St. Mark were protected by barricades of sandbags, as were all the more valuable statues throughout the city. St. Mark's gilded copper horses, beaten out by hand, the only example extant of a Roman Quadriga—

> The four steeds divine,
> That strike the ground resounding with their feet,
> And from their nostrils snort ethereal flame—

were removed at that time from their pedestals above the main entrance to the church, and stabled under an archway on the ground floor of the Doges' Palace. When the new peril came with the invasion, however, they were conveyed by a battleship to a safer refuge in Rome. The precious equestrian statue of Colleoni, so much admired by Ruskin, with other treasures familiar to the tourist, also has been removed to a place of security. The bells of St. Mark's campanile and those of every church in the city have been taken away.

By the first weeks of 1918 the population had shrunk to less than 60,000, and at night one could walk through miles and miles of stilled and empty streets, darkened against the peril of air raids, or could travel by gondola along lonely canals rippled only by the Winter wind, with the cold moonlight silvering a deserted fairyland. Two months later the population was further reduced by sending away 20,000 women, children, and old men with a view to eliminating useless mouths to feed and preventing unnecessary slaughter. By that time Austro-German ingenuity had invented a new system of dropping bombs; instead of scattering them over the city the missiles were grouped in large numbers in a very limited space so that the destruction on that area was complete.

LIKE A DEAD CITY

An English war correspondent who visited Venice in the Winter drew this word picture:

"Shuttered palaces face each other across silent canals. A footstep ringing down those narrow alleys, which are like deep, dark slits in a close-crowded mass of many-storied houses, starts echoes that die undisturbed away. The black gondola glides through a dead city more beautiful in the silence and stillness of this war trance of hers than ever in the

fullness of her vivacious life. At each corner of the narrow water lane the white-haired gondolier raises his mournful cry, but by long habit, for he knows that no answer will ring out from beyond the angle of the dark stone wall, and no tapering prow glide out to be avoided by a turn of his skillful oar.

"The Grand Canal is a green and gleaming vista of desertion. The scream of seagulls, beating its tranquil surface with their wings, is the only sound that disturbs the quiet of its reverie. A pleasing melancholy invests the deserted quays, and in remote corners of little lost canals you can almost hear the whispering of innumerable spirits of the Venice of long ago who have been drawn back to their old home by this strange peace that lies upon the city.

"Venice, without tourists, without guides, without postcard sellers and hotel touts, is a close preserve of beauty for the few who have the fortune to be here. The atmosphere and the dignity of the days when she was a ruling city are here as they have never been before in modern times, nor ever will be again."

THE WORST AIR RAID

The greatest air raid of all the forty-five which Venice had endured since the war's beginning was that of the night of Feb. 26-27, 1918. It lasted eight hours—from 10:20 to 6:15 A. M.—and there was not a single interval of more than half an hour during all that time of brilliant moonlight in which bombs were not falling on the city. There were 300 in all. Thirty-eight houses were smashed, the Royal Palace was struck, one wing of an old people's home was blown to pieces, and three churches were damaged, including that of St. Chrysostom, in which an altar with one of Cellini's last landscapes was wrecked. Fifteen bombs fell near the Doges' Palace, one barely missing the Bridge of Sighs and falling into the narrow canal which it spans. Ten bombs fell around the Rialto Bridge. About fifteen civilians were wounded seriously, including two women. Only one man was killed, thanks to the promptness with which the Venetians now take shelter.

According to the official account at least fifty airplanes took part in the raid, and some of these returned again and again, bringing fresh cargoes of bombs throughout the night. The Austrian lines are so near that the trip to the bomb bases and back again requires only twenty-five minutes, and this was the average length of the intervals between the bombardments. G. Ward Price, a war correspondent, in describing the experiences of that night, wrote:

"Suddenly another crash re-echoed throughout the city, and the din of the bombardment started once more. I followed the quickly vanishing throng through an archway, where a green light marked a place of shelter. For two hours I was part of a close-packed throng in the dark vaulted room. There were women and wide-eyed children there in plenty, tired out with the long standing, which for them lasted until dawn, but none showing alarm, though, in addition to the nerve trying din outside, a constant shower of pieces of shell and flying bits of masonry whirred and pelted and pattered down incessantly outside.

BRAVE WOMEN'S LAUGHTER

"Toward 2 o'clock I made another move toward the centre of the city. I heard the drone of an attacking airplane drawing nearer over the still lagoon, and a policeman beckoned me into the vestibule of a high palazzo in one of those narrow Venetian alleys between tall black rows of houses which are like a communication trench of masonry. All was cheerfulness in this marble anteroom, a family of young daughters laughing and chattering with their mother while the noisy night crept slowly on. Taking advantage of another lull, I reached my hotel, but not until 6 o'clock, when the dawn was well advanced, did the tumult of this eight-hour-long bombardment cease.

"And yet this morning, as one went about in the warm sunshine seeing the places which the bombs had destroyed, the people seemed untroubled enough. Troops of black-shawled girls went chattering by, and the boys were playing a

sort of 'shove-halfpenny' game, using as counters the shell splinters they had found scattered about the city ways."

Since then there have been many other raids, but none so prolonged. The black-shawled women whose laughter defied the nightly peril have gone for the most part, taking with them the alert "bambini," who at that period still shouted at play in the streets. Only armed defenders are left, with those who are absolutely necessary to aid them. The muffled echo of distant guns is heard by day and the crash of bombs by night. Just outside the city is a little cemetery where are gathered the bodies of the Italian and French aviators who have died defending these shores. The marble pavement of the Piazza and Piazzetta is torn in places, and the swarming pigeons of other days have dwindled sadly, for no tourists come to feed them. In the sky over the lagoon, where the gulls once reigned supreme, airplanes now keep watch against the ceaseless threat in the direction of the Piave.

Taking Over the Dutch Ships

The United States Seizes for the War Period 500,000 Tons of Dutch Shipping

THE April issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contained a brief reference to the intention of the United States and British Governments to seize the Dutch shipping in their ports on account of Holland's refusal to carry food cargoes for fear of offending Germany. The two Governments took action March 20, 1918, when all Dutch shipping in American and British harbors was seized by the naval authorities of the two countries. The total of shipping acquired is estimated at 750,000 tons, 500,000 being in American waters. The largest Dutch steamship, the Nieuw Amsterdam, which was in New York Harbor at the time, was not seized, but was permitted to return to Holland with a cargo of food, as it had been agreed when she made her outward voyage, during the pending of the negotiations, that, whatever the result, she would be immune; moreover, all Dutch shipping outward bound to American waters at the date of the seizure which had not yet reached port were also to be permitted to return to their home ports.

President Wilson's proclamation directing the seizure stated that "the law "and practice of nations accords to a "belligerent power the right in times of "military exigency and for purposes "essential to the prosecution of war, to "take over and utilize neutral vessels "lying within its jurisdiction." The President also made a formal statement in which he reviewed the negotiations with Holland for the restoration of her merchant marine lying idle in American ports to a normal condition of activity for the transportation of foodstuffs. He had sought to have these Dutch ships carry food for Switzerland, for Belgian relief, and for Holland as well. He stated that on Jan. 25, 1918, the Dutch Minister proposed that

> one hundred and fifty thousand tons of Dutch shipping should at the discretion of the United States be employed partly in the service of Belgian relief and partly for Switzerland on safe conduct to Cette, France, and that for each ship sent to Holland in the service of Belgian relief a corresponding vessel should leave Holland for the United States. Two Dutch ships in the United States ports with cargoes of foodstuffs were to proceed to Holland, similar tonnage being sent in exchange from Holland to the United States for charter as in the case of other Dutch ships lying in the United States ports.

The President stated that shortly afterward Holland rejected her own proposals, presumably through fear of German submarines, every suggestion thereafter was postponed, and answers were delayed, until finally, on March 7, it be-

came clear that Holland was prevented by German coercion from fulfilling any agreement to put her ships into service; it was then concluded to exercise the sovereign rights of a belligerent under the international law of "angary," and to place the Dutch ships under American jurisdiction. The President concluded as follows:

> We have informed the Dutch Government that her colonial trade will be facilitated and that she may at once send ships from Holland to secure the bread cereals which her people require. These ships will be freely bunkered and will be immune from detention on our part. The liner Nieuw Amsterdam, which came within our jurisdiction under an agreement for her return, will, of course, be permitted at once to return to Holland. Not only so, but she will be authorized to carry back with her the two cargoes of foodstuffs which Holland would have secured under the temporary chartering agreement had not Germany prevented. Ample compensation will be paid to the Dutch owners of the ships which will be put into our service and suitable provision will be made to meet the possibility of ships being lost through enemy action.
>
> It is our earnest desire to safeguard to the fullest extent the interests of Holland and of her nationals. By exercising in this crisis our admitted right to control all property within our territory we do no wrong to Holland. The manner in which we proposed to exercise this right and our proposals made to Holland concurrently therewith, cannot, I believe, fail to evidence to Holland the sincerity of our friendship toward her.

The seizure of the Dutch ships was accomplished without friction on March 20 by manning them with American naval officers, with the co-operation of the United States Shipping Board. The Dutch crews were released, and many of the officers and sailors returned to Holland a few days later.

The action of the American and British authorities produced much agitation in Holland; the Dutch newspapers bitterly denounced the action as unwarranted. A statement appeared in the Official Gazette of the Netherlands Government on March 30 in which the seizure was characterized as an act of violence. The statement asserted that the act was "indefensible from the viewpoint of international law and unjustifiable." Denial was made that an agreement failed through German pressure. The Dutch official statement ended as follows:

> The powers in question, owing to the loss of ships, felt constrained to replace the tonnage by obtaining the disposal of a very large number of ships which belonged not to them but to the Netherlands. They became aware that the Netherlands Government could not permit the ships to sail in the interest of the associated Governments except on the conditions imposed by neutrality, but which were, in the judgment of the Governments, not sufficiently in accordance with their interests. Therefore, they decided to seize the Dutch merchant fleet in so far as it lay within their power.
>
> The Netherlands Government deems it its duty, especially in serious times such as the present, to speak with complete candor. It voices the sentiments of the entire Dutch Nation, which sees in the seizure an act of violence which it will oppose with all the energy of its conviction and its wounded national feeling.
>
> According to the Presidential statement, this procedure offers Holland ample opportunity to obtain bread grain. This is so only apparently; for would it not be an irresponsible act, after the experiences of Dutch ships in American and British ports, to permit other ships to sail to these ports without adequate guarantees that these experiences shall not occur?
>
> The American Government has always appealed to right and justice, has always come forward as the champion of small nations. That it now co-operates in an act diametrically opposed to those principles is a proceeding which can find no counterweight in the manifestations of friendship or assurances of lenient application of the wrong committed.

The United States Government proceeded at once to put the commandeered ships into service. On April 12 Secretary Lansing issued a statement answering the Dutch protest in detail. After pointing out that the Netherlands Government had not questioned the legality of the action taken by the United States, Secretary Lansing showed that it had involved no element of unfriendliness and was justified by the evidence in the case. Events had proved that to have granted bunker coal and food cargoes on ordinary terms would have released foodstuffs in Holland for sale to Germany and "would in fact have been an act beneficial to the enemy and having no relation to our friendship to the Netherlands."

Air Raids on Paris and London

A Historical Summary

PARIS experienced one of the most disastrous air raids of the war on the night of March 11, 1918, when nine squadrons of German airplanes, aggregating nearly sixty units, took part in an attack on the city and suburbs. Several buildings were demolished and set on fire. The number of persons killed was 34, and there were in addition 79 injured, 88 of these casualties being in Paris.

In addition to the bomb victims, 66 persons were suffocated through crowding in a panic into a Metropolitan (subway) Railway entrance to take refuge from the raiders. These were for the most part women and children.

A fog which had covered the city in the morning settled down again in the early evening. It was thick enough to cause the general belief that there was little chance that the Germans would attempt an air raid. This belief, however, was shattered at 9:10 o'clock, when the warning was sounded of the approach of hostile aircraft. The raid ended shortly after midnight, with a loss to the Germans of four machines, which were brought down by the French anti-aircraft defenses.

Mr. Baker, the United States Secretary of War, was in conference with General Tasker H. Bliss, the American Chief of Staff, in a hotel suite when the air alarm was sounded. Secretary Baker was not disturbed by the noise of the sirens or the barrage of the anti-aircraft guns, but the hotel management, fearing for the safety of himself and his party, persuaded the members to descend to the wine cellar, where later they were joined by Major Gen. William M. Black.

Mr. Baker, in the course of a statement the following day, said: "It was "my first experience of the actualities "of war and a revelation of the methods "inaugurated by an enemy who wages "the same war against women and chil- "dren as against soldiers. If his object "is to damage property, the results are "trifling when compared with his efforts. "If his object is to weaken the people's "morale, the reply is given by the superb "conduct of the people of Paris. More- "over, aerial raids on towns, which are "counterpart of the pitiless submarine "war and the attacks against American "rights, are the very explanation of the "reasons why America entered the war. "We are sending our soldiers to Europe "to fight until the world is delivered "from these horrors."

THE ENEMY MACHINES

George Prade, a leading French authority on aircraft, told a newspaper correspondent that the German airplanes used in the attack on Paris were the result of a construction program decided on by the German Staff last Summer to meet in advance what is generally known in France as the American aviation program.

When it was announced that the Americans had decided to construct an enormous air fleet for service on the western front, the German War Staff developed plans for much more powerful machines. In June and July, 1917, they began the construction in series of more than 2,000 engines much higher powered than those in previous use. These consisted of Mercedes engines of 260 horse power with six cylinders and Maybach and Benz, both 250 horse power, and with six cylinders. These engines took the place of heavier but less powerful six and eight cylinder engines, ranging from 225 to 235 horse power. The Germans thus not only gained in power, but definitely adopted a plan for planes with two motors and two independent propellers. Each new machine was built with three chasses, a middle one carrying the crew, and two outside, each carrying an engine and a propeller. Three distinct types were developed, known, respectively, as Gothas, Friedrichshafens, and A. E. G.'s.

The length of wings ranges from 72½ to 86 feet. The propellers in earlier machines were placed at the rear, but now they are on the front of the cars. Machines of all three types carry either three or four men, and are fitted with three appliances for launching bombs. The projectiles vary enormously, ranging from aerial torpedoes, the smallest of which weighs two hundredweight, down to small shrapnel bombs. Each of these machines carries a minimum of 153 gallons of petrol and 15 gallons of oil, sufficient for at least a four hours' flight. Their average speed is between 80 and 90 miles an hour.

Referring to the question of hitting any given target, M. Prade said it was practically impossible to strike any particular objective when a plane was traveling at a rate of thirty-eight to forty yards a second. A bomb must be dropped more or less at random, which is the reason why such form of warfare is simply criminal. It is impossible to tell where the bomb will fall. Three men are generally sufficient to handle a machine, one for each engine and a third to drop bombs. The fourth man carried is generally a pilot, who is able from his knowledge of Paris districts to direct the airplane more or less accurately toward objectives.

Big raiding machines generally are accompanied by a large number of smaller two-seated, single-motor planes of 180 to 260 horse power, such as are generally used for reconnoissance purposes. These planes, of which the Hanover is the newest type, are usually of only thirty-eight to forty feet wing spread, but can get up to 20,000 feet carrying four small bombs.

The raid of March 11 was preceded on March 8 by an almost equally formidable attack on Paris, the casualties being 13 killed and 50 injured. One of the raiding machines, an airplane of the Gotha type, was found in the Forest of Compiègne, where it had fallen while returning from the raid. All four of its occupants were killed. They included Captain Fritz Eckstein, the commander of the raiding squadrons, and an officer of the Kaiser's White Cuirassiers from Potsdam. Three other machines were brought down. Altogether, fifteen trained aviators, mechanics, and pilots were either killed or made prisoner.

BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH

Bombardment in 1917 played a more and more important part in aerial operations. The Germans had for some time expended their principal efforts upon aviation on the battlefield; besides, up to 1916 they were averse to night flying. But by the beginning of 1918 they had brought into existence a system of aerial bombardment supplied with powerful machines, and had developed an increasing series of attacks on the French troops, on the camps at the rear, and, alas! on the cities of France. Nancy and Dunkirk are sad examples of their work.

The German squadrons known as Kampfgeschwader, furnished with special trains that transport them to any desired point and placed under the direct authority of the Quartermaster General, make use of great triplanes armed with machine guns and supplied with automatic bomb throwers; the Gothas, which, with their two Mercedes motors of 260 horse power each, can carry 1,200 pounds of explosives and gasoline for five hours, and the Friedrichshafens, whose two Benz motors of 225 horse power each can carry enough gasoline for four hours and twelve bombs totaling half a ton in weight.

It was with these machines—employed in mass formation—that the Germans attempted their great bombing operations in the Autumn of 1917, notably the expedition in November, when in a single night seven groups of airplanes made successive attacks on English cities; also the raid of Dec. 19 on London, when twenty machines took part in the attack on London and caused serious damage, including the work of an incendiary bomb that set fire to a factory and burned it to the ground. It is with these machines which they are still improving, and which they are multiplying by the bold creation of series, that the Germans have vainly sought to hold command of the air during their offensive in Picardy.

The example and threat of the enemy

had their effect in France. The French bombarding groups, which, born at the end of 1914, had in 1915 achieved famous flights into the heart of Germany, were compelled, with the advent of aerial combats, to renounce daylight operations, as these had become impossible or too uncertain for their slow and heavy machines, insufficiently armed, and had turned their attention to perilous night expeditions. But, despite successful raids and effective destruction, the French bombing operations remained more or less unsatisfactory.

In the course of 1917 the use of the flying squadrons was finally adapted to the diverse needs of the battle front. In the French offensive at Verdun, while tactical aviation guided the waves of assault, regulated the artillery fire, and furnished information to the General Staff, while the swift airplane chasers, by a vigilant barrage, prevented all observation by enemy machines, the bombarding groups daily took part also in the action by hurling flames and destruction on railway stations, munition depots, storehouses at the rear, and sowing panic among the troops that were preparing to attack.

Equipped at length with machines that combined the indispensable characteristics of speed, power, and armament, enabling them to hold the air in daytime, the French bombardiers attacked arsenals in the interior of Germany, and the British war dispatches of Dec. 25 mentioned a daylight raid of allied air squadrons upon Mannheim, where several fires followed, with heavy explosions at the centrail railway station and in the factories.

The night groups, which had long made their raids only by moonlight, at length grew accustomed to flying in complete darkness. They multiplied their expeditions against enemy cantonments, railways, aviation fields, factories, and military and industrial centres. The task that remained at the opening of the Spring of 1918 was the fuller co-ordination of the groups of bombardiers.

By that time the French had an excellent daylight airplane as well as successful night machines, and announced the early completion of still better ones. Their projectiles were not inferior to those of the Germans, and their supply was up to the demand. Thus they faced the German offensive fully equipped to hold their own so far as air supremacy was concerned.

RAIDS ON LONDON

London, as well as Paris, received frequent visits from enemy airplanes in February and March, 1918. On the three successive nights of Feb. 16, 17, and 18 German raiders attacked the British metropolis. Twenty-seven persons were killed and forty-one were injured. Many of the German machines failed to reach the city owing to the great improvement which had been effected in the aerial defenses both on the coast and around London itself. Both the anti-aircraft guns and the airmen helped to diminish the casualties. The third night's raid resulted in an entire absence of both casualties and damage to property.

Seven or eight German airplanes made a raid over England on the night of March 7. Two of them reached London and dropped bombs in various districts. Eleven persons were killed and forty-six injured in the metropolitan area. In addition a certain amount of damage was done to dwellings and some people buried under the wreckage.

Zeppelins were again employed by the Germans in a raid on the east coast of England on March 12. One of them dropped bombs on Hull, while the two others wandered for some hours over remote country districts at great altitudes, unloading their bombs in open country before proceeding out to sea again. This was the first Zeppelin raid on England since Oct. 19, 1917. The Germans had sustained such heavy losses in Zeppelins that they had substituted airplanes. [An account of the fate of the Zeppelins is included elsewhere in this issue.]

BRITISH REPRISALS

Reprisals by British aviators have been frequent and drastic. The British Air Ministry, in one of the detailed statements which it issues from time to time, presented the following list of raids into Germany from Dec. 1, 1917, and Feb. 19, 1918, a period of eleven weeks:

Date. 1917. Dec.	Objective.	Locality.	Popula- tion.	Wt. of b'mbs in lbs.
5	Rly. sidings.	Zweibrucken.	14,700	1,344
5	Works	†Burbach ...	....	1,096
6	Works	†Burbach ...	....	2,216
11	Boot factory.	Pirmasens ..	34,000	1,594
24	Factories ...	Mannheim ..	290,000	2,252
1918. Jan.				
3-4	Railways ...	Nr. Metz....	100,000	760
4-5	Railways ...	Nr. Metz....	100,000	2,940
5-6	Town	*Courcelles..	....	1,344
5-6	Town & rlys.	*Conflans ...	....	2,180
14	Munition factory & rlys.	Karlsruhe ..	140,000	2,800
14-15	Steelworks...	Thionville ..	13,000	2,105
14-15	Railways ...	Metz	100,000	524
14-15	Railways ...	*Eringen	....	280
16-17	Railways ...	Benadorf ...	....	280
16-17	Town	Ormy	....	255
16-17	Searchlight..	Vigny	....	26
21-22	Steelworks...	Thionville ..	13,000	1,220
21-22	Rly. sidings.	Bensdorf	....	2,210
..	Rly. junction.	Arnaville ...	....	1,344
24-25	Steelworks, rlys. and barracks.	Thionville ..	13,000	1,120
		Treves	48,000	809
24-25	Railway	Oberbilig ...	....	280
24-25	Factory	Mannheim ..	290,000	672
24-25	Railway	Saarburg ...	9,800	280
24-25	Steelworks..	Thionville ..	13,000	1,344
25	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	1,350
27	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	230
Feb. 9-10	Railway	*Courcelles ..	....	1,844
12	Town	Offenburg ..	15,400	2,838
16-17	Rly. station.	*Conflans ...	....	1,488
17-18	Rly. sidings.	*Conflans ...	....	2,240
18	Steelworks ..	Thionville ..	13,000	936
18	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	1,250
18-19	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	2,206
18-19	Rly. and gas works	Thionville ..	13,000	650
19	Station	Treves	48,000	2,400

*See Metz. †See Saarbrucken.

James I. Macpherson, Parliamentary Secretary of the War Office, stated in the House of Commons on March 19 that British airmen had made 255 flights into German territory since October, 1917. The 255 flights constituted 38 raids, and only 10 machines were lost. The aviators dropped 48 tons of bombs.

According to a dispatch from The Hague dated April 3, the damage caused by raids in the Rhenish cities was much more extensive than had been admitted. Places where bombs actually fell were described as "unrecognizable." Of the bombs dropped at Coblenz in the most recent raid, eight did considerable damage. One fell upon a station, one fell amid a company of soldiers going to get food, and others practically destroyed half of the barracks where French prisoners were confined in 1870. In Cologne a branch factory of the Baden Aniline Works was partly destroyed and a number of people were killed and wounded. Great damage also was done at Mainz. It was also reported that much damage was done at Düsseldorf. After the raids the authorities made every effort to clear up the wreckage as rapidly as possible, and the town was made to resume normal life immediately.

In connection with military operations on the western front, official reports showed that the Allies had gained great successes in destroying enemy airplanes. The enemy losses in January, 1918, were 292; in February, 273, and in the first seventeen days of March 278. For the week ended March 17 the British Royal Flying Corps alone destroyed 99 German airplanes and drove down 42, losing 23 of its own machines.

One of the most surprising air raids was that of March 11 on Naples, in Southern Italy, far from enemy lines, when a dirigible dropped bombs on the city. Private houses, asylums, and churches were damaged or destroyed and 16 persons killed and 40 injured.

Among the most savage attacks on Paris by aircraft was that in the night of April 12, when two hostile machines got through the anti-aircraft barrage and succeeded in killing 26 persons and injuring 72. One of the torpedoes burst a gas main in the street where it fell, but firemen promptly extinguished the fire that ensued. The American Red Cross was first on the scene of the explosion, and in a very short time had the victims safely removed to a hospital.

The Tale of Zeppelin Disasters

What has become of the German airship fleet initiated by the late Count Zeppelin is now known to the Intelligence Department of the French Army, which has given out a complete list of the 100 or more dirigibles constructed since the first one was launched over Lake Constance.

Up to August, 1914, the total of Zeppelin airships built numbered twenty-five, while since the war the two great works at Friedrichshafen and Staaken have produced between seventy-five and eighty. As the mean period for the building of a Zeppelin is known with certainty to be two months, there must always have been four new airships on the stocks at the same time.

Most of the Zeppelins launched into the air before the war came to grief, thus leaving in the service of the German Army and Navy a fleet of less than a dozen when fighting began. Since then nearly all the dirigibles, old and new, have been handed over to the German Navy, which has used them for many kinds of work, such as bombing expeditions, protection of mine layers and small torpedo boats at sea, chasing submarines, searching for mine fields, and, last and most important, reconnoitring for the High Seas Fleet.

Disaster has attended the flight of an overwhelming majority of these air monsters, no fewer than thirty of which are known to have been destroyed in one way or another, as is shown by the following list:

L-1—Destroyed just before the war, when it fell in the North Sea near Heligoland.

L-2—Burned at Buhlsbuettel just before the war.

L-3—Descended at Famoe in Denmark at beginning of the war, and was burned by its crew.

L-4—Descended at Blaavands Huk, Denmark, at beginning of the war, and was burned by its crew.

L-5—Brought down on the Belgian front in 1915; part of crew saved.

L-6—Burned at Buhlsbuettel in its hangar in September, 1916.

L-7—Brought down by British destroyers off Portland, crew being drowned, in 1915.

L-8—Brought down by machine guns in Belgium, part of crew being killed, in 1915.

L-9—Burned at Buhlfriettel in its hangar at same time as L-6.

L-10—Struck by lightning near Cuxhaven during its initial flights, and lost with its crew.

L-12—Destroyed at Ostend in 1915 when returning from a raid on England.

L-15—Brought down in the Thames, England, in 1916.

L-16—Destroyed on Oct. 19, 1917.

L-18—Burned in a hangar at Tondern in 1916.

L-19—Fell in the Baltic while returning from a raid on England.

L-22—Burned accidentally while coming out of its hangar at Tondern.

L-23—Fell on the English coast.

L-25—Destroyed while being employed as a training balloon at Wildpark.

L-31—Fell in London in 1916.

L-32—Brought down in London in 1916, (Sept. 23-24.)

L-33—Brought down in England, Sept. 23, 1916, and crew interned.

L-35—Brought down in England.

L-39—Brought down at Compiegne, France, March, 1917.

L-40—Fell in the woods near Emden.

L-43—Brought down in July, 1917, at Terscheling.

L-44—Brought down afire at Saint-Clement, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-45—Brought down and burned at Silteron, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-48—Brought down in England, June, 1917.

L-49—Brought down at Bourbonne-les-Bains, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-50—Fell at Dommartin, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-57—Broke up on its first voyage.

The last named is the highest number believed to have been in the service. Missing numbers in the list given above are accounted for as follows:

L-11—Put out of service in 1917 and believed to be in shed at Hage.

L-13—In the shed at Hage since May, 1917.

L-14—School airship at Northolz.

L-17—Believed to have been destroyed at sea.

L-20—Dismantled.

L-21—Dismantled; believed burned at Tondern.

L-24—Dismantled.

L-26—Planned, but never constructed.

L-27, L-28, L-29, and L-30—Planned, but never constructed.

L-34—Believed destroyed off England.

L-37—Attached to Baltic squadron, but believed destroyed.

L-38—Whereabout unknown.

L-41, L-42, L-46, L-47, L-51, L-52, L-53, L-54, L-55, and L-56—In service in the North Sea.

No information is obtainable as to the fate of the remainder of the Zeppelins, nor as to whether their construction was ever completed, but the few other types of dirigible airships used by the Germans have not been better served by fate than their more renowned sisters.

The Schuette-Lanz dirigible is something like a Zeppelin, but with a framework of bamboo instead of aluminium. There have been eight of these in use since the beginning of the war, and their fate or present condition is shown in the following list:

S L-3—Long since out of service.
S L-4—Struck by lightning in the Baltic.
S L-6—Believed to have fallen into the Baltic.
S L-8—In service in the Baltic.
S L-9—Burned at Stolp.
S L-14—In service in the Baltic.
S L-16—Believed to be still in service.
S L-20—In service.

There was also one Gross semi-rigid dirigible, which was put out of service at the end of February, 1915, and three Parseval non-rigid airships, one of which was destroyed in Russia, the second used as a schoolship, and the third understood to be still in service.

Paris Bombarded by Long-Range Guns.

The Disaster on Good Friday

PARIS, though accustomed to the perils of German air raids, was amazed on the morning of March 23, 1918, to find itself bombarded by one or more guns of unprecedented range, which were dropping 9-inch shells into the city and its suburbs at intervals of twenty minutes. The nearest German line was more than sixty-two miles away, and the possibility of artillery bombardment at such a range was at first doubted in all the allied countries, but by the following day the fact was established that the shells were actually coming from the region of the Forest of St. Gobain, seven miles back of the French trenches near Laon, and about seventy-five miles from Paris. The French artillery at the front at once took measures to locate and destroy the guns, but without immediate results.

The first day's casualties from the long-distance shells were stated to be ten killed and fifteen wounded. The second day, which was Palm Sunday, was ushered in by loud explosions from the new missiles, but by church time the Parisians had already discounted the new sensation and thronged the streets on their way to the churches. The women who sell palm leaves on that day did their usual thriving business. During the early morning hours the street traffic was partly suspended, but by noon both the subway and the tramway cars were running again.

The shells were found to be doing comparatively little damage in proportion to their size. The municipal authorities announced on the second day that the German bombardment should not be allowed to interrupt the normal life of the city, and that the people would be warned by special signals, differing from those for air raids, and consisting of the beating of drums and blowing of whistles by the policemen. On Monday, when the police began to use the new system of alarm, they were the object of much good-natured chaffing on account of their awkwardness with the drumsticks.

Twenty-four shells reached Paris the first day, twenty-seven the second, fewer the third, and thus the bombardment went on daily, with occasional casualties and little effect on the habitual life of the city. The famous palace of the Tuileries was damaged by one of the shells, and other public buildings were struck. The damage was largely confined to the Montmartre district, the amusement centre of Paris, and nearly all the shells fell within a section about a mile square, indicating that the gun was immovable. One shell dropped in front of the Gare de l'Oest, a railway terminal, killing six men.

The casualties, however, were com-

paratively few until March 29, when a shell struck the Church of St. Gervais at the hour of the Good Friday service, killing seventy-five persons and wounding ninety, some of whom died later. Fifty-four of those killed were women, five being Americans. The shell had struck the church in such a way as to cause a portion of it to collapse and fall upon the worshippers at the moment of the elevation of the Host.

PROTEST FROM THE POPE

The intense indignation of all France at this new outrage on noncombatants was voiced at once through the press and in speeches in the Chamber of Deputies. The authorities of the Catholic Church were deeply stirred, and Pope Benedict sent a protest to Berlin against the bombardment of Paris, and especially against the destruction of churches and the wholesale massacre of civilians. Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, arriving at the scene of the catastrophe a few moments after the explosion, expressed the general feeling when he exclaimed: "The beasts! To have chosen the day of our Lord's death for committing such a crime!" The Vatican sent Cardinal Amette the following dispatch:

> The Holy Father, deploring the fact that the bloody conflict, which already has caused everywhere so much suffering, has again, on the very day of the Saviour's Passion, found more innocent victims, who are still dearer to his heart owing to their faith and piety, expresses his deepest sympathy. He sends the apostolic blessing to all the faithful in Paris, and desires to know if it is necessary to send material aid to the families in mourning.

The Cardinal also received the following letter from Grand Rabbi Israel Levi on behalf of those of the Jewish faith:

> Your Eminence, I am the interpreter of the feelings of all my French co-religionists in saying that I share in the mourning which has come to so many families devastated by sacrilegious barbarism. We are one in pious indignation at the crime, which seems to have been intended as an insult to what humanity holds most sacred.

Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, voiced the sentiments of New York Catholics in this message to the Archbishop of Paris:

> Shocked by the brutal killing of innocent victims gathered at religious services to commemorate the passing of our blessed Saviour on Good Friday, the Catholics of New York join your noble protest against this outrage of the sanctuary on such a day and at such an hour and, expressing their sympathy to the bereaved relatives of the dead and injured, pledge their unfaltering allegiance in support of the common cause that unites our two great republics. May God bless the brave officers and men of the allied armies in their splendid defense of liberty and justice!

Among those killed in this disaster was H. Stroehlin, Secretary of the Swiss Legation. The German Foreign Office later made an indirect expression of regret to Switzerland for this act, but sought to justify the bombardment on the ground that Paris is a fortress. The Kaiser sent a special note of congratulation to the managers of the Krupp works regarding the success of the weapon.

AMBASSADOR SHARP'S REPORT

William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador to France, visited the wrecked church shortly after the disaster and sent a detailed report to Secretary Lansing at Washington. The State Department, on April 3, issued the following:

> The Secretary of State has received from Ambassador Sharp in Paris a graphic report of his visit to the scene of the horrible tragedy which occurred on the afternoon of Good Friday in a church by the explosion of a German shell projected from far back of the enemy lines a distance of more than seventy miles. The appalling destruction wrought by this shell is, as the Ambassador remarked, probably not equaled by any single discharge of any hostile gun in the cruelty and horrors of its results.
>
> In no other one spot in Paris, even where poverty had gathered on that holy day to worship, could destruction of life have been so great. Nearly a hundred mangled corpses lying in the morgues, with almost as many seriously wounded, attested to the measure of the toll exacted. Far up to the high, vaulted arches, between the flying buttresses well to the front of the church, is a great gap in the wall, from which fell upon the heads of the devoted worshippers many tons of solid masonry. It was this that caused such a great loss of life.
>
> As the Ambassador entered the church, where but a few hours before had been gathered the worshippers, he could easily picture the scene that followed the explosion. The amount of débris, remaining just as it fell on the floor, covered the en-

tire space between the lofty columns supporting the arches at each side. Only a miracle could have saved from death or serious injury those who escaped the falling mass. The scene was that of some horrible shambles, and it was not until well into the night that all the bodies were recovered. Upon the floor in many places could still be seen the blood of the victims, among whom were many prominent and well-to-do people.

The Ambassador called to express his sympathy to his Swiss colleague, whose lifelong friend, the Secretary of the Swiss Legation, was killed while leaving the church. The Minister was deeply affected as he spoke of the great loss to him through the Secretary's death. The Secretary was well known in Washington, where he served with the Swiss Legation from 1902 to 1904, and was very highly esteemed by all who knew him.

In conclusion, Mr. Sharp says that the exceptional circumstances under which this tragedy occurred, both as to the sacred character of the day and the place, have greatly aroused the indignation of the people of Paris toward an enemy who seeks to destroy human life without regard to the immunities prescribed by the laws of civilization and humanity, and, instead of terrorizing the people, shells of the great cannons, as well as the bombs dropped from the German airplanes, only serve to strengthen the resolve of the French to resist, to the last man, if necessary, the invasion of such a foe.

CHARACTER OF THE GUN

Portions of exploded shells examined in the Municipal Laboratory of Paris indicated that the calibre of the new German gun was a trifle less than nine inches, and that the projectiles, weighing perhaps 200 pounds, contained a comparatively weak charge of high explosives, arranged in two chambers connected by a fuse, often causing two distinct explosions a minute or more apart. It was stated later by German military scientists that it took each shell more than three minutes to travel from the mouth of the gun to Paris, and that on its way it had to rise to a height of more than twenty miles from the earth. Three Paris experts found that at least two of these great guns were being used. According to German prisoners, one of the guns exploded on March 29, killing a German Lieutenant and nine men.

In their jubilation over the new weapon the German newspapers stated that the first bombardment of Paris had been witnessed by the Kaiser and by the builder of the long-range gun, Professor Fritz Rausenberger, who is an artillerist, manager of the Krupp Works, and builder of the famous 42-centimeter (16½-inch) gun used to demolish the Belgian forts at the beginning of the war.

The violence of the concussion of the new weapon was indicated by the statement of American scientists that every shot was found to be recorded by seismographs all over the United States; in other words, the shock of each discharge caused the needles of earthquake detectors three or four thousand miles away to record small dots on the smoked paper used in these instruments.

Paris, though embittered by the new form of attack, refused to be frightened by the long-range shells. The attendance at the churches on Easter Sunday was even larger than usual. The police authorities issued an order on April 4 that theatre matinées and afternoon entertainments of all kinds should be temporarily discontinued; but, owing to numerous protests, this order was modified next day, and the usual daytime performances in the theatres were allowed on condition that the bombardment had not begun at the hour of assembly, and that the place of amusement be evacuated immediately if the shelling began during the performance. In the weeks that followed the bombardment became more and more desultory and ineffectual.

It was recorded on April 9 that French aviators had discovered the location of the new guns at Crepy-en-Laonnais, near the road from La Fère to Laon, and that continual bombardment of the spot was causing the increasingly intermittent nature of the German long-range fire. The French had learned the location to a yard, and from a powerful battery ten miles away they were dropping enormous shells weighing half a ton each into the low hills where the German monsters were hidden. There were three of the supercannon, and a few days later an air photograph showed that two French shells had fallen on the barrel of one of them, putting it out of commission. Tremendous craters had been made around the others, and one French shell had fallen on a main railway line, blocking it

a whole day. A correspondent who visited the French battery engaged in this work wrote on April 13:

"It is stated that these German guns are ninety-six feet long. At the moment of firing, other big guns let fly simultaneously, to confuse the French, and a smoke screen is emitted in the vicinity to hide the pieces from aircraft. Up to yesterday there had been no firing at night, lest the flashes show the position of the cannon. How necessary this precaution is may be illustrated by my experience last night, when I saw the whole northern sky constantly lit up by the guns on the eighty-mile front of the German offensive."

After April 13, when the Germans knew that their secret was fully known, they began bombarding Paris by night, though without any increase in effectiveness. Up to the middle of April a total of 150 long-distance shells had fallen in Paris, and the only ones that had caused any notable casualties were those which struck the Church of St. Gervais, an infant asylum, and an old man's bowling green.

The Irish Guards

By RUDYARD KIPLING

[Read at a matinée in London in aid of the Irish Guards' War Fund, for which it was written by Mr. Kipling.]

We're not so old in the Army List,
But we're not so young at our trade,
For we had the honor at Fontenoy
Of meeting the Guards Brigade.
'Twas Lally, Dillon, Bulkeley, Clare,
And Lee that led us then,
And after a hundred and seventy years
We're fighting for France again!
Old Days! The wild geese are flighting,
Head to the storm as they faced it before!
For where there are Irish there's bound to be fighting,
And when there's no fighting, it's Ireland no more!
Ireland no more!

The fashion's all for khaki now,
But once through France we went
Full-dressed in scarlet Army cloth—
The English—left at Ghent.
They're fighting on our side today,
But before they changed their clothes
The half of Europe knew our fame
As all of Ireland knows!
Old days! The wild geese are flying,
Head to the storm as they faced it before!
For where there are Irish there's memory undying,
And when we forget, it is Ireland no more!
Ireland no more!

From Barry Wood to Gouzeaucourt,
From Boyne to Pilkem Ridge,
The ancient days come back no more
Than water under the bridge.
But the bridge it stands and the water runs
As red as yesterday,
And the Irish move to the sound of the guns
Like salmon to the sea!
Old days! The wild geese are ranging,
Head to the storm as they faced it before!
For where there are Irish their hearts are unchanging,
And when they are changeful, it is Ireland no more!
Ireland no more!

We're not so old in the Army List,
But we're not so new in the ring,
For we carried our packs with Marshal Saxe
When Louis was our King.
But Douglas Haig's our Marshal now
And we're King George's men,
And after one hundred and seventy years
We're fighting for France again!
Ah, France! And did we stand by you
When life was made splendid with gifts and rewards?
Ah, France! And will we deny you
In the hour of your agony, Mother of Swords?
Old Days! The wild geese are flighting,
Head to the storm as they faced it before!
For where there are Irish there's loving and fighting,
And when we stop either, it's Ireland no more!
Ireland no more!

The Guilt of Germany

German Ambassador to Great Britain in 1914 Proves That His Country Forced the War

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY, who was the German Ambassador to Great Britain when the war began, is the author of an extremely interesting and important historical document which became public in March, 1918. It is in the form of a private memorandum written by the Prince, in which he frankly and definitely admits that the guilt for starting the world conflict rests upon his own country. The document, through some unrevealed agency, reached the Stockholm newspaper Politiken, the influential mouthpiece of the Swedish Socialists, and was printed in installments.

The publication created a profound sensation throughout Europe. It evoked passionate rebukes of the Prince in the Reichstag and drew forth an important utterance from the former German Foreign Minister, who failed to refute its supremely important revelations. It was reported early in April that the German Government had taken steps to institute proceedings against the Prince on the charges of revealing State secrets and of treason to the State.

The memorandum was written by Prince Lichnowsky about eighteen months ago for the purpose of explaining and justifying his position to his personal friends, and only half a dozen typewritten copies were made. One of these copies, through a betrayal, reached the Wilhelmstrasse, and caused a great scandal, and another was communicated to some members of the Minority Socialist Party. But how it happened that a copy got across the German frontier remains a mystery. Internal evidence, however, leaves no doubt in regard to the authenticity of the document. It is entitled "My London Mission, 1912-1914," and is dated "Kuchelna, (Prince Lichnowsky's country seat,) August, 1916."

Prince Lichnowsky begins with a recital of the circumstances which led to his being appointed to London after many years of retirement from diplomacy, and a description of the European position as he then found it. The moment, he believes,

> was undoubtedly favorable for a new attempt to get on a better footing with England. Our enigmatical Moroccan policy had repeatedly shaken confidence in our peaceful disposition and aroused the suspicion that we were not quite sure what we wanted, or that our intention was to keep Europe in suspense, and, when occasion served, to humiliate the French. An Austrian colleague, who was long in Paris, said to me, "If the French begin to forget révanche, you regularly remind them of it by treading heavily on their toes."
>
> After rejecting M. Delcassé's attempt to come to an agreement with us in regard to Morocco, and declaring that we had no political interests there, an attitude which was in full accordance with the traditions of the Bismarckian policy, we suddenly recognized in Abdul Aziz a Kruger No. 2. To him, also, like the Boers, we promised the powerful support of the German Empire—at the same cost and with the same result. For both affairs ended, as they had to end, unless we were already then resolved to undertake a world war—namely, in withdrawal.
>
> Our attitude promoted the Russo-Japanese and the Russo-British rapprochements. In face of the German peril all other conflicts fell into the background. The possibility of a new Franco-German war had become evident.

THE BRITISH PROGRAM

After describing the futility of Germany's Moroccan policy, Prince Lichnowsky goes on:

> When I arrived in London, in November, 1912, public opinion had calmed about the Morocco question. Mr. Haldane's mission had certainly failed, since we had demanded a promise of neutrality instead of satisfying ourselves with a compact which would secure us against a British attack or an attack with British support. Sir Edward Grey, however, had not given up the idea of reaching an agreement with us and, as a

beginning, made an attempt in this direction in the economic and colonial spheres. With Herr von Kühlmann as expert intermediary, an exchange of views took place concerning the renewal of the Portuguese Colonial Agreement and the Bagdad Railway, the object of which was to divide the aforesaid colonies, as well as Asia Minor, into spheres of interest. The British statesman desired, since the old disputes with France and Russia were settled, to reach a corresponding agreement with us. His aim was not to isolate us, but to get us to take part in the already established concert. Having succeeded in throwing a bridge across the Franco-British and Russo-British divisions, he wished also, as far as possible, to remove the causes of friction between England and Germany, and, by a network of agreements —to which might well eventually have been added an agreement on the unfortunate naval question—to secure the peace of the world.

This was Sir Edward Grey's program. In his own words "Without prejudice to the existing friendly understandings with France and Russia, which pursued no aggressive aims, and involved in themselves for England no binding obligations, to reach a friendly rapprochement and understanding with Germany." In short, to bring the two groups nearer together.

In his own words, "Without prejudice to in this connection two schools of opinion—the optimists, who believed in the possibility of an understanding; the pessimists, who considered that war was sooner or later unavoidable. To the former belonged Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Haldane, and most of the members of the Liberal Cabinet, as well as the leading Liberal organs, like The Westminster, The Chronicle, and The (Manchester) Guardian. To the pessimists belonged, primarily, Conservative politicians like Mr. Balfour, who on repeated occasions allowed me to know his opinion, and leading soldiers like Lord Roberts, who preached the necessity for the introduction of compulsory service; also the Northcliffe press, and the important English journalist, Mr. Garvin. During my time in office, however, this party refrained from all attacks, and maintained, both personally and politically, a friendly attitude. But our naval policy and our conduct in 1905, 1908, and 1911 had created among them the belief that some day it would come to war. The first school, exactly as among us in Germany, are now accused of foolishness and short-sightedness, while the second are regarded as true prophets.

Prince Lichnowsky goes on to describe the situation during the Balkan war. There were two policies, he says, open to Germany—to act as an impartial mediator and seek a stable settlement in accordance with the wishes of the Balkan peoples, or to conduct a strict Triple Alliance policy. He himself recommended the former, but the Wilhelmstrasse determined on the latter. Austria wished to keep Serbia from the Adriatic; Italy wished to prevent the Greeks from reaching Avlona; Russia supported the Serbs, France supported the Greeks. Germany had no motive whatever for supporting her allies, and thus bringing about a bad settlement, except the desire to consolidate what, in Prince Lichnowsky's opinion, was a palpably worthless alliance—worthless because it was obvious that Italy would break from the alliance in the event of war, while Austria was absolutely dependent on Germany in peace and war without an alliance.

The best way to increase Austria's dependence was to cultivate friendly relations between Germany and Russia. The Kaiser, for dynastic reasons, was in favor of the division of Albania between Greece and Serbia, but "when I, in a letter to him, urged this solution, I received from the Chancellor a severe reprimand to the effect that I was supporting Austria's enemies, and should refrain from direct correspondence with the Emperor."

Thus Germany decided to take her stand on the side of the Turkish and Magyar oppressors for the sake of the Triple Alliance—a fatal blunder, which Prince Lichnowsky describes as "all the more striking since a sudden Franco-Russian assault—the only hypothesis which could justify the Triple Alliance policy—could, in fact, be ruled out of our calculations."

DANGEROUS BALKAN POLICY

It was not only unnecessary, he declares, but dangerous, to pay attention to Austria's wishes, since to look at the Eastern question through Austrian spectacles must lead to a collision with Russia and a world war.

Such a policy, moreover, was bound to alienate sympathy among the young, strong, and aspiring communities of the Balkan Peninsula, who were ready to

turn to us and to open their markets to us. The opposition between courts and peoples, between the dynastic and the democratic idea of the State, was clearly defined, and, as usual, we stood on the wrong side. * * * In Serbia, against our own economic interests, we supported the Austrian policy of strangulation. We have always ridden horses whose collapse could be forseen—Kruger, Abdul Aziz, Abdul Hamid, and William of Wied—and finally we came to grief in Berchtold's stable.

Prince Lichnowsky proceeds to describe the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913, and the influential and conciliatory part played there by Sir Edward Grey, who always, he says, found a way out of every apparent deadlock.

But we, instead of taking up a position analogous to that of England, invariably espoused the standpoint of Vienna. Count Mensdorff led the Triple Alliance in London; I was his second. My task consisted in supporting his proposals. In Berlin the prudent and experienced Count Szögyény was in control. "Here the casus foederis arises," was his constant refrain, and when I once ventured to question the correctness of this conclusion I was seriously warned for Austrophobia. At all points we accepted and supported the views of Austria and Italy. Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, practically never sided with Russia or France. Usually, indeed, he took the side of our group, so as not to provide any pretext for conflict. That pretext was supplied later by a dead Archduke.

THE GUILT ESTABLISHED

Lichnowsky states that a few days after the Serajevo murder of June 28, 1914, he was in Berlin, and from interviews with Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg he found that the latter did not share the Prince's belief that peace might be maintained, and complained of Russian armaments. The memorandum continues:

I then went to Dr. Zimmermann, who was representing Herr von Jagow, [Foreign Secretary,] and from him learned that Russia was about to raise 900,000 fresh troops. His words showed an unmistakable animosity toward Russia, which, he said, was everywhere in our way. Of course, I was not told that General von Moltke was pressing for war. I learned, however, that Herr von Tschereschky [the German Ambassador in Vienna] had received a rebuke because he reported that he had advised moderation in Vienna toward Serbia.

Subsequently I learned that at a decisive conversation in Potsdam July 5 an inquiry addressed to us by Vienna found positive assent among all personages in authority. Indeed, they added that there would be no harm if war with Russia were to result. I received instruction that I was to induce the English press to take up a friendly attitude if Austria gave the deathblow to the Great Serbian movement, and as far as possible I was, by my influence, to prevent public opinion opposing Austria.

I gave warning against the whole project, which I described as adventurous and dangerous, and I advised that moderation be recommended to the Austrians because I did not believe in localization of conflict.

Herr von Jagow answered me that Russia was not ready, that there doubtless would be a certain amount of bluster, but that the more firmly we stood by Austria the more would Russia draw back. He said Austria already was accusing us of want of spirit and we must not squeeze her; and that, on the other hand, feeling in Russia was becoming ever more anti-German and so we must simply risk it.

I knew that Sir Edward Grey's influence in Petrograd could be turned to use in favor of peace, so I used my friendly relations with Sir Edward, [British Foreign Secretary,] and in confidence begged him to advise moderation in Russia if Austria demanded satisfaction from Serbia.

At first the attitude of the English press was calm and friendly to the Austrians because the murder was condemned, but gradually more and more voices were heard to insist that, however necessary it was to punish the crime, exploitation of crime for political purposes could not be justified. Austria was strongly urged to show moderation.

When the ultimatum appeared, all the papers, except The Standard, which was always like slow water and apparently was paid by the Austrians, were as one in their condemnation. The whole world, except in Berlin and Vienna, understood that it meant war, and indeed a world war.

The British fleet, which chanced to be assembled for review, was not demobilized.

England and Russia for Peace

At first I pressed for a conciliatory answer as far as possible on the part of Serbia, since the attitude of the Russian Government left no further doubt of the seriousness of the situation. The Serbian reply was in accordance with the British efforts, and everything actually had been accepted except two points, about which a readiness to negotiate had been expressed.

Panoramic view of Camp Zachary Taylor, Louisville, Ky., where the 84th (National Army) Division is in training

(© *Caulfield & Shook*)

Panoramic view of Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, Ohio, where the 83d (National Army) Division is in training

(Photo R. E. Wagner & Co.)

If Russia and England had wanted war in order to fall upon us a hint to Belgrade would have been sufficient, and the unheard of [Austrian] note would have remained unanswered. Sir Edward Grey went through the Serbian reply with me and pointed to the conciliatory attitude of the Government at Belgrade. We then discussed his mediation proposal, which was to arrange an interpretation of the two points acceptable to both parties.

Cambon, [French Ambassador in London,] Marquis Imperiali, [Italian Ambassador in London,] and I should have met under Sir Edward Grey's presidency, and it would have been easy to find an acceptable form for the disputed points which, in the main, concerned the participation of Austrian officials in the investigation at Belgrade.

Given good will, everything could have been settled in one or two sittings, and mere acceptance of the British proposal would have relieved the tension and would further have improved our relations to England. I urgently recommended the proposal, saying that otherwise a world war was imminent, in which we had everything to lose and nothing to gain.

In vain! I was told that it was against the dignity of Austria and that we did not want to interfere in the Serbian business but left it to our ally. I was told to work for localization of conflict. Of course, it would only have needed a hint from Berlin to make Count Berchtold, Austrian Foreign Minister, satisfy himself with a diplomatic success and put up with the Serbian reply, but this hint was not given.

Germany Forced the War

On the contrary, we pressed for war. What a fine success it would have been! After our refusal Sir Edward asked us to come forward with a proposal of our own. We insisted upon war. I could get no other answer from Berlin than that it was enormous conciliation on the part of Austria to contemplate no annexation of territory.

Thereupon Sir Edward justly pointed out that even without annexations of territory a country can be humiliated and subjected, and that Russia would regard this as a humiliation which she would not stand. The impression became ever stronger that we desired war in all circumstances, otherwise our attitude on the question, which after all did not directly concern us, was unintelligible.

The urgent appeals and definite declarations of Sazonoff [Russian Foreign Minister] later on the positively humble telegrams of the Czar, the repeated proposals of Sir Edward, the warnings of San Giuliano, [Italian Foreign Minister,] my own urgent advice—all were of no use, for Berlin went on insisting that Serbia must be massacred. The more I pressed the less willing they were to alter their course, if only because I was not to have the success of saving peace in company with Sir Edward Grey.

So Grey on July 29 resolved upon his well-known warning. I replied I had always reported that we should have to reckon upon English hostility if it came to war with France. The Minister said to me repeatedly, "If war breaks out it will be the greatest catastrophe the world has ever seen." After that events moved rapidly.

When Count Berchtold, who hitherto had played strong man on instructions from Berlin, at last decided to change his course, we answered Russian mobilization —after Russia had waited and negotiated in vain for a whole week—with our ultimatum and declaration of war.

Up to the last moment I had hoped for a waiting attitude on the part of England. As late as August the King of England replied evasively to the French President, but in a telegram from Berlin, which announced the threatening danger of war, England already was mentioned as an opponent. In Berlin, therefore, one already reckoned upon war with England.

Before my departure Sir Edward Grey received me on Aug. 5 at his house. I went there at his desire. He was deeply moved. He said to me that he would always be ready to mediate, and "We do not want to crush Germany." Unfortunately this confidential conversation was published, and thereby von Bethmann Hollweg destroyed the last possibility of reaching a peace via England.

Questions of Guilt

As it appears from all official publications without the facts being controverted by our own White Book, which, owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:

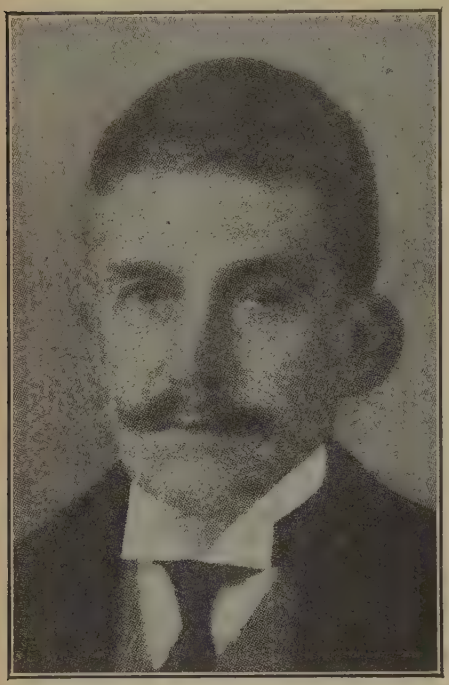
1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved and the danger of a world war must have been known to us; whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.

2. In the days between July 23 and 30, 1914, when Sazonoff emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack on Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached and Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.

3. On July 30, when Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere

mobilization by sending an ultimatum to St. Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole world outside of Germany attributes to us sole guilt for the world war.



PRINCE LICHNOWSKY

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

Anglo-German negotiations concerning the Berlin-Bagdad Railway and German naval and commercial jealousy of Great Britain are touched upon in further sections of the personal memorandum.

Prince Lichnowsky says that the Bagdad Railway treaty aimed in fact at a division of Asia Minor into spheres of interest, although this expression was carefully avoided in consideration of the rights of the Sultan of Turkey. Sir Edward Grey asserted repeatedly that there was no agreement between England and France aiming at a division of Asia Minor. The greatest concession that Sir Edward made to Prince Lichnowsky personally was for the continuation of the railway line to Basra.

By this treaty the whole of Mesopotamia up to Basra became a German zone of interest by which all British rights and the question of shipping on the Tigris were left untouched. The British economic territories, the Prince adds, included the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Smyrna-Aden Railway, the French territory was Syria, and the Russian Armenia. Had the treaty been concluded and published, he continues, an agreement would have been reached with Great Britain which would have finally ended all doubt of the possibility of Anglo-German co-operation.

GERMANY'S NAVAL THREAT

Referring to the difficult question of German naval activity, Prince Lichnowsky says that the creation of a mighty fleet on the other shore of the North Sea and the simultaneous development of the Continent's most important military power into a most important naval power had at least to be recognized by Great Britain as uncomfortable. To preserve the supremacy of the seas which Great Britain must have in order not to go down, the Prince adds, she had to undertake preparations and expenses which weighed heavily on the taxpayers. Nevertheless, the powers become reconciled to the German fleet in its definite strength. Obviously it was not welcome to Great Britain and, the Prince says, constituted one of the motives, but neither the only nor the most important motive, for England to join hands with Russia and France.

On account of the German fleet alone, Prince Lichnowsky says, Great Britain would have drawn the sword as little as on account of German trade, "which, it is pretended, called forth her jealousy and finally brought about war."

"NAVAL HOLIDAY"

During Prince Lichnowsky's term of office Winston Spencer Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, raised the question of the so-called naval holiday, proposing it for financial reasons as much as on account of the pacifist in-

clinations of his party. Churchill wanted a pause of one year in building ships. Prince Lichnowsky maintains it would have been difficult to support this plan on account of the workmen employed and the technical personnel. The German naval program was settled, and it would have been difficult to alter it. The Prince asserts that it was possible, in spite of the German fleet and without a naval holiday, to come to an understanding. In that spirit he had carried out his mission and had almost succeeded in realizing his program when the war broke out and destroyed everything.

Discussing the question of trade jealousy, Prince Lichnowsky says it rested on a faulty judgment of circumstances. In British commercial circles, he says, he found the greatest good-will and the desire for further economic interests in common. In order to get in touch with the most important business circles he accepted invitations from the Chambers of Commerce in London, Bradford, Newcastle, and Liverpool, and he had a hearty reception everywhere.

In conclusion Prince Lichnowsky gives his impressions of English society. King George he describes as very amiable and well-meaning, with sound understanding and common sense, and invariably well disposed toward the German Ambassador.

LICHNOWSKY EXPLAINS

The German Vice Chancellor, Friedrich von Payer, announced in the Reichstag late in March that on account of the disclosures Prince Lichnowsky had resigned his rank and expressed regrets. Herr von Payer stated that Prince Lichnowsky himself, on March 15, made a statement to the Imperial Chancellor in which he said:

> Your Excellency knows that the purely private notes which I wrote down in the Summer of 1916 found their way into wider circles by an unprecedented breach of confidence. It was mainly a question of subjective considerations about our entire foreign policy since the Berlin Congress. I perceived in the policy hitherto pursued of repelling Russia and in the extension of the policy of alliances to Oriental questions the real roots of the world war. I then submitted our Morocco naval policy to a brief examination. My London mission could at the same time not remain out of consideration, especially as I felt need in regard to the future and with a view to my own justification of noting the details of my experiences and impressions there before they vanished from my memory.

Prince Lichnowsky then described how the memorandum, which he had shown to a few political friends, got into wider circulation owing to an indiscretion, and finally expressed lively regret at such an extremely vexatious incident.

VICE CHANCELLOR'S REPLY

Herr von Payer said that Prince Lichnowsky had meanwhile tendered his resignation of his present rank, which had been accepted, and, as he had doubtless no bad intention, but had simply been guilty of imprudence, no further steps would be taken against him. The Vice Chancellor proceeded:

> Some assertions in his document must, however, be contradicted, especially his assertions about political events in the last months preceding the war. Prince Lichnowsky was not of his own knowledge acquainted with these events, but he apparently received from a third and wrongly informed quarter inaccurate information. The key to mistakes and false conclusions may also be the Prince's overestimation of his own services, which are accompanied by hatred against those who do not recognize his achievements as he expected. The entire memorandum is penetrated by a striking veneration for foreign diplomats, especially the British, who are described in a truly affectionate manner, and on the other hand by an equally striking irritation against almost all German statesmen. The result was that the Prince frequently regarded Germany's most zealous enemies as her best friends because they were personally on good terms with him. The fact that, as he admits, he attached at first no great importance to the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, and was displeased that the situation was judged otherwise in Berlin, makes it plain that the Prince had no clear judgment for the events that followed and their import.

VON PAYER'S DENIALS

The Vice Chancellor then characterized as false all Prince Lichnowsky's assertions about General von Moltke's urging war at the Potsdam Crown Council of July 5, 1914, and the dispatch of the Austrian protocol by "this alleged Crown Council" to Count Mensdorff with

the postscript that it would be no great harm even if war with Russia arose out of it.

Herr von Payer also denied the statement that the then Foreign Secretary was in Vienna in 1914, as well as the statement that Count von Pourtales, the German Ambassador in Petrograd, had reported that Russia would in no circumstances move. The Sukhomlinoff trial had shown how unfounded were Prince Lichnowsky's reproaches against Germany for replying to the Russian mobilization by an ultimatum and a declaration of war. It was also false to assert that the German Government rejected all Great Britain's mediation proposals. Lord Grey's last mediation proposal was very urgently supported in Vienna by Berlin. The aim of the memorandum was obvious. It was to show the reader how much better and more intelligent Prince Lichnowsky's policy was and how he could have assured the peace of the empire if his advice had been followed. The Vice Chancellor added: "The memorandum will cause enough harm among malevolent and superficial people; it has no historical value whatever."

Dr. Payer then discussed the revelations of Dr. Mühlon, at present in Switzerland. Dr. Mühlon, an ex-Director of Krupps, had made a statement according to which he had a conference with two exalted personages in the latter half of July, 1914, from which it appeared that it was not the intention of the German Government to maintain peace. The Vice Chancellor alleged that Dr. Mühlon was suffering from neurasthenia at the time, and that no importance could be attached to his revelations, since the two gentlemen referred to had denied making the statements attributed to them.

VON STUMM'S STATEMENT

Herr von Stumm, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that while in London the Prince devoted himself zealously to his task. His views had frequently not agreed with those of the German Foreign Office, especially regarding his strong optimism in reference to Anglo-German relations. When his hopes, aiming at an Anglo-German understanding, were destroyed by the war, the Prince returned to Germany "greatly excited," and even then did not restrain his criticism of German policy. His excitement increased owing to attacks against him in the German press. All these circumstances, said von Stumm, must be taken into consideration when gauging the value of the memorandum.

In the subsequent discussion disapproval of Prince Lichnowsky's attitude was expressed, but some speakers urged the need for the reorganization of Germany's diplomatic service.

According to the report of the debate published by the Neues Wiener Journal, Herr von Payer himself acknowledged that prior to the war German diplomacy had made some bad blunders, and that reform was urgently needed. Herr Müller (Progressive) sharply criticised Herr von Flotow, who was German Ambassador in Rome at the beginning of the war, and charged him with having declared to the Marquis di San Giuliano, then Italian Foreign Minister, that there existed for Italy no casus foederis. Prince Bülow also came in for severe criticism.

The Former Foreign Minister's Reply

THE former Foreign Minister of Germany, Herr von Jagow, published a reply to Prince Lichnowsky in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, in which he virtually confirmed the Prince's main assertions. He applied such phrases as "an unheard-of assertion," "a mass of inaccuracies and perversions," to Lichnowsky's memorandum, but he did not meet the former Ambassador's charges with any new evidence, merely referring his readers to former publications of the German Government.

Von Jagow's reply bears out the assertion that in 1913 England was prepared to enter into friendly agreements with

Germany. She was "ready to meet us." A Bagdad railway agreement was almost completed when Germany drew the sword. Negotiations about the future of the African colonies of Portugal in certain contingencies had been resumed, and the German Foreign Secretary looked forward to further agreements in the Far East and elsewhere.

The former Foreign Minister refuses to adopt the Pan-German view that "England laid all the mines which caused the war." On the contrary, he bears witness with former Ambassador Lichnowsky to Sir Edward Grey's "love of peace and his serious wish to reach an agreement with us." He says that it is true that Sir Edward could have prevented war, but he is careful not to indicate how. Presumably he means he could have done it by following Germany's example and treating England's engagements as "scraps of paper."

He agrees that the war was not popular with the British people, and that Belgium had to serve as a battlecry. Germany, on the other hand, had to maintain her prestige. It had been damaged by her political defeat in Morocco. A fresh diminution of it would have been, he remarks, "intolerable for our position in Europe and in the world."

In one point of fact he corrects Prince Lichnowsky. He denies that he himself visited Vienna at any time between the Spring of 1913 and the outbreak of the war. He confirms, as far as he remembers, all the expressions attributed to him by Lichnowsky.

His only reference to the Potsdam Council of July 5, 1914, (when, it is asserted, the Teuton leaders made the final decision for war,) is not a denial that the meeting took place, but a single sentence: "On July 5 I was absent from Berlin."

In regard to Lichnowsky's main charges, Herr von Jagow talks of "unheard-of" assertions and "inaccuracies and perversions," but he does not bring forward any fresh arguments to meet the charges, and merely refers to the publications of the German Government concerning the conversations which took place in June, 1914, between the Kaiser and Archduke Francis Ferdinand. Herr von Jagow says:

> At Konopischt no plan was laid down (festgelegt) for an active policy against Serbia. Archduke Francis Ferdinand was not at all an advocate of a policy leading to war, although he was often reckoned as such. During the London conference he advised moderation and avoidance of war.

Herr von Jagow here avoids the issue raised by Lichnowsky, who did not say that a definite scheme was arranged at Konopischt, but that the indication was, not that Archduke Francis Ferdinand was in favor of war, but that his death was a positive relief to the advocates of war.

In the course of his statement Herr von Jagow, who remained Foreign Secretary until late in 1916, says:

> When I was appointed State Secretary in January, 1913, it seemed to me that a German-English rapprochement was desirable, and an understanding upon those points where our interests touched and sometimes even crossed, and this I deemed feasible. At least, it was my intention to work on this.

With regard to the Bagdad question Herr von Jagow says:

> If England insisted upon excluding us from Mesopotamia, it appeared to me that a conflict would be avoided with difficulty. We were met in a conciliatory manner by the English Government, and an agreement had almost been reached just previous to the outbreak of the world war.

He meets Lichnowsky's assertion that Germany drove Russia "into the arms of France and England by our Oriental and Balkan policy" with the contention that the Pan-Slavism which governed Russian politics was directly anti-German. Upon the London conference on Algeciras he says:

> We no more desired war on Albania's account than did Sir Edward Grey. That is why, in spite of our former experiences at Algeciras, we consented to the conference. The merit of a conciliatory attitude at the conference must not be denied to Sir Edward Grey, but it is going a little too far to say that he in nowise took up his stand on the side of the Entente. He certainly often urged St. Petersburg to give way, and found principles of accord (Einigungs Formeln) suitable to this end. But outwardly he represented the Entente, as he could no more leave his associates in the lurch than could we. Nor did he wish to do so.

On the other hand, the assertion that we adopted without exception the standpoint prescribed for us by Vienna is absolutely untrue. We played, as England did, a conciliatory rôle, and urged moderation upon Vienna far more than Lichnowsky seems to be aware of, or at any rate admits. Vienna thereupon made a variety of the most far-reaching concessions, Dibra and Djakowa.

ENGLAND EXONERATED

Mentioning the Serajevo murders as the climax of the continued Russian provocations against Austria, von Jagow says:

The prestige and existence of the Danube monarchy were at stake. We could not agree to the English proposal concerning a conference of Ministers, as it would doubtless have led to a serious diplomatic defeat for us.

I do not intend to adopt the theory now widespread among us that England was the originator of all the intrigues leading to the war. On the contrary, I believe in Sir Edward Grey's love of peace and his genuine desire to arrive at an understanding with us, but he had allowed himself to become too hopelessly entangled in the network of Franco-Russian policy. He could find no way out, and therefore failed to do that which had been in his power to prevent the world war. War was not popular among the English people, therefore Belgium had to serve as a battle cry.

At the end of his observations von Jagow restates his policy as follows:

I also pursued a policy which aimed at an agreement with England because I was of the opinion that this was the only road by which we could get out of the unfavorable situation into which the unequal distribution of strength and weakness of the Triple Alliance had brought us. Political marriages "until death us do part" are, as Prince Lichnowsky says, impossible in international relations, but in the existing state of affairs in Europe isolations are equally impossible. The history of Europe is composed of coalitions, some of which have led to avoidance of wars and some to violent conflicts. A loosening and final dissolution of old unions, which no longer satisfy all conditions, cannot be recommended until new constellations are within reach. That was the aim of our policy of rapprochement with England. As long as this policy did not provide trustworthy guarantees we could not abandon the old securities and obligations which they involved.

Our Morocco policy led to political defeat. Happily, this had been avoided in the Bosnian crisis and at the London conference. Fresh diminution of our prestige was intolerable for our position in Europe and in the world. Prosperity of States and their political and economic successes depend upon the prestige which they enjoy in the world.

A FURTHER ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Captain Persius, the military editor of the Berlin Tageblatt, in discussing the revelations of Prince Lichnowsky and the reply of Herr von Jagow in their relation to a possible peace by agreement, used these words:

"An understanding ought to be easier, "now that we have heard from two op- "posing sources, from von Jagow and "Lichnowsky, that England was not re- "sponsible for the war, as has been be- "lieved hitherto in wide circles in Ger- "many."

Decrease of Birth Rate in Hungary

The following statistics were read by the Karolyist Deputy, Lodovico Hollo, to the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies, at the session of Jan. 16, 1918:

(1) Births.—Before the war 765,000 children a year were born in Hungary. In the first year of the war, 1914, the number of births was reduced by 18,000; in 1915 only 481,000 children were born—that is, 284,000 less than in time of peace. In 1916 the number of births was 333,000—that is, a reduction of 432,000. In 1917 the births amounted to 328,000—that is, the reduction was 438,000. Therefore our losses (in Hungary alone) behind the front reach the number of 1,172,866 individuals.

(2) Deaths.—Whereas in time of peace infant mortality for a period of seven years was 34 per cent., in 1915 the proportion was increased to 48 per cent. and in 1916 to 50 per cent.

These facts prove what sacrifices Hungary is making, to the prejudice of her own people, to continue the war.

Count Czernin on Peace Terms

A Reply to President Wilson and a Survey of Results of the Russian Peace Treaties

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, delivered an address April 2, 1918, to a deputation of the Vienna City Council, in the nature of a reply to President Wilson's address of Feb. 11 on "Peace Aims," the text of which appeared in the March issue of Current History Magazine. Count Czernin spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I am quite ready to reply to the questions put by the Burgomaster and thereby to give both you and the wider public a full view of political conditions as I see them at the moment. I had hoped to speak before the competent forum, but the fact that one of our commissions cannot meet at present makes this impossible, so I take this opportunity of affording in brief a review of the international situation.

With the signing of peace with Rumania the war in the east is ended. Three treaties of peace have been signed —with Petrograd, Ukraine, and Rumania. One principal section of the war is thus ended.

Before discussing the separate peaces which have been signed, and before going into details, I wish to return to the statements of the President of the United States wherein he replied to the speech I made before the delegations on Jan. 24. In many parts of the world Mr. Wilson's speech was regarded as an attempt to drive a wedge between Vienna and Berlin. I do not believe that, because I have much too high an opinion of Mr. Wilson's statesmanship to suspect him of such a train of thought.

According to my impressions, Mr. Wilson does not want to separate Vienna from Berlin. He does not desire that, and knows that it is impossible.

He perhaps thinks, however, that Vienna presents more favorable soil for sowing the seeds of a general peace. He has perhaps said to himself that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has the good fortune to have a monarch who genuinely and honorably desires a general peace, but that this monarch will never be guilty of a breach of faith; that he will never make a shameful peace, and that behind this monarch stand 55,000,000 souls.

I imagine that Mr. Wilson says to himself that this closely knit mass of people represents a force which is not to be disregarded and that this honorable and firm will to peace with which the monarch is imbued and which binds him to the peoples of both States is capable of carrying a great idea in the service of which Mr. Wilson has also placed himself.

Before I discuss Mr. Wilson's last utterances I would like to clear up one misunderstanding. In my last speech which I delivered before the Austrian delegations I replied to an inquiry in this connection that probably Mr. Wilson was already in possession of my utterances. Later Mr. Wilson corrected this, and pointed out that there must be some mistake. I had prepared my speech beforehand, so as to avoid any possibility of its being incorrectly or incompletely transmitted, and at the moment I made my speech I supposed that it had already reached Washington. Apparently, however, it only arrived there some days later.

This does not affect the matter itself. My object was to assure that the President of the United States should get the exact text of my speech, and this object was attained and the trifling delay of a few days was a matter of indifference.

With regard to Mr. Wilson's reply, I can only say that I consider it very important that the German Chancellor, in his admirable speech of Feb. 25, took the

answer out of my mouth and declared that the four points developed by Mr. Wilson in his speech of Feb. 11 are the basis upon which a general peace can be discussed. I entirely agree with him in this.

President Wilson's four points are a suitable basis upon which to begin negotiating about a general peace. The question is whether or not Mr. Wilson will succeed in uniting his allies upon this basis.

SAYS FRANCE ASKED TERMS

God is my witness that we have tried everything possible to avoid a new offensive. The Entente would not have it. A short time before the beginning of the offensive in the west M. Clemenceau inquired of me whether and upon what basis I was prepared to negotiate. I immediately replied, in agreement with Berlin, that I was ready to negotiate, and that as regards France I saw no other obstacle for peace than France's desire for Alsace-Lorraine.

The reply from Paris was that France was willing to negotiate only on that basis. There was then no choice left.

The gigantic struggle in the west has already begun. Austro-Hungarian and German troops are fighting shoulder to shoulder as they did in Russia, Serbia, Rumania, and Italy. We are fighting united for the defense of Austria-Hungary and Germany. Our armies will show the Entente that French and Italian aspirations to portions of our territory are Utopias which will be terribly avenged.

The explanation of this attitude of the Entente Powers, which verges on lunacy, is to a great extent to be sought in certain domestic events here, to which I shall return later. Whatever may happen, we shall not sacrifice German interests any more than Germany will desert us. Loyalty on the Danube is not less than German loyalty. We are not fighting for imperialist or annexationist ends, either for ourselves or for Germany, but we shall act together to the end for our defense, for our political existence and for our future.

The first breach in the determination of our enemies to war has been driven by the peace negotiations with Russia. That was a break-through by the idea of peace.

It is a symptom of childish dilettantism to overlook the close relationship of the various peace signatures with each other. The constellation of enemy powers in the east was like a net. When one mesh was cut through the remaining meshes loosened of their own accord.

We first gave international recognition to the separation of Ukraine from Russia, which had to be accomplished as an internal affair of Russia. Profiting from resultant circumstances which were favorable to our aims, we concluded with the Ukraine the peace sought by that country.

This gave the lead to peace with Petrograd, whereby Rumania was left standing alone, so that she also had to conclude peace. So one peace brought another, and the desired success, namely, the end of the war in the east, was achieved.

The peace concluded with Rumania, it is calculated, will be the starting point of friendly relations. The slight frontier rectifications which we receive are not annexations. Wholly uninhabited regions, they serve solely for military protection. To those who insist that these rectifications fall under the category of annexations and accuse me of inconsistency, I reply that I have publicly protested against holding out a license to our enemies which would assure them against the dangers of further adventures.

ROBBING RUMANIA

From Russia I did not demand a single meter, but Rumania neglected the favorable moment. The protection of mercantile shipping in the lower Danube and the guarding of the Iron Gate are guaranteed by the extension of the frontier to the heights of Turnu-Severin, by leasing for thirty years a valuable wharf near this town, together with a strip along the river bank at an annual rental of 1,000 lei, and, finally, by obtaining the leasing rights to the islands of Ostrovo, Marecorbu, and Simearu, and the transfer of the frontier several kilometers southward in the region of the Petroseny coal

mine, which better safeguards our possessions in the Szurdok Pass coal basin.

Nagy-Szeben and Fogaras will receive a new security frontier of an average width of from 15 to 18 kilometers at all passes of importance, as, for instance, Predeal, Bodz, Gyimes, Bekas, and Tolgyes. The new frontier has been so far removed to Rumanian ground as military reasons require.

The rectification east of Czernowitz has protected that city against future attacks.

At the moment when we are successfully endeavoring to renew friendly and neighborly relations with Rumania, it is unlikely that we would open old wounds, but every one knows the history of Rumania's entrance into the war and will admit that it was my duty to protect the monarchy against future surprises of a similar kind.

BURDENS OF THE FUTURE

I consider the safest guarantee for the future, international agreements to prevent war. In such agreements, if they are framed in binding form, I should see much stronger guarantees against surprise attacks by neighbors than in frontier rectifications, but thus far, except in the case of President Wilson, I have been unable to discover among any of our enemies serious inclination to accept this idea. However, despite the small degree of approval this idea receives, I consider that it will be realized.

Calculating the burdens with which the States of the world will emerge from the war, I vainly ask myself how they will cover military expenditures if competition in armaments remains unrestricted. I do not believe that it will be possible for the States after this war adequately to meet the increased requirements due to the war. I think, rather, that financial conditions will compel the States to enter into a compromise regarding the limitation of armaments.

This calculation of mine is neither idealistic nor fantastic, but is based upon reality in politics in the most literal sense of the word. I, for my part, would consider it a great disaster if in the end there should be failure to achieve general agreements regarding the diminution of armaments.

It is obvious that in the peace with Rumania we shall take precautions to have our interests in the questions of grain, food supply, and petroleum fully protected. We shall further take precautions that the Catholic Church and our schools receive the state of protection they need, and we shall solve the Jewish question. The Jew shall henceforth be a citizen with equal rights in Rumania.

MAKING RUMANIA PAY

The irredentist propaganda, which has produced so much evil in Hungary, will be restrained and, finally, precautions will be taken to obtain indemnification for the injustice innocently suffered by many of our countrymen owing to the war.

We shall strive by means of a new commercial treaty and appropriate settlement of the railway and shipping questions to protect our economic interests in Rumania.

Rumania's future lies in the east. Large portions of Bessarabia are inhabited by Rumanians, and there are many indications that the Rumanian population there desires close union with Rumania. If Rumania will adopt a frank, cordial, friendly attitude toward us we will have no objections to meeting those tendencies in Bessarabia. Rumania can gain much more in Bessarabia than she lost in the war.

[Count Czernin said that he was anxious that the rectifications of the frontier should not leave any embitterment behind, and expressed the opinion that Rumania in her own interest must turn to the Central Powers.]

In concluding peace with Rumania and Ukraine, it has been my first thought to furnish the monarchy with foodstuffs and raw materials. Russia did not come into consideration in this connection owing to the disorganization there.

We agreed with Ukraine that the quantity of grain to be delivered to the Central Powers should be at least 1,000,000 tons. Thirty cars of grain and peas

are now en route, 600 cars are ready to be transported, and these transports will be continued until the imports are organized and can begin regularly. Larger transports are rendered possible by the peace with Rumania, which enables goods to be sent from Odessa to Danube ports.

We hope during May to undertake the first large transport from Ukraine. While I admit that the imports from Ukraine are still small and must be increased, nevertheless our food situation would have been considerably worse had this agreement not been concluded.

From Rumania we will obtain a considerable surplus of last year's harvest. Moreover, about 400,000 tons of grain, peas, beans, and fodder must be transported via the Danube. Rumania must also immediately provide us with 800,000 sheep and pigs, which will improve our meat supply slightly.

It is clear from this that everything will be done to obtain from the exploitation of the regions which peace has opened for us in the east whatever is obtainable. The difficulties of obtaining these supplies from Ukraine are still considerable, as no state of order exists there. But with the good-will of the Ukrainian Government and our organization we will succeed in overcoming the difficulties.

An immediate general peace would not give us further advantages, as all Europe today is suffering from lack of foodstuffs. While the lack of cargo space prevents other nations from supplying themselves, the granaries of Ukraine and Rumania remain open to the Central Powers.

[Replying to the annexationists, Count Czernin said:]

The forcible annexation of foreign peoples would place difficulties in the way of a general peace, and such an extension of territories would not strengthen the empire. On the contrary, considering the grouping of the monarchy, they would weaken us. What we require are not territorial annexations, but economic safeguards for the future.

We wish to do everything to create in the Balkans a situation of lasting calm. Not until the collapse of Russia did there cease to exist the factor which hitherto made it impossible for us to bring about a definite state of internal peace in the Balkans.

We know that the desire for peace is very great in Serbia, but Serbia has been prevented by the Entente Powers from concluding it. Bulgaria must receive from Serbia certain districts inhabited by Bulgarians. We, however, have no desire to destroy Serbia. We will enable Serbia to develop, and we would welcome closer economic relations with her.

We do not desire to influence the future relations between the monarchy and Serbia and Montenegro by motives conflicting with friendly, neighborly relations. The best state of egoism is to come to terms with a beaten neighbor, which leads to this: My egoism regarding Austria-Hungary is that after being conquered militarily our enemies must be conquered morally. Only then is victory complete, and in this respect diplomacy must finish the work of the armies.

THE DESIRE FOR PEACE

Since I came into office I have striven only after one aim, namely, to secure an honorable peace for the monarchy and to create a situation which will secure to Austria-Hungary future free development, and, moreover, to do everything possible to insure that this terrible war shall be the last one for time out of mind. I have never spoken differently. I do not intend to go begging for peace, or to obtain it by entreaties or lamentations, but to enforce it by our moral right and physical strength. Any other tactics, I consider, would contribute to the prolongation of the war.

I must say, to my regret, that during the last few weeks and months much has been spoken and done in Austria that prolongs the war. Those who are prolonging the war are divided into various groups, according to their motives and tactics. There are, first, those who continuously beg for peace. They are despicable and foolish. To endeavor to conclude peace at any price is despica-

ble, for it is unmanly, and it is foolish because it continuously feeds the already dying aggressive spirit of the enemy. The desire for peace of the great masses is natural as well as comprehensible, but the leaders of the people must consider that certain utterances produce abroad just the opposite effect from what they desire.

Firmly relying on our strength and the justice of our cause, I have already concluded three moderate but honorable peace treaties. The rest of our enemies also begin to understand that we have no other desire than to secure the future of the monarchy and of our allies, and that we intend to enforce this and can and will enforce it. I shall unswervingly prosecute this course and join issue with any one who opposes me.

The second group of war prolongers are the annexationists. It is a distortion of fact to assert that Germany has made conquests in the east. Lenine's anarchy drove the border people into the arms of Germany. Is Germany to refuse this involuntary choice of foreign border States?

The German Government has as little desire for oppressions as we, and I am perfectly convinced that neither annexationists nor weaklings can prevent forever a moderate and honorable peace. They delay it, but they cannot prevent it.

The hopes of our enemies of final victory are not merely based on military expectations and the blockade. They are based to a great extent on our interior political conditions and on certain political leaders, not forgetting the Czechs. Recently we were almost on the point of entering into negotiations with the Western Powers, when the wind suddenly veered round and, as we know with certainty, the Entente decided it had better wait, as parliamentary and political events in our country justified the hope that the monarchy would soon be defenseless.

[Count Czernin attacked the Czech leaders and Czech troops, who, he declared, "criminally fight against their own country," and appealed to the people to be united against this "high treason." The Government, he said, was quite ready to proceed to the revision of the Constitution, but this would not be helped by those who hoped through the victory of the Entente to gain their ends. "If we expel this poison," he declared, "a general honorable peace is nearer than the public imagines, but no one has the right to remain aside in this last decisive struggle."]

Great Britain's Reply to Count Czernin

Lord Robert Cecil, Parliamentary Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, made the following statement in answer to Count Czernin:

WHATEVER doubt about Count Czernin might have existed before his latest declaration, there can be no doubt now that he stands for Prussian ideals and Prussian policy. I must confess that I prefer Prussian brutality to Austrian hypocrisy. If you are going to rob and strangle your neighbor it is better not to talk of your moderation.

Count Czernin claims with the greatest audacity that he and his allies have just made proposals that are moderate, and even guided by the principles of self-determination, no annexations, and no indemnities. As far as self-determination is concerned, in every one of the new States they have set up they have done so without the slightest regard to the wishes of the peoples and no serious attempt was made even to follow racial boundaries or racial antecedents.

The province of Dobrudja, (Rumania,) which has been handed over to Bulgaria, has only 18 per cent. Bulgarians and 50 per cent. Rumanians, and Southern Bessarabia, which apparently is offered to Rumania, is the part of Bessarabia having the fewest Rumanians. As for no annexations, Count Czernin claims that all he has done is to carry out slight frontier rectifications. What he really has done is to take an important part of

the Danube and all the passes between Austria-Hungary and Rumania. Not only this, he has driven back the Carpathian frontier eight or ten miles.

But the most hypocritical part of Czernin's peace terms, while affecting not to demand a war indemnity for the Central Powers, is the fact that they have imposed one of the heaviest war indemnities ever levied. It is a curious provision which applies to the new States that they are to be under no obligation whatever toward Russia arising from former relations with her. The result is to concentrate on the remainder of Russia the debt which hitherto was spread over the whole of Russia.

No wonder that Count Czernin, in a moment of candor, says that in the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine and Rumania the first thought was to furnish Austria with necessary foodstuffs and material. That has been the object of this peace, and it has been accomplished by giving to Austria-Hungary such economic and strategic advantages as to place these two countries at the mercy of the Central Powers.

From the Ukraine particularly Czernin claims there is to be secured all food obtainable. No doubt this will be not a question of purchase, but of seizure. All the cost of requisitions made by the Central Powers will be written off in Rumania.

It will amount to £50,000,000. Beyond that they claim the exclusive right to exploit the petroleum fields, and any disputes arising from this are to be settled by a tribunal set up in Leipsic.

Austro-French "Peace Initiative" Controversy

Clemenceau Flatly Contradicts Czernin

COUNT CZERNIN'S assertion in his speech of April 2 that Premier Clemenceau of France had initiated a peace parley with Austria-Hungary was immediately denied by the French Premier with the curt declaration: "The statement is a lie." There followed a somewhat extended controversy on the subject, which Count Czernin sought to utilize for his own purposes of war diplomacy, and which is placed on record here for the side lights it sheds on a hitherto secret chapter of the continuous peace intrigues of the Central Powers.

Premier Clemenceau's curt "démenti" was followed on April 6 by this official statement from the French Government:

> Premier Clemenceau, upon assuming the duties of President of the Council, found that conversations had been entered into in Switzerland upon Austria's initiative between the Count Revertata, a personal friend of Emperor Charles, and Commandant Armand of the Second Bureau, French General Staff, designated for that purpose by the French Minister at the time.
>
> M. Clemenceau did not wish to assume the responsibility of interrupting conferences which had yielded no results, but which might furnish useful sources of information. Commandant Armand thus was allowed to continue his journey in Switzerland, upon the request of Count Revertata. Instructions were given M. Armand in the presence of his chief by M. Clemenceau as follows: "Listen and say nothing."
>
> Count Revertata, becoming convinced that his attempt to bring about a German peace was doomed to failure, in order fully to characterize his mission, gave Commandant Armand a letter written in his own hand, dated Feb. 25, 1918, the first sentence of which reads: "During the month of August, 1917, with a view to obtaining from the French Government a proposition to Austria which might lead to future peace and be of such a nature as to be susceptible of being indorsed by Austria and presented to the German Government, conferences have been entered upon."
>
> Count Revertata, being himself the solicitor, acknowledges it in the following terms: "That the purpose was to obtain from the French Government propositions of peace, under cover of Austria, for transmission to Berlin."
>
> Such is the fact established by an authenticated document which Count Czernin has dared to refer to in the following terms: "Clemenceau, shortly before the beginning of the offensive on the western front, had me asked whether I was ready to enter upon negotiations,

"and upon what basis." In speaking thus he not only did not tell the truth, but told the opposite of truth, which in France is termed "lying."

It is but natural that Premier Clemenceau should be unable to restrain his indignation when Count Czernin, justly anxious as to the final consequences of the western offensive, reversed the rôles with such audacity, representing the French Government as begging for peace at the very moment when, with our allies, we were preparing for the infliction of a supreme defeat upon the Central Empires.

It would be too easy to recall to what extent Austria has importuned Rome, Washington, and London with solicitations for an alleged separate peace which had no other aim than to slip upon us the yoke which she professes to find to her taste. Who does not know the story of a recent meeting (in Switzerland, of course) of a former Austrian Ambassador and a figure high in the councils of the Entente Allies? The conferences lasted only a few minutes. Here again it was not our ally who sought the interview. It was the Austrian Government.

Does not Count Czernin remember another attempt of the same sort made in Paris and London only two months before that of Count Revertata by a person of much higher rank? That again, as in the present case, is authentic, but much more significant proof exists.

CONFIRMED BY PAINLEVE

Professor Paul Painlevé, who preceded M. Clemenceau as Premier, issued the following explanatory statement:

During the year 1917 Austria made several attempts to open semi-official negotiations with the Entente Allies. Notably in June, 1917, I was advised by the Second Bureau that Austria, through the person of Count Revertata, had several times asked, through a Swiss intermediary, for an interview with the officer attached to the Second Bureau, Major Armand, a distant relative.

Alexander Ribot, then Premier, having been consulted, Major Armand and Count Revertata met in August, 1917. The matter stopped there, and no interview took place from August until November, when I left office.

The events which occurred afterward naturally are unknown to me, but I presume, from the statement made by Premier Clemenceau, that Count Revertata returned to the charge.

AUSTRIA'S OFFICIAL STATEMENT

The following official statement regarding the matter was issued the same day at Vienna by the Imperial Government:

On instructions from the Foreign Minister Count Revertata, Counselor of the Legation in Switzerland, repeatedly had discussions in Switzerland with a confidential agent of M. Clemenceau, Count Armand, attached to the French War Ministry, who was sent to Switzerland to interview Count Revertata. As a result of the interview of these two gentlemen in Freiburg, Switzerland, on Feb. 2, the question was discussed whether and on what basis a discussion concerning the bringing about of a general peace would be possible between the Foreign Ministers of Austria-Hungary and France, or between official representatives of these Ministers.

Thereupon Count Revertata, after obtaining instructions from the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, toward the close of February declared on behalf of the Minister to Count Armand, for communication to M. Clemenceau, that Count Czernin was prepared for a discussion with a representative of France, and regarded it as possible to hold a conversation with the prospect of success as soon as France renounced its plan for the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine.

Count Revertata received a reply in the name of M. Clemenceau to the effect that the latter was not in a position to accept the proposed renunciation by France of this disannexation, so that a meeting of the representatives at that time would, in the view of both parties, be useless.

GENERAL SMUTS'S TESTIMONY

The Paris Matin on April 7 stated that General Smuts, South African representative in the British Cabinet, was the "figure high in the councils of the Entente Allies" referred to by the French Government in the statement of April 5 denying the assertion of Count Czernin that the French Prime Minister had sought to open peace negotiations with Austria-Hungary. The representative of the Dual Monarchy who met General Smuts in Switzerland was Count Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at London when the war broke out. Immediately upon being introduced to Count Mensdorff, says the newspaper, General Smuts, taking the initiative in the conversation, bluntly said:

"Is it true that you wish to make a separate peace?"

This direct query was too much for the trained diplomat, and the Count began a long, evasive reply.

"Yes or no?" reiterated the British representative.

Obtaining no direct reply General Smuts said:

"Then—good-night!"

The interview lasted barely three minutes. Vienna was shocked, Le Matin says, at the boorish manner of the "old Transvaal warrior."

VIENNA'S SECOND STATEMENT

Further elaboration of Count Czernin's version of the case was proffered on April 8 in a second official statement issued at Vienna by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, as follows:

In contrast to the first brief declaration of Premier Clemenceau, in which he gave the lie to Foreign Minister Czernin, it is observed with satisfaction that M. Clemenceau's statement of April 6 admits that discussions in regard to the question of peace took place between two confidential agents of Austria-Hungary and France. The account given by M. Clemenceau of the initiation and course of these negotiations, and likewise the statement by M. Painlevé on the same subject, however, deviate in many important particulars and to such a degree from the facts that a detailed correction of the French communication appears to be necessary.

In July, 1917, Count Revertata was requested by an intermediary in the name of the French Government to state whether he was in a position to receive a communication from that Government to the Government of Austria-Hungary. When Count Revertata, after having obtained the sanction of the Austro-Hungarian Government, replied in the affirmative to this inquiry, in the same month—July, 1917—Major Armand was charged with such communication by the then French Premier, Ribot. He arrived on Aug. 7, 1917, at Count Revertata's private residence in Freiburg, the Count being distantly related to him.

Major Armand then addressed to Count Revertata a question as to whether discussions between France and Austria-Hungary were possible. Thus the initiative for these discussions was taken from the French side.

Count Revertata reported to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister that this question had been put on instructions of the French Government, and the Minister thereupon requested Count Revertata to enter into discussions with the French confidential agent, and in the course of these discussions to establish whether by this means a basis for bringing about a general peace could be secured.

On Aug. 22 and 23 Count Revertata entered into discussions with Major Armand, which, however, as Premier Clemenceau quite correctly declares, yielded no result. The negotiations thereupon were broken off.

Parleys Resumed in January

The Clemenceau version that the discussions between Revertata and Armand were proceeding on his entry into office is incorrect. Not until January, 1918, did Armand, this time on instructions from Clemenceau, again get in touch with Revertata. The thread had been broken in August, 1917, and was therefore again taken up by Clemenceau himself in January, 1918.

From this fresh contact there resulted the discussions referred to in the official communiqué of April 4, 1918. It is, however, correct that Count Revertata handed to Major Armand on Feb. 23, 1918, the memorandum regarding which Premier Clemenceau only cites the first sentence and which confirms that in the discussions with Armand, which had taken place in August, 1917, Revertata was charged with the task of finding out whether proposals were obtainable from the French Government, which had addressed to Austria-Hungary an offer of a basis for a general peace, and also whether they would be such as Austria-Hungary could bring to the knowledge of her allies.

It, therefore, entirely corresponded with the facts when Count Czernin in his speech on April 2 last declared that Premier Clemenceau, some time before the beginning of the western offensive, had inquired of me whether I was prepared for negotiations and on what basis.

The accusation of lying brought against Count Czernin by M. Clemenceau cannot therefore be maintained, even in the restricted sense made by the present communiqué of the French Government.

Admits Other Peace Manoeuvres

Nothing is known to the Austro-Hungarian Government of entreaties for an alleged separate peace with which the Austro-Hungarian Government worrried the Governments of Rome, Washington, and London. When M. Clemenceau asks the Austro - Hungarian Foreign Minister whether he remembers that two months before the Revertata affair—that is, about a year ago—an attempt of a like nature was made by a personage of far higher rank, Count Czernin does not hesitate to reply in the affirmative. But for the sake of completeness and entire correctness it should be added that this attempt also led to no result.

So much for the establishment of the facts. For the rest, it need only be remarked that Count Czernin for his part would see no reason to deny it if, in this

or any similar case, he had taken the initiative, because, in contrast to M. Clemenceau, he believes that it cannot be a matter for reproach for a Government to make attempts to bring about an honorable peace, which would liberate all peoples from the terrors of the present war.

The dispute raised by M. Clemenceau has, moreover, diverted attention from the real kernel of Count Czernin's statement. The essence of this statement was not so much who suggested the discussions undertaken before the beginning of the western offensive, but who caused their collapse. And M. Clemenceau up to the present has not denied that he refused to enter upon negotiations on the basis of the renunciation of the reacquisition of Alsace-Lorraine.

RETORT BY CLEMENCEAU

Premier Clemenceau replied to this Vienna statement on the same day by issuing the following:

A diluted lie is still a lie. Count Czernin told a lie when he said that some time before the German offensive began Premier Clemenceau caused him to be asked "if he was ready to open negotiations and upon what basis."

As to the passage in the manuscript note of Count Revertata, where he says he acted for Austria to obtain peace proposals from France, the solicitant's text is authentic, and Count Czernin has not dared to dispute it.

To hide his confusion he tries to maintain that the conversation was resumed at the request of M. Clemenceau. Unfortunately for him, there is a fact which reduces his allegation to nothing, namely, that Clemenceau was apprised of the matter on Nov. 18, 1917, (that is to say, the day after he took over the Ministry of War,) by communication from the intermediary dated Nov. 10, and intended for his predecessors. For Count Czernin's contention to be true, M. Clemenceau would have had to take the initiative in question before he was Premier. Thus Count Czernin is categorically contradicted by facts.

He is reduced to maintaining that Major Armand was M. Clemenceau's confidential man. Well, until this incident M. Clemenceau had seen this officer of the Intelligence Department only once, for five minutes at a riding school fifteen or twenty years ago.

Finally, Count Czernin, as a last resource, says that what he attributes to M. Clemenceau is unimportant. "What is really important," he affirms, "is not to know who took the initiative for the conversations before the offensive, but who caused them to fail." Then why all this fuss? To demonstrate that every French Government, like France itself, is immovable on the question of Alsace-Lorraine?

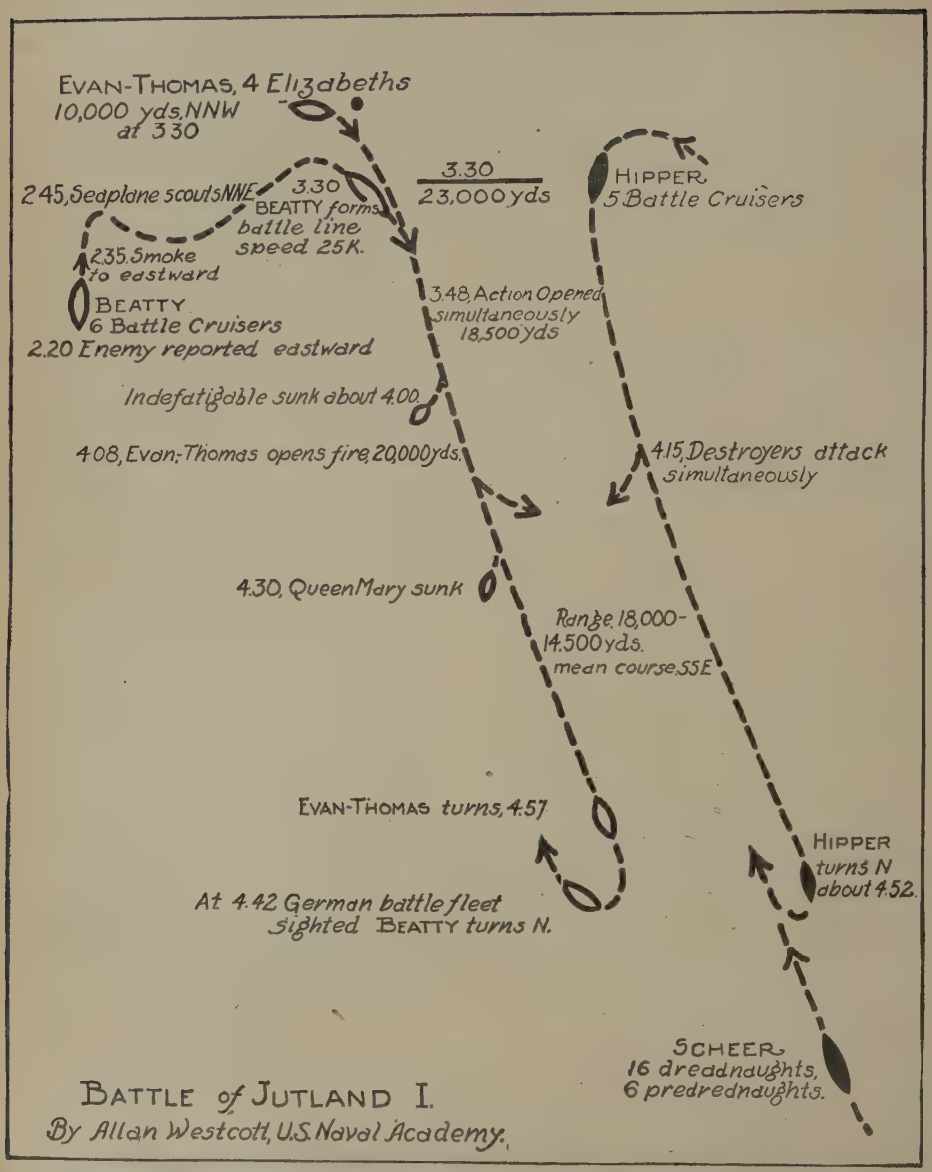
Who could have thought it would have been necessary for Count Revertata to elucidate for Count Czernin a question upon which the Emperor of Austria himself has said the last word? It was no other than Emperor Charles who, in a letter dated March, 1917, put on record in his own writing his adhesion to "France's just claim relative to Alsace-Lorraine." A second imperial letter stated that the Emperor was "in agreement with his Minister." It only remained for Czernin to contradict himself.

Ex-Premier Ribot stated on April 9 that during his Premiership "France never directly or through a neutral intermediary took the initiative in any such proceeding as the Austrian official communication asserted."

German Designs on Madeira

Colonel Lord Denbigh, in an address before the Royal Colonial Institute, London, recently told how German designs upon the Island of Madeira were checkmated by Great Britain in 1906. He said it was more or less a piece of secret history outside diplomatic and naval circles. At Madeira, he said, the Germans first took a hotel. Then they wanted a convalescent home, and, finally, desired to establish certain vested interests. They demanded certain concessions from Portugal. The German Ambassador, early in 1906, called on the Portuguese Government, and said that, if the concessions asked for were not granted, the Kaiser would send his navy up the Tagus to Lisbon. The Portuguese Government telegraphed to England, and that night the British Admiralty were on the point of mobilizing the whole resources of the British fleet. They thought of another way of meeting the situation, however, and sent the Atlantic fleet close up against the Portuguese coast. They let the Kaiser know what had happened through an undiplomatic source, with the result that next day the German Ambassador had to call again on the Portuguese Government and explain that he had exceeded his instructions.

I.—Battle of Jutland: First Phase



This diagram indicates the courses and ranges during the first stage of the battle, from the establishment of contact by the battle cruiser squadrons at 3:30 P. M. until the arrival of the German battle fleet about 5 P. M.

The British battle cruisers, and, presumably, those of Hipper also, were formed in *bow and quarter line;* or *line of bearing*—the ships on parallel courses but diagonally astern of the leader. During the approach the light cruisers and destroyers on each side—the position of which is not indicated—were spread out ahead of the main squadrons. The British second light cruiser squadron later took station ahead of Beatty and at 4:38 gave warning of the approach of the German battle fleet.

At 4:42 the British battle cruisers turned *in succession*, (squadron right countermarch,) the rear ships following the course of the leader. According to the diagram published with the official British reports in The London Times, Admiral Hipper's turn at 4:52 was *to the left;* but the German charts and some later British diagrams indicate the direction as above.

Graves of American soldiers who perished in the sinking of the Tuscania, at Port Charlotte, Island of Islay, Scotland

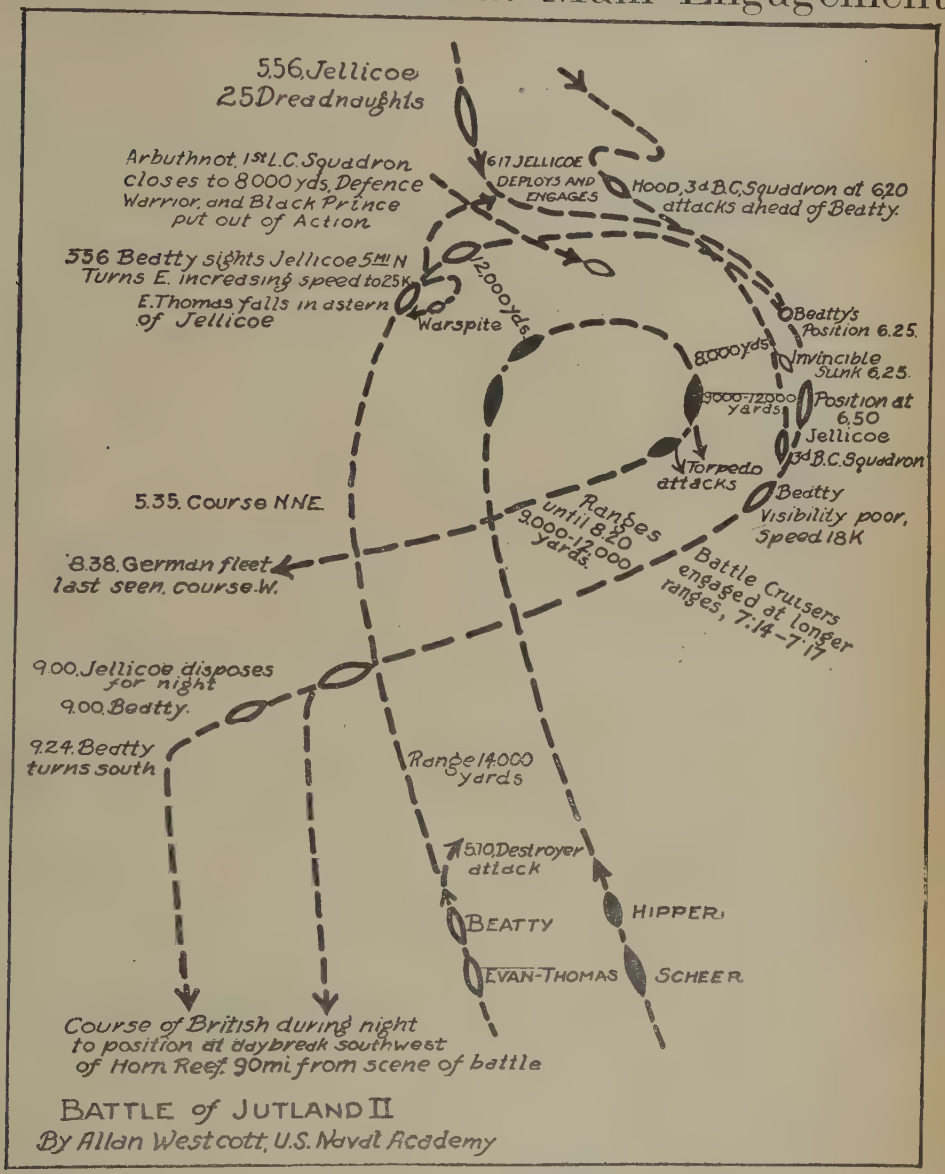
(Times Photo Service)

County volunteers of Islay firing a volley at the funeral of Tuscania victims at Kilnaughton, to the accompaniment of bagpipe lament

(Times Photo Service)

One of the many artistic posters used by the United States Government in the Third Liberty Loan campaign, April 6 to May 4, 1918

II.—Battle of Jutland: Main Engagement


5.56 Jellicoe 25 Dreadnaughts
Arbuthnot, 1st L.C. Squadron closes to 8000 yds, Defence Warrior, and Black Prince put out of Action
6.17 JELLICOE DEPLOYS AND ENGAGES
HOOD, 3d B.C. Squadron at 6.20 attacks ahead of Beatty.
5.56 Beatty sights Jellicoe 5 MI N Turns E. increasing speed to 25K
E. Thomas falls in astern of Jellicoe
12,000 yds
Warspite
Beatty's Position 6.25.
8000 yds
Invincible Sunk 6.25.
9000-12000 yards
Position at 6.50
Jellicoe
3d B.C. Squadron
Torpedo attacks
Beatty
Visibility poor, Speed 18K
5.35. Course NNE.
Ranges until 8.20 9000-12000 yards.
Battle Cruisers engaged at longer ranges, 7.14-7.17
8.38. German fleet last seen, course W.
9.00. Jellicoe disposes for night
9.00. Beatty.
9.24. Beatty turns South
Range 14000 yards
5.10 Destroyer attack
BEATTY
HIPPER
EVAN-THOMAS
SCHEER
Course of British during night to position at daybreak southwest of Horn Reef, 90 mi from scene of battle
BATTLE of JUTLAND II
By Allan Westcott, U.S. Naval Academy

This diagram covers the main engagement, from the approach of the German battle fleet about 5 P. M. until the British fleet assumed a southerly course at 9 P. M. At various points in the action German units are reported to have been disabled or driven out of the line. Owing to uncertainty as to exact time and place, these losses are not indicated. During the opening stage of the action (Chart I.) the visibility was at first "good," but after 4:18 "considerably obscured" toward the northeast. On the northward course, between 5 and 6, the British squadrons were "silhouetted against a clear horizon to westward, while the enemy were for the most part obscured by mist." After 6 P. M. visibility, though reduced, was favorable to the British. The sea was calm and the wind light throughout the action.

A Review of the Battle of Jutland

By Thomas G. Frothingham

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NOTE—*The reader of this review will be greatly helped in following the movements of the opposing fleets by the two charts on the preceding pages. These have been ably prepared by Allan Westcott of the United States Naval Academy, and they should be carefully studied.*

SUFFICIENT time has now passed since the battle of Jutland (May 31, 1916) to eliminate the early distorted versions of the action and to give a proper perspective of the tactics of the opposing fleets. To understand the battle, it is necessary to realize that it had become the custom of the British fleet to leave its safeguarded bases in the north of the British Isles and make periodical sweeps through the North Sea. At the beginning of his report of the battle Admiral Jellicoe describes this practice:

> The ships of the Grand Fleet, in pursuance of the general policy of periodical sweeps through the North Sea, had left its base on the previous day in accordance with instructions issued by me. In the early afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, the first and second battle cruiser squadrons, the first, second, and third light cruiser squadrons, and destroyers from the first, ninth, tenth, and thirteenth flotillas, supported by the fifth battle squadron, were, in accordance with my directions, scouting to the southward of the battle fleet.

With the object of engaging a fleet that had been usually so disposed and so employed, the Germans came out from their bases. For some time after the battle there were tales of other objectives —to cover the escape of raiders, to get ships through the Baltic, &c. But all these theories have been abandoned, and it is now agreed that the Germans planned to fight the superior British fleet under conditions advantageous to themselves. All the German manoeuvres indicate that this was their design, and no other.

The opposing forces in the battle of Jutland were as follows:

1. An advance British force under Vice Admiral Beatty, consisting of six battle cruisers, (four Lions of 28.5 knots speed, each carrying eight 13.5-inch guns, and two Indefatigables of 25 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) supported by the fifth battle squadron, under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, (four 25-knot battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class, each carrying eight 15-inch guns.)

The fleet speed of this advance force was 25 knots.

2. The main body of the British Grand Fleet, under Admiral Jellicoe, flying his flag in the Iron Duke—consisting of a fast wing under Rear Admiral Hood, (three 26-knot battle cruisers of Invincible class, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) a division of four armored cruisers under Rear Admiral Arbuthnot, and twenty-five dreadnoughts in three squadrons commanded by Vice Admirals Burney, Jerram, and Sturdee.

The fleet speed of this main body was 20 knots, and its formidable armament will be found in the table on Page 338.

3. About twenty light cruisers and 160 destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

The German strength comprised:

1. An advance force under Vice Admiral Hipper, consisting of five battle cruisers, (three Derfflingers of probably 27 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns, and two Moltkes of probably 28 knots speed, each carrying ten 11-inch guns.)

The fleet speed of this advance force was 27 knots.

2. The main body of the German High Seas Fleet, under Admiral Scheer, consisting of sixteen dreadnoughts and six predreadnought battleships.

The fleet speed of this main body was 17 knots, because the German dread-

CHART SHOWING POSITIONS IN BATTLE OF JUTLAND IN RELATION TO SURROUNDINGS OF THE NORTH SEA. (1) SCENE OF BATTLE. (2) POSITION OF BRITISH FLEET AT 3 A. M., JUNE 1, 1916, BEFORE RETRACING ITS COURSE TO THE BATTLEFIELD.

noughts had been eked out with pre-dreadnought battleships of less speed. Four dreadnoughts carried twelve 11-inch guns each, four twelve 12-inch guns each, the rest ten 12-inch guns each. The six old German battleships were very inferior, carrrying only four heavy guns each.

3. About twenty light cruisers and eighty or ninety destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

The above-described makeup of the opposing fleets must be kept in mind when studying the course of the action. The day of the battle was cloudy, but the sun shone through the clouds most of the time. At no time was there anything approaching a sea. Visibility was reported as good in the first stages of the action, but late in the afternoon, there being little wind, mist and smoke hung heavy over the surface of the sea. These conditions must also be remembered.

DISPOSITION OF BRITISH FLEET

First of all, it should be said that any criticism of Admiral Jellicoe as to the makeup of the British advance force is not justified. The Queen Elizabeth class of dreadnoughts had been designed with the great speed of 25 knots for the purpose of working with battle cruisers on such service. This gave them a speed that was uniform with the fleet speed of Vice Admiral Beatty's battle cruiser

squadrons, although the individual ships of the Lion class were faster. The name ship of this battleship class, the Queen Elizabeth, had been through a long, racking service in the Dardanelles operations, and was not with the fleet. The other four ships of the class made up the fifth battle squadron under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, which was under Vice Admiral Beatty's command.

This disposition of Admiral Jellicoe's fleet, with the advance force flung out ahead, seems sound from every tactical point of view, with the assumption that the advance was to be in touch with the main fleet, or, if out of touch, tactical possibilities had been provided for and plans of action prearranged.

In the sweep through the North Sea, with the main body of the British Grand Fleet some fifty miles astern, Vice Admiral Beatty's advance force was cruising to southward of Admiral Jellicoe May 31, 1916, when, at 2:20 P. M., the presence of enemy ships was reported by a light cruiser. Admiral Beatty altered course "to the eastward and subsequently to northeastward, the enemy being sighted at 3:31 P. M. Their force consisted of five battle cruisers."*

BEGINNING OF THE ACTION

It is stated in Vice Admiral Beatty's report that it was over an hour after the first news of the vicinity of enemy ships before he increased speed to 25 knots to engage, ("at 3:30 P. M."*) Yet Vice Admiral Beatty reports that Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas's fifth battle squadron (the four Queen Elizabeths) was still 10,000 yards away when he made this move to engage the enemy with his battle cruisers. This forces us to the conclusion that Admiral Beatty thought his six battle cruisers would be able to take care of the situation. His confidence is explained by the fact that all previous sorties of the Germans had been made by battle cruisers or small craft.

Both sides threw out screens of light cruisers, which clashed, and at 3:48 "the action commenced at a range of 18,500 yards, both sides opening fire practically simultaneously."† The British battle cruisers fought on a course curving to the southeast, and then on a straight south-southeast course, and the five German battle cruisers fought them on a parallel course, instead of edging away from the superior British force. It is now easy to see that the trend of the action was absolutely in the direction of the approaching main body of the German High Seas Fleet, but this very naturally was not apparent at the time to Admiral Beatty.

The first phase of the battle may properly be studied as a fight between the British and German battle cruisers, in consequence of the before-stated gap separating the two parts of Admiral Beatty's command. This interval of 10,000 yards prevented the fifth battle squadron of Queen Elizabeth dreadnoughts from being a factor at the time. Vice Admiral Beatty reports that this squadron "opened fire at a range of 20,000 yards," and he continues: "The fifth battle squadron was engaging the enemy's rear ships, unfortunately at very long range." (It is interesting to note this comment on a range of 20,000 yards, in view of the fantastic distances at which the Queen Elizabeth had been depicted by alarmists as shelling our coast cities.)

In this part of the action came the first of the many upsets of pre-war calculations. Comparing the given strength of the two opposing squadrons in action, it will be seen that the British battle cruisers were greatly superior; in fact, the odds would have been considered prohibitive before this battle. Yet it was the British squadron that suffered, losing one-third of its ships. Ten minutes after the beginning of the action the Indefatigable was sunk, and at 4:30 the Queen Mary met the same fate. In each case it is said that there was a great explosion up through the turrets, suggesting that a weak turret construction is really a conductor of fire to the magazine in case of a heavy hit, and pointing to the need of better separation of the supply of ammunition from the magazine.

*Report of Vice Admiral Beatty.

†Report of Vice Admiral Beatty.

DESTROYERS TAKE PART

At 4:15 there was an attack "simultaneously"* by British and German destroyers which resulted in a lively fight, but no damage to any of the capital ships. Yet the possibilities of such torpedo attacks were so evident, here and later in the battle, that the destroyer at once attained a greater value as an auxiliary of the battleship. It should also be noted that German submarines were reported present at this stage, but they accomplished nothing against the screened fighting ships. A British airplane had been sent up from a mother ship just before the engagement, though Admiral Beatty reports that it was forced to fly low on account of the clouds, and had a hard task "to identify four enemy light cruisers." There was apparently no chance of a wide observation that would have warned Admiral Beatty of the approaching German High Seas Fleet. In this short hour were concentrated many new problems of naval warfare.

The advancing German High Seas Fleet was reported at 4:38 by a light cruiser, and sighted at 4:42 by the British battle cruisers. A few minutes later Vice Admiral Beatty's ships turned right about (180 degrees) in succession. The German battle cruisers also turned to a northwesterly course, closely followed up by the van of the German High Seas Fleet, and the action was continued on this course.

The report of Admiral Beatty and his conduct in this part of the action show that he had not suspected the presence of the German High Seas Fleet, but the lavish criticism of his turn in succession is without reason. In the first place, his ships met no disaster at the turn, and the manoeuvre is absolutely justified by the fact that it brought the four Queen Elizabeth battleships into position to fight a rearguard action against the greatly strengthened enemy. Any other disposition of Admiral Beatty's command would have been a mistake.

It also follows that, against the turn made in this way, it would have been an error for Vice Admiral Hipper to try for a capping position, with the object of smothering Admiral Beatty's cruisers in detail at their pivoting point. Such an attempt would have exposed his own battle cruisers to the 15-inch guns of the approaching dreadnoughts of Admiral Evan-Thomas's squadron. Admiral Hipper's conduct in turning to the northwest ahead of the van of the German High Seas Fleet seems the best thing he could have done at the time. The leading German battleships, which were of the König class, fell into line, closely following Admiral Hipper's battle cruisers, and the battle was continued at 14,000 yards on a northwest course.

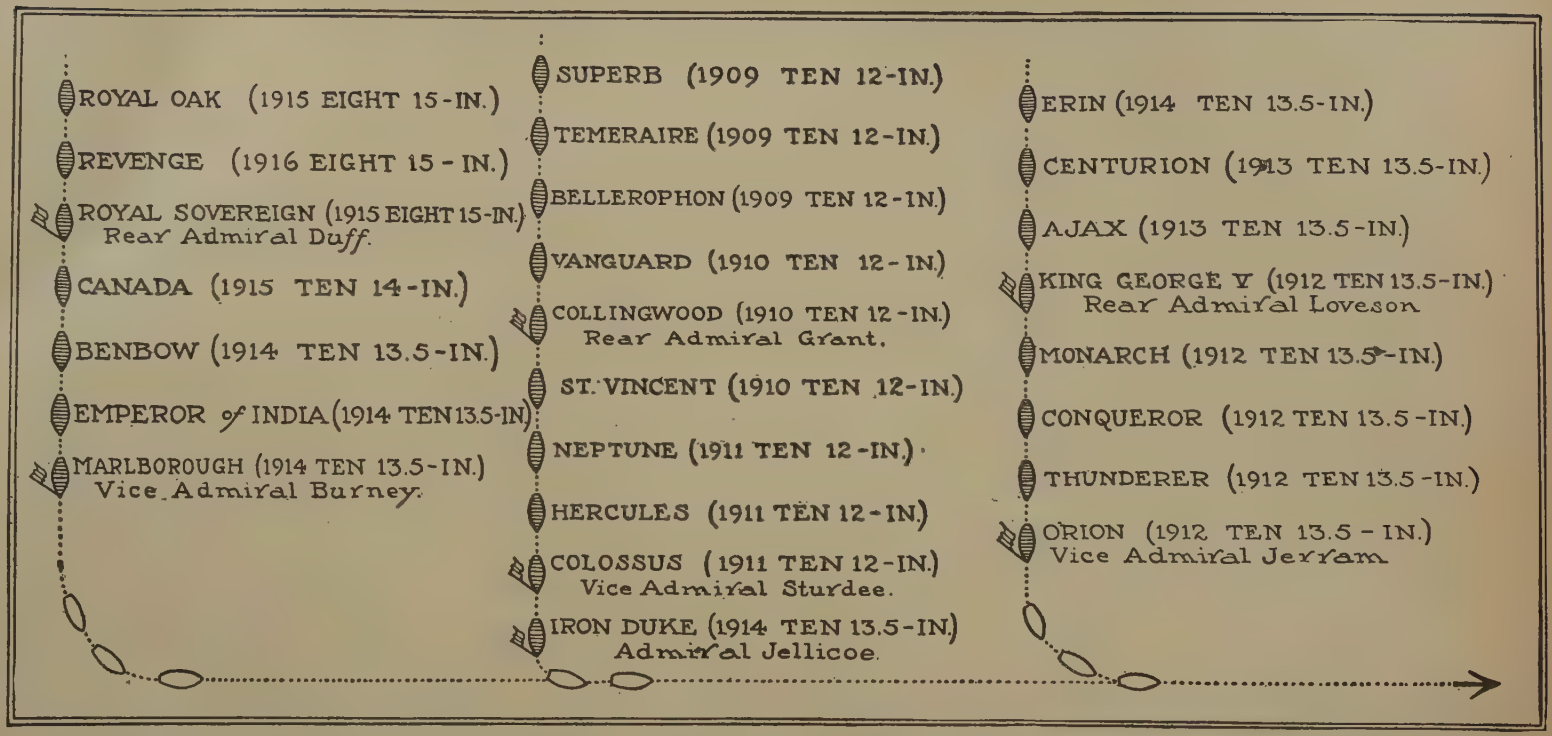
On the British side the brunt of the action was sustained by Admiral Evan-Thomas's fifth battle squadron, which from this time was in line astern of Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers. The German battle cruisers could not stand up with the same effectiveness against the heavy guns of the fifth battle squadron, and this, with an increase to full speed, enabled Admiral Beatty to draw ahead. He again opened up a gap between his battle cruisers and the fifth battle squadron, taking a course that curved to the north and northeast, in search of Admiral Jellicoe's battle fleet, which was hastening to his assistance. The leading ships of the Grand Fleet were sighted at 5:56, and Admiral Beatty altered his course to the east at extreme speed. The German van also turned to eastward.

In the meantime from the north the British Grand Fleet had been closing at utmost fleet speed on a southeast by south course. Ahead of the battle fleet was the squadron of three battle cruisers under Rear Admiral Hood. This squadron, well in advance of the main body, took position ahead of Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers, which had turned to their southerly course, as shown by the diagram.

In the second phase of the action, which has just been described, there were clashes of light cruisers and isolated torpedo attacks, none of which had any tactical effect on the battle. It is now evident from the conduct of the German command that the German fleet was not

*Report of Vice Admiral Beatty.

Make-Up and Armament of British Grand Fleet


ROYAL OAK (1915 EIGHT 15-IN.)
REVENGE (1916 EIGHT 15-IN.)
ROYAL SOVEREIGN (1915 EIGHT 15-IN.)
Rear Admiral Duff.
CANADA (1915 TEN 14-IN.)
BENBOW (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
EMPEROR of INDIA (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
MARLBOROUGH (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Vice Admiral Burney.
SUPERB (1909 TEN 12-IN.)
TEMERAIRE (1909 TEN 12-IN.)
BELLEROPHON (1909 TEN 12-IN.)
VANGUARD (1910 TEN 12-IN.)
COLLINGWOOD (1910 TEN 12-IN.)
Rear Admiral Grant.
ST. VINCENT (1910 TEN 12-IN.)
NEPTUNE (1911 TEN 12-IN.)
HERCULES (1911 TEN 12-IN.)
COLOSSUS (1911 TEN 12-IN.)
Vice Admiral Sturdee.
IRON DUKE (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Admiral Jellicoe.
ERIN (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
CENTURION (1913 TEN 13.5-IN.)
AJAX (1913 TEN 13.5-IN.)
KING GEORGE V (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Rear Admiral Loveson
MONARCH (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
CONQUEROR (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
THUNDERER (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
ORION (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Vice Admiral Jerram.

In addition the Grand Fleet comprised Rear Admiral Hood's squadron of three battle cruisers and Rear Admiral Arbuthnot's squadron of four armored cruisers.

led into a trap, and that Admiral Scheer deliberately chose to engage the British Grand Fleet, thinking the conditions favorable, although his course necessarily curved away to the southwestward and left the British Grand Fleet between the German fleet and all its bases. It is also evident that the ships of the German van had not been damaged by the fifth British battle squadron to the extent of demoralizing the German gunfire. The immediate damage inflicted on the advance of the British Grand Fleet is proof enough of this.

HOOD'S FLAGSHIP SUNK

As stated, Rear Admiral Hood took station ahead of Vice Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers, with his advance squadron of battle cruisers (6:21) closing to a range of 8,000 yards, (6:25.) A few minutes later his flagship, the Invincible, was sunk by gunfire. Almost at the same time three of Rear Admiral Arbuthnot's armored cruisers, Black Prince, Warrior, and Defense, "not aware of the approach of the enemy's heavy ships,"* were put out of action. (Defense was sunk; Warrior sank while attempt was being made to tow her home; Black Prince was sunk later, probably by gunfire.)

At this stage the British Grand Fleet formed in battle line astern of the battle cruisers, and engaged the enemy on a course to the southwest, the German fleet now being to the westward, as shown on the diagram. The fifth battle squadron then took position astern of Admiral Jellicoe's main body. It was here that the Warspite, a dreadnought of the Queen Elizabeth class, jammed her helm, and was out of control for a time, as described by her Captain after the action. The battleship was, however, extricated from her predicament. The battle cruiser Lützow, the flagship of the German advance force, had become totally disabled, and Vice Admiral Hipper had transshipped his flag to another battle cruiser.

By this time smoke and mist hung over the sea, and the Germans took advantage of these conditions, also using smoke screens, to fight the only action possible for their fleet against the overwhelming force now in line against them. The German ships would appear and disappear in the smoke and mist. Admiral Jellicoe reports of this stage of the action:

> Owing principally to the mist, but partly to the smoke, it was possible to see only a few ships at a time in the enemy's battle line. Toward the van only some four or five ships were ever visible at once. More could be seen from the rear squadron, but never more than eight to twelve. * * * The action between the battle fleets lasted intermittently from 6:17 P. M. to 8:20 P. M., at ranges between 9,000 yards and 12,000 yards. During this time the British fleet made alterations of course from southeast by east to west (168¾ degrees) in the endeavor to close, but the enemy constantly turned away and opened the range under cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens. The alterations of course had the effect of bringing the British fleet (which commenced the action in a position of advantage on the bow of the enemy) to a quarterly bearing from the enemy's battle line, but at the same time placed us between the enemy and his bases.

JELLICOE'S NIGHT MANOEUVRE

As the darkness came on, it is evident that these tactics on the part of the Germans, with increasing threats of torpedo attacks, became more and more baffling to the British command, and then came the crucial decision which ended the battle. Admiral Jellicoe reports:

> At 9 P. M. the enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary for me to dispose of the fleet for the night, with a view to its safety from such attacks, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manoeuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they would afford protection to the fleet from destroyer attack and at the same time be favorably situated for attacking the enemy's heavy ships.

Concerning this stage of the action Admiral Jellicoe in his report quotes Vice Admiral Beatty as follows:

> In view of the gathering darkness and the fact that our strategical position was such as to make it appear certain that we should locate the enemy at daylight under most favorable circumstances, I did not consider it desirable or proper to close the enemy battle fleet during the dark hours.

*Report of Admiral Jellicoe.

Here the British Admiral and his second in command were in accord, but the responsibility for the resultant movement of the British fleet must rest with Admiral Jellicoe as chief in command. By his order the British fleet steamed through the dark hours at moderate speed on southerly courses some ninety miles from the battlefield. Although the British fleet was thus placed in the general direction of Heligoland, this meant that Admiral Jellicoe had relinquished all touch with the German fleet, and this left the German fleet practically free to proceed to its bases, which was done without any interference, bringing in their damaged ships. The Germans even attempted to tow the wreck of the Lützow into port, but she sank on the way in.

This move to the southward by the British fleet ended the battle of Jutland. In the night there were isolated clashes of small fry, the adventures of lame ducks, &c., but there was nothing that affected the tactical results, and nothing that was in any sense a part of a battle of fleets. None of these encounters even indicated the location of the German fleet.

DEPARTURE OF GERMAN FLEET

At the early coming of light in these latitudes (about 3 A. M., June 1) the British fleet was to the southward and westward of the Horn Reef, about ninety miles from the battlefield. The British fleet then retraced its course to the battlefield. This return of the British fleet, by the same lane it followed in the night, did not give much opportunity to regain touch with the German fleet. Admiral Jellicoe reports that he remained in the vicinity of the battlefield until 11 A. M. when he was "reluctantly compelled to the conclusion that the High Seas Fleet had returned into port." Soon afterward the British fleet proceeded to its bases.

In the early accounts of the battle there were fanciful tales of pursuit of the German ships through the night, and even after Admiral Jellicoe's report, the British public did not at first realize the situation at the end of the action. But, after a time, when this was better understood, there arose one of the greatest naval controversies that have ever agitated Great Britain, centred around the alleged "defensive" naval policy for maintaining the supremacy of Great Britain on the seas—the pros and cons as to closing the Germans while there was light, and keeping in touch through the dark hours. With that discussion this article has nothing to do, but the tactical situation at the end of the battle should be stated.

At 9 o'clock the German fleet was to the westward. The British fleet was between it and all its bases. The British fleet was superior in speed, and had such an overwhelming superiority in ships and guns that it could afford to discard its damaged ships without impairing this superiority. The British Admiral had plenty of light cruisers and destroyers to throw out a screen and to maintain touch with the German fleet. There undoubtedly was a proportion of damaged ships in the German fleet; and this, with its original inferior fleet speed, would have made it a hard task for the German fleet to attempt to ease around the British fleet and reach its bases. These conditions were in favor of keeping in touch with the German fleet—and it is needless to point out the great results that would have come from a successful action with the German fleet in the morning.

On the other hand, one should state the elements which influenced Admiral Jellicoe's decision, first of all to safeguard his ships, and yet remain at a distance in the direction of a German base. Upon his fleet depended the established British control of the seas. Many of his ships had received hard knocks—and many were short of ammunition and fuel. Above all, there was the ominous threat of torpedo attacks in the night.

These were the conditions of the problem that confronted the British Admiral, brought about by the culminating tactics of the battle. Admiral Jellicoe's decision was that the situation did not justify him in imperiling his fleet and with it the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

In this greatest of all naval actions it is interesting to study the course of

the battle in comparison with pre-war calculations. The outstanding feature, the collapse of the three British battle cruisers, was not entirely unexpected by naval opinion. The battle cruiser had found a great vogue, especially in England, but before this battle a reaction had already set in, aided by the fact that the Lion had been put out by weaker gunfire in the Dogger Bank chase. Many naval men had come to believe that the battle cruiser was only a cruiser after all—though a valuable cruiser—and not up to taking a place in a real line of battle.

More surprising was the fact that at no stage of the action did the heavier British guns dominate the German guns. This was evident in the first phase, when Admiral Beatty's six battle cruisers were fighting on parallel courses with Admiral Hipper's five battle cruisers. The British ships carried thirty-two 13.5-inch and sixteen 12-inch guns, against their enemy's twenty-four 12-inch guns and twenty 11-inch guns.

In the second stage of the action on northerly courses, when Admiral Beatty's command was engaging the van of the German fleet, the four Queen Elizabeths, with their thirty-two 15-inch guns, were in position, and there was nothing heavier than a 12-inch gun in the German fleet.

In the third phase, after Vice Admiral Beatty's command had joined the main body of Admiral Jellicoe's fleet, the superiority of the British in heavy guns was enormous, as can be seen from the table on Page 338. It is true that the Germans took advantage of the mist and smoke as described. Yet, from Admiral Jellicoe's report, it is evident that there were many chances to let off salvos at the enemy ships, and he reports the ranges as very moderate, ("between 9,000 and 12,000 yards.")

WEIGHT OF METAL HURLED

As to the shooting on both sides, it is evident that there must be a great deal of hard thinking going on in the navies of the world as to improvement in this respect. The weight of metal hurled into the sea was prodigious. "In "the first and second phases it is estimated that each of the ships under "Vice Admiral Beatty and Rear Admiral "Evan-Thomas fired about 600 tons "and the Germans quite as much if not "more." *

The battleships stood up well, and everything in the battle confirmed the judgment of those who had pinned their faith to the battleships as the essential of naval power.

The two most revolutionary elements in naval warfare were present, but they cannot be said to have exerted any tactical effect on the battle. The limited use of the airplane has been told, and a Zeppelin was reported at about 4 A. M. June 1, which may have observed the location of the British fleet. U-boats were reported early in the action, but there is no hint that they took any real part in the battle. Yet this does not mean that they are not to be considered. With the great improvements in the type, it is probable that in many conditions the U-boat will be a factor in battles of fleets, and such contingencies should be safeguarded in advance.

The destroyer came to its own in the battle of Jutland as an auxiliary of the battle fleet, both for offense and defense. The whole course of the action proved that a screen of destroyers was absolutely necessary. For offense, it might be argued truthfully that, of the great number of torpedoes used, very few hit anything. The Marlborough was the only capital ship reported struck in the real action, and she was able afterward to take some part in the battle, and then get back to her base. It is supposed that the damaged Pommern may have been so destroyed later, and torpedoes may have struck other scattered marks. But above all things stands out the fact that it was the threat of night torpedo attacks by destroyers which made the British fleet withdraw from the battlefield.

There is no question of the fact that this withdrawal of the British fleet had a great moral effect on Germany. The announcement to the people and to the Reichstag had a heartening effect on the

* "Naval Power in the War." Lieut. Commander Charles C. Gill, U. S. N.

Germans at just the time they needed some such stimulant. But the actual tactical result of the battle was indecisive. It may be said the Germans had so manoeuvred their fleet that a detached part of the superior British force was cut up, but the damage was not enough to impair the established superiority of the British fleet, and the end of the battle left the British control of the sea absolutely unchanged.

The following is the British statement of losses:

	Tonnage.	Armor Belt.	Main Battery.	Sp'd.	Men.	C'p'd
BATTLE CRUISERS						
Queen Mary	27,000	9 in.	8 13.5-in.	28	1,000	'13
Indefatigable	18,750	8 in.	8 12-in.	26	899	'11
Invincible	17,250	7 in.	8 12-in.	26	750	'08
ARMORED CRUISERS						
Defense	14,600	6 in.	4 9.2-in.	23	755	'08
Black Prince	13,550	6 in.	6 9.2-in.	20.5	704	'06
Warrior	13,550	6 in.	6 9.2-in.	22.9	704	'08
DESTROYERS						
Tipperary	1,900	.....	.....	31	160	'14
Turbulent	.....	.....	.....	..	...	..
Fortune	920	.....	.....	29.50	100	'12
Sp'w Hawk	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12
Ardent	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12
Nomad	.....	.....	.....	..	...	..
Nestor	.....	.....	.....	..	...	..
Shark	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12

The losses admitted by the German Admiralty are:

	Tonnage.	Armament.	Sp'd.	Date Completion.
BATTLESHIP				
Pommern	13,040	4 11-in. 14 6.7-in.	19	1907
BATTLE CRUISER				
Luetzow	28,000	8 12-in. 12 6-in.	27	1915
LIGHT CRUISERS				
Rostock	4,820	12 4.1-in.	27.3	1914
Frauenlob	2,656	10 4.1-in.	21.5	1903
NEW LIGHT CRUISERS				
Elbing	.....	.....	..	....
Wiesbaden	.....	.....	..	....
DESTROYERS				
Five	.....	.....	..	....

TOTAL TONNAGE LOST	
British	117,150
German	60,720
TOTAL PERSONNEL LOST	
British	6,105
German	2,414

NOTE BY EDITOR.—No official confirmation of the German losses was published. The British Admiralty maintains that the losses, including only German vessels "seen to sink," aggregated 109,220 tons. Other Admiralty claims were that the Germans lost one dreadnought of the Kronprinz type, 25,480 tons; one of the Heligoland type, 22,440 tons; battleship Pommern, 13,000 tons; battle cruiser Lützow, 28,000 tons; five Rostocks, 24,500 tons; destroyers, 4,000 tons; submarines, 800 tons; total, 117,220 tons.

British Analysis of the Jutland Battle

Expert British Admiralty writers do not concur in all the conclusions of our contributor, Mr. Frothingham, especially where he refers to the withdrawal of the British fleet.

The official report of Admiral Jellicoe states that "German vessels were entirely out of the fight at 9 o'clock," and that "the withdrawal of the British fleet was a 'manoeuvre' so as to remain between the Germans and their bases."

Sir Cyprian Bridge, a British naval expert, in referring to the situation of the German fleet when darkness fell after the battle, writes: "It was a beaten and a broken fleet that escaped from the trap," (referring to the British Battle Fleet at the north and the battle cruisers at the south, acting in strategic harmony.) "Many of its units had been lost. Its gunnery had become demoralized, and no one can blame its discretion in making for home at its topmost speed and leaving the British fleet once more in undisputed command of the North Sea. For this, in a word, was the result of the battle. * * * Whatever their effort signified, it failed to shake our hold upon the sea. * * * We have fought many indecisive actions, * * * few which have more fully freed us of all fear of what the enemy fleet might be able to accomplish. By such standards the battle off Jutland will well hold its own against all but a few of our most famous victories."

John Buchan published a description of the battle of Jutland by authority of the British Government. He, a historical authority, says: "The result of the battle of Jutland was that Britain was more confirmed than ever in her mastery of the sea. * * * From a technical point of view the battle appears as an example of a tactical division of the fleet, undertaken in order to coax a laggard enemy to battle. * * * It defeated, utterly defeated, the German plan. If

it was not—as with two hours more daylight it would have been—a complete destruction of Germany's sea power, it was a complete demonstration of Britain's crushing superiority."

Arthur Pollen, an expert naval writer in British periodicals, referred to the results of the battle in these words: "Thus the Germans, who had entered the North Sea, according to their own account, to engage and destroy the British ships that have been systematically sweeping the waters north and east of the Horn Reef, attained the first part of their objective only. They did succeed in engaging. But the consequences were disastrous. The plan of overwhelming the British fast division with superior numbers was defeated by the masterly handling of the British force, combined with the effective use that force made of its artillery. So far from Sir David Beatty having been overwhelmed, he succeeded admirably in his main object, which was to draw the German fleet into a position where Sir John Jellicoe's squadrons could engage it. The enemy was only saved from total destruction by mist and by the approach of night. Not only did his whole plan miscarry, but he was driven ignominiously from the field, and with a very heavy loss in ships and men."

A Leading German Churchman Defends Poison Gas

THE International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva early in 1918 issued an appeal against the use of poisonous gases. The Rev. Dr. Balan, President of the Consistory for the Prussian Province of Posen and head of the Protestant Church in that province, refused, "after conscientiously examining it before God," to indorse or circulate the appeal, and wrote as follows to the President of the International Committee:

> The first question that occurred to me on reading your appeal was, Is it really a more inhumane method of waging war when Germany, in defending herself against an immensely superior force of enemies in a fight for existence forced upon her, makes use also of poisonous gas, than when her enemies pour over our armies, so much weaker in numbers, devastating and disintegrating showers of iron, lasting days and weeks, and to which we cannot reply in such volume because we have not so many human hands at our disposal for the manufacture of munitions as our enemies have? I say, No. I ask further, Is it more humane to set the whole world in motion in order by starving it to prevent a great nation that, with its noble, chivalrous Kaiser at its head, has manifested clearly enough its unbounded love of peace, from taking the place to which it is entitled by the side of other nations than when this nation uses every means of defense that its enlightened scientists have discovered? I say again, No.

Dr. Balan maintains in the further course of his letter that the enemies of Germany cannot expect to be treated humanely in any special manner, for all war is inhumane, because they have from the outset persistently and constantly utterly disregarded the laws of nations and the "sacred sign of the Red Cross." In conclusion this Prussian church dignitary informs the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross that if he and his friends really wish to render the whole suffering population of Europe a truly great service, they should do their utmost to bring home to the French people, who are so deeply to be pitied, the fact that the phantom which, deluded by the lies of their and England's rulers, they still pursue is dragging them every day to deeper and more hopeless misery. At the very moment that France realizes this, Dr. Balan asserts, there will be peace. He explains that the phantom pursued by the French is "the recovery of two provinces that have been German from time immemorial, and of which we were once robbed against all right and justice."

Great Britain's War Work in 1917

War Cabinet's Official Survey of Military Events and Far-Reaching Economic Changes

A report issued by the British War Cabinet on March 18, 1918, in the form of a Blue Book of 200 pages or more, presents a historical review of what Great Britain accomplished in 1917, with a survey of the changes that came over the character of the war in that year, and of the far-reaching Governmental and economic developments that took place in the British Nation. As the introductory chapter is in itself a comprehensive summary, the main portions of it are here presented.

THE year 1917 saw two marked developments. On the one hand there was a profound change in the character of the war itself. The inauguration of a general attack upon the sea communications of the Allies through the unrestricted use of the submarine greatly widened the scope of warlike operations and forced the people of the British Isles to expend an immense amount of time and energy on counterpreparations of all kinds. The Russian revolution completely upset the allied plan for a concerted offensive against the Central Powers on all fronts during the Spring and Summer of 1917, and eventually led to such a disintegration of the Russian Army as enabled the German Government to transfer the greater part of its military resources from the eastern to the western theatre of war. Finally, the overthrow of the Russian autocracy, coupled with the entry of the United States into the war and the adhesion of Greece, Brazil, China, and other neutrals to the allied cause, widened the war itself from a battle for the liberty of small nations and the defense of public right in Europe into a world-wide struggle for the triumph of a free civilization and democratic government.

The year brought a gradual growth of inter-ally co-operation and creation of the Imperial War Cabinet. This development and the sessions of the Imperial War Conference were the natural outcome of the spirit of unity and self-sacrifice which has enabled the peoples of the British Commonwealth to produce no less than 7,500,000 men to fight for freedom in addition to vast quantities of munitions and supplies of all kinds. So successful was this experiment in the opinion of its members that it was decided unanimously that there ought to be an annual meeting of the Imperial Cabinet and that the Prime Ministers of the empire or their specially delegated representatives, together with the Ministers in charge of the great imperial offices, should be its *ex officio* members.

War Cabinet Reorganization

Another sphere in which reorganization and expansion were necessary was that of home affairs. The period began with a reconstruction of the administrative machinery at the centre. It had become increasingly evident that the older system under which the supreme direction of the war rested, with a Cabinet consisting of the departmental chiefs under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, was not sufficiently prompt and elastic for the conduct of a war which involved the mobilization and direction of the resources not only of the United Kingdom but of the British Empire. Even the formation of a smaller Cabinet committee of the departmental Ministers chiefly concerned in the war did not meet the needs of the case. With the advent of the new Government a modification was introduced whereby the supreme direction of the war was intrusted to a small War Cabinet, freed from all administrative duties, and yet in the closest touch with all departmental Ministers, while administrative responsibility was placed in the hands of Ministers who were left free to devote their whole time to this aspect of Governmental work.

By this arrangement the War Cabinet was able to give all its attention to the task of co-ordination and direction, and so make more effective use of the immense resources which the empire had gradually produced

during the preceding years. It also made it easier to create a number of much-needed new administrative departments. The most important of these were the Ministry of Shipping, the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Food, and the Ministry of Pensions, to which were added at later dates the Ministry of Reconstruction, the Ministry of National Service, and the Ministry of the Air. * * *

The Man-Power Problem

The first problem was that of man power. During the preceding year all sources which could be tapped without trenching upon the essential supplies of the allied armies and the nation had been exhausted, and the question had narrowed itself down to that of finding substitutes for fit men of military age still engaged in industry. An attempt was, therefore, made to enroll a large army of volunteers to take the place of the men called to the army. Partly owing to difficulties in withdrawing labor from the great war industries and partly owing to the limited supply of labor, great obstacles presented themselves in the execution of this scheme. But though the plan of enrolling an army of industrial volunteers had eventually to be abandoned the system of dilution and substitution was steadily carried out, and 820,646 men of all categories were taken for the service of the army during the year.

The needs of the army, however, were not the only drain. A large amount of additional labor was required for agriculture, timber production, and iron ore mining, as well as for industrial purposes. The needs in these respects also were gradually supplied by reducing unessential industries and by organizing supplies of soldier, civilian, and foreign labor. Investigations were carried out as to the use of labor in different trades, and trade committees representing employers and employed were organized to deal with economy of man-power in particular industries. The evidence so obtained, while it demonstrated clearly the complexity and difficulty of a system of compulsory national service in industry, made it clear that in order to effect the best strategic use of the man power of the country, the National Service Department required extension rather than restriction. Accordingly, in August, 1917, the department was reorganized as a Ministry, recruiting was transferred from the War Office, and arrangements were made to insure effective co-operation between the Ministry and the employment exchanges for the period of the war.

Munitions

Notwithstanding the tremendous calls upon the man power of the country for the ever-increasing needs of the army, the supply of munitions has steadily increased. In addition to large consignments to other fronts of the war, there has been an increase of 30 per cent. in all kinds of guns and howitzers, and of over 100 per cent. in heavy guns and howitzers in the recent offensive in France, as compared with those of last year. The weight of shell filled per month has been more than doubled since 1916. The output of high explosives has been sufficient to meet the increased demands of our armies, to build up stocks, and to supply part of the needs of the Allies. There has been a steady improvement in the detonating value of gun ammunition and a continuous reduction in the number of premature explosions. In addition to guns, shells, and rifles, the demands of the military and naval forces during the year for aircraft, tanks, mechanical transport, railway material, and equipment of every sort and kind have been endless. Despite the immensity of the demand, it has, on the whole, been supplied. The British Army is now probably the best provided of all the armies in the field, not only in technical equipment but in clothing, food, and similar provision.

Fighting the Submarine

The most difficult problems which confronted the Administration in the early part of 1917 were those which arose from the growing inadequacy of the overseas communications of the Allies—problems which were aggravated by the introduction of the unlimited submarine campaign on Feb. 1. The expansion of the armies, the ever-increasing demand for warlike material, the fall in production, especially of foodstuffs in all allied countries through the calling of men to the colors, and the decline in cultivation, coupled with the diversion of a large part of the shipping of the Allies to purely military and naval transportation, had already put a severe strain on the shipping resources of the country. The immediate effect of the new campaign was to double the rate of losses which had been incurred during 1916, and these losses rose rapidly to a climax in March and April.

The countermeasures which were adopted by the navy, however, were successful in reducing the attack to manageable proportions, though they involved a drain upon the national resources both in man power and material which is often not fully recognized, and which is by no means the least important of the contributions of the British Empire to the war. The number of men engaged either in the navy or in supplying naval needs now exceeds a million. Unfortunately it is not possible to set forth in detail the immense scope of the Admiralty operations. But they include a very great addition to the armed craft in the service of the navy from torpedo boat destroyers to mine-sweepers, airships, and airplanes, and the organization of a vast system of patrols and mine-sweepers. As a result of the self-sacrificing devotion on the part of the men of the navy and the auxiliary services, and the steadfast per-

formance in all weathers and seasons of their monotonous and dangerous duties, the enemy never succeeded in interfering to any vital degree with the sea communications of the Allies.

The Shipping Problem

The naval preparations, however, were only part of the measures which were necessary to deal with the shipping situation. The second step was to create the Ministry of Shipping. At the end of 1916 the tonnage requisitioned by the State was less than one-half of the whole, and this was mainly used on purely military and naval services for the British Government or the Allies. During 1917 practically the whole of the remainder of the British oceangoing mercantile marine was brought under requisition at Blue Book rates and organized as a national war service. The Dominion Government also liberated much overseas shipping for war purposes, and neutral shipping was brought as far as possible into allied service. A close scrutiny was then made of the countries from which the necessary imports could be derived, and shipping was concentrated on the shortest routes, thereby multiplying the number of voyages the ships could make in the year. Leading regulations were revised, which increased the carrying capacity from the 1913 figure of 106 to 150 tons per 100 tons net of shipping entering our ports, and arrangements were made for shortening the time occupied in the turn round of ships at the ports. In the latter part of the year the convoy system was introduced, which reduced the shipping losses, though it involved certain delays to individual ships.

In addition to these improvements in the methods of using shipping, a large program of shipbuilding was put into operation, not only in British yards but in all the available yards in neutral countries as well. To insure greater speed in building a large number of the new ships were ordered to a standard design. In spite of the difficulties of all kinds which have confronted the production of ships, notably the shortage in the supply of steel plates and of labor, the output has steadily mounted. During 1917 1,163,500 tons of new ships were built, as against 542,000 tons in 1916, and by the end of 1918 the rate of output of all ships, war and merchant, ought to be double that of any previous year in British history. In order to make possible this increase forty-five new berths have been provided in private shipyards, and the construction of thee new national shipyards, containing thirty-four berths, has been begun. Besides this effort at home 175,000 tons of shipping were purchased abroad, an amount which would have been very greatly exceeded if the United States had not taken over the whole program of ships being constructed on British account when they entered the war.

The third step in dealing with the shipping problem was a drastic reduction of imports. In 1916 imports were cut down by 1,600,000 tons. Early in 1917 a committee was appointed which recommended a preliminary program of reductions amounting to 6,000,000 tons. This was approved and came into operation on March 1. The program was shortly afterward increased by further severe restrictions of the imports of timber. The outcome of this policy has been that practically all cargo space is now reserved for goods carried directly or indirectly on Government account, and consists almost entirely of essential foodstuffs, raw materials required for the manufacture of national necessities and military needs or of munitions of war. The chief reductions were in timber, paper, feeding stuffs, and brewing materials. The unfortunate but inevitable consequence of the restriction of imports and of the diversion of shipping from trading to war routes has been a large diminution in exports.

The fourth step was to secure a large increase in the production of food and raw materials at home. There is now good reason to expect that in 1918 the tillage area in the United Kingdom will exceed that of 1916 by over 3,000,000 acres. These satisfactory results have only been possible through the public-spirited activity of large numbers of people throughout the country, including farmers, workers, and organizers, to whom the nation has good reason to be grateful.

Control of Food Consumption

The fifth step in meeting the shipping shortage was to expand Government control over the distribution of all the chief national supplies, partly in order to secure that the best use was made of what was available and partly in order to prevent waste. The most important measure in this sphere was the creation of the Ministry of Food. Its first step was to insure an adequate supply of breadstuffs. This was accomplished by raising the percentage of milling of wheat, by requiring the dilution of wheat with other cereals and by an increased program of imports. At the same time a scale of voluntary rations was announced and an active campaign was started in order to secure observance of them. The use of wheat, oats, barley, and maize for animal food was also restricted or prohibited. As a result, at the beginning of the Winter of 1917 the national reserve of breadstuffs was in a more satisfactory position than any time since the outbreak of war, the wheat stocks alone being 3,000,000 quarters in excess of the stocks in the corresponding period of 1916. A serious shortage, however, in the French and Italian harvests and the needs of our other allies placed a heavy demand upon our supplies of wheat, and toward the end of the year considerable quantities were diverted to their use. During the year the control of the Ministry was extended to cover all imported foodstuffs, practically all of which are now

purchased on the national account, and an increasing measure of control has been established over home-grown cereals, meat, and dairy produce. In order to prevent the artificial raising of prices through competition, these purchases are now carried out in concert with our allies through interally committees. As the year progressed the need for greater economy in consumption than was apparently attainable by voluntary means and the difficulties in distributing equitably the restricted supplies compelled the introduction of a system of rationing. The system began with sugar, and at the end of the year was gradually being extended to cover other staple foodstuffs.

Beer and Other Articles

Another large economy was effected early in the year by a reduction of the manufacture of beer from the 1914 total of about 36,000,000 barrels and the 1916 total of 26,000,000 barrels to a total of some 14,000,000 standard barrels. The manufacture of spirits for human consumption has been stopped. Strong measures have also been taken to restrict the consumption of coal, oils, timber, cotton, and other articles. At the beginning of the year the coal mines and iron mines were taken over for the period of the war, and Government control over the available supplies was established. A system of distribution of coal was then brought into operation, which has not only insured all necessary supplies, but has effected economy in railway transportation. It is estimated that this reform will result in an economy of no less than 700,000,000 railway ton miles in the carriage of coal. A Timber Controller was appointed to ration the greatly restricted supplies of wood. The consumption of petrol for private use was gradually curtailed until it was finally forbidden. Much has also been done to economize labor and material through the more active control in the national interest both of railway and canal transportation.

Naval and Military Results

The result of these drastic measures has been that, despite all the enemy efforts to win a victory by the destruction of the merchant shipping of the world, the British people have been able to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor during the whole year. The navy has continued to hold its predominant position at sea, has denied the oceans to the enemy for the purpose of transporting troops or supplies and has exercised an ever-growing pressure upon him through the blockade. At the same time, though the submarine menace has not yet been mastered, the supply both of the military expeditions in all parts of the world and of the civilian population at home has been maintained. It may, indeed, be said with confidence that as the result of the work of the navy, of the merchant marine, and of many civilian sections of the community the German attempt to win the war by the destruction of the merchant shipping of the world has been definitely baffled.

In the military sphere, though no decision has been reached, great results have also been achieved. At the outset of the year the military prospects before the Allies were good. Their plans, however, for a converging attack on the Central Empires on all fronts were upset by the disorganization of the Russian armies which followed the revolution—a disorganization which ended in such complete dissolution that the Germans were enabled to transfer a large part of their eastern forces to the western front by the end of the year. None the less, during the whole of 1917 the German forces have been steadily pressed back from one highly fortified position to another in face of the systematic assaults of the allied armies. The enemy, indeed, has consistently borne tribute to the terrible power of the British attacks and to the heavy losses, both on land and in the air, which they have inflicted upon him. The chief successes have been gained at Arras, Messines, and in Flanders.

Non-European Theatres

On the other hand, there has been a complete transformation of the scene in the non-European theatres of the war. After a long period of comparative stagnation and failure, British arms have once more advanced to victory. The last of the German colonies—German East Africa—has been cleared of the enemy; Mesopotamia, with its capital, Bagdad, has been rescued from the devastating rule of the Turk, and Southern Palestine, including Jerusalem, after many centuries of effort, has been liberated by Christian hands. British prestige, indeed, in the East, which had fallen to a low ebb, has been completely restored; Germanic hopes of southeastern conquest have been rudely shattered through the withdrawal of over 100,000 square miles of territory from German control, and the capacity of Turkey to continue the war has been gravely impaired. The military results of the year are thus very considerable. British armies have fought not in France alone, but in Italy, Macedonia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and East Africa, and from being a combination of peaceful communities the empire stands forth as the most powerful of all the Commonwealths which are withstanding Prussian aggression. The extent of this effort, the unfailing courage and morale of the British armies, and the clear determination of all the British peoples to accept no peace which does not restore national liberty and public right afford ground for confidence that the Allies will eventually secure the purpose for which they entered the war.

Social and Economic Changes

There is a nonmilitary aspect of the administrative developments of the year which it is important to note. In themselves these developments have been the result of the de-

termination of the people to leave nothing undone which could contribute to the winning of the war. None the less they are bound to produce lasting and far-reaching effects on the social and economic life of the community. No record of the year would be complete which did not point out the changes which have been wrought in the structure of society by the experiences of the war.

In the first place, the organic life of the community has been greatly strengthened. On the one hand, not only have enormous numbers of men, and latterly of women also, been mobilized for military and naval purposes, but the vast majority of the people are now working directly or indirectly on public service. If they are not in the army, the navy, or the civil service, they are growing food, or making munitions, or engaged in the work of organizing, transporting, or distributing the national supplies.

On the other hand, the State has taken control for the period of the war over certain national industries, such as the railways, shipping, coal, and iron mines, and the great majority of engineering businesses. It has also made itself responsible for the securing of adequate quantities of certain staple commodities and services, such as food, coal, timber, and other raw materials, railroad and sea transportation, and for distributing the available supplies justly as between individual and individual in the national interest.

Regulating Prices

The Government has further had to regulate prices and prevent profiteering. It has done so partly by controlling freights, fixing maximum prices to the home producer, and regulating wholesale and retail charges, and partly by its monopoly of imported supplies. The information which the Government has obtained as to sources of supply, consumption, and cost of production, and the relations it has entered into with other Governments as to the mutual purchase of essential products which they jointly control, have, for the first time, brought within the sphere of practical politics the possibility of fixing relatively stable world prices for fundamental staples. The State has even taken the drastic step of fixing the price of the four-pound loaf at 9d., at a considerable loss to itself.

Thus the war, and especially the year 1917, has brought about a transformation of the social and administrative structure of the State, much of which is bound to be permanent. Owing to the imperative importance of speed there has perhaps been an undue expansion of the function of the Central Government. But a very large amount of work has been devolved on to local authorities and to new bodies, such as the War Agricultural Executive Committees or the Local Food Control Committees. Taking the year as a whole the Administration has been brought into far closer contact with every aspect of the life of the people, the provinces and the metropolis have been linked more closely together, and the whole community has received an education in the problems of practical democracy such as it has never had before.

The Industrial Problem

In the second place, the war has profoundly altered the conditions of the industrial problem. Since 114 the community itself has become by far the greatest employer of labor. It has assumed control for the duration of the war over a great number of the larger private undertakings, it has limited profits by imposing an 80 per cent. excess profits tax, and it has intervened to prevent profiteering in the essential requirements of the nation. Further, the regulation of the trade unions have been suspended for the duration of the war, industry has been diluted throughout, new methods and new industries have been introduced, labor-saving machinery has been everywhere installed, and the speed of production and the number and skill of workers has greatly risen. The nation today is far better organized and far more productive than it has ever been before.

With the advent of the new Government at the end of 1916 a Ministry of Labor was created to deal with labor questions. It is still early to speak of the results of its work, but an important step toward the creation of better conditions in the industrial world has been taken in the adoption by the Government of the report of the Whitley Committee, which recommended the development of machinery in the shape of industrial councils, representatives of employers and employed throughout the country, whereby it should be possible to solve the difficulties which will arise by the process of peaceful conference and negotiation in place of the methods of industrial war. Despite all difficulties and the recent increase in industrial unrest, it is probably true to say that as the result of the war there is now a better understanding both by capital and labor of their mutual problems than at any previous time.

1917 in Retrospect

Looked at as a whole, 1917 has been a remarkable year. During it the war has assumed more and more the character of a struggle on the part of all the free nations for the final destruction of militarism and the establishment of an international order which will give real securities for liberty and public right throughout the world. The nations of which the British Commonwealth is composed have been drawn together in their joint effort for the common cause. And within the United Kingdom there has been a growth in the sense of public service and of the power to improve and adapt economic and social and administrative methods which will make it far easier to build up a healthier and more equitably organized society in future.

THE BATTLE OF CAMBRAI

Full Text of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig's Report of a Victory and Reverse

The battle of Cambrai began on Nov. 20, 1917, with the successful surprise attack of the British Third Army under Sir Julian Byng, and came to an end on the night of Dec. 4-5 with the withdrawal of British troops from Bourlon Wood to "a more compact line on the Flesquieres Ridge." A German attack, which began on Nov. 30, had succeeded in wresting away a large portion of the British gains. This reverse was later the subject of British Parliamentary inquiry, but the commission found no serious military errors to censure. Sir Douglas Haig's official report to the Secretary of War is printed below in full. It acquires a fresh interest from the fact that the terrain fought over is in part the same as that across which the Germans have since swept in their Spring offensive of 1918.

General Headquarters,
British Armies in the Field,
Feb. 20, 1918.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations on the Cambrai front during November and December, 1917:

1. As pointed out in my last dispatch, the object of these operations was to gain a local success by a sudden attack at a point where the enemy did not expect it. Our repeated attacks in Flanders and those of our allies elsewhere had brought about large concentrations of the enemy's forces on the threatened fronts, with a consequent reduction in the garrisons of certain other sectors of his line.

Of these weakened sectors the Cambrai front had been selected as the most suitable for the surprise operation in contemplation. The ground there was, on the whole, favorable for the employment of tanks, which were to play an important part in the enterprise, and facilities existed for the concealment of the necessary preparations for the attack.

If, after breaking through the German defense systems on this front, we could secure Bourlon to the north, and establish a good flank position to the east, in the direction of Cambrai, we should be well placed to exploit the situation locally between Bourlon and the Sensée River and to the northwest. The capture of Cambrai itself was subsidiary to this operation, the object of our advance toward that town being primarily to cover our flank and puzzle the enemy regarding our intentions.

The enemy was laying out fresh lines of defense behind those which he had already completed on the Cambrai front; and it was to be expected that his troops would be redistributed as soon as our pressure in Flanders was relaxed. He had already brought large forces from Russia in exchange for divisions exhausted in the struggle in the western theatre, and it was practically certain that heavy reinforcements would be brought from east to west during the Winter. Moreover, his tired divisions, after a Winter's rest, would recover their efficiency.

For all these reasons, if the existing opportunity for a surprise attack were allowed to lapse, it would probably be many months before an equally favorable one would again offer itself. Furthermore, having regard to the future, it was desirable to show the enemy that he could not with impunity reduce his garrisons beyond a certain point without incurring grave risks.

Against these arguments in favor of immediate action I had to weigh the fact that my own troops had been engaged for

many months in heavy fighting, and that, though their efforts had been uniformly successful, the conditions of the struggle had greatly taxed their strength. Only part of the losses in my divisions had been replaced, and many recently arrived drafts, still far from being fully trained, were included in the ranks of the armies. Under these conditions it was a serious matter to make a further heavy call on my troops at the end of such a strenuous year.

On the other hand, from the nature of the operation, the size of the force which could be employed was bound, in any case, to be comparatively small, since success depended so much on secrecy, and it is impossible to keep secret the concentration of very large forces. The demand made upon my resources, therefore, should not be a great one.

While considering these different factors, preparations were quietly carried on, so that all might be ready for the attack if I found it possible to carry it out. The success of the enemy's offensive in Italy subsequently added great force to the arguments in favor of undertaking the operation, although the means at my disposal for the purpose were further reduced as a consequence of the Italian situation.

Eventually I decided that, despite the various limiting factors, I could muster enough force to make a first success sufficiently sure to justify undertaking the attack, but that the degree to which this success could be followed up must depend on circumstances.

It was calculated that, provided secrecy could be maintained to the last moment, no large hostile reinforcements were likely to reach the scene of action for forty-eight hours after the commencement of the attack. I informed General the Hon. Sir Julian Byng, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., M. V. O., to whom the execution of the plans in connection with the Cambrai operations was intrusted, that the advance would be stopped by me after that time, or sooner if necessary, unless the results then gained and the general situation justified its continuance.

Plan of Attack

The general plan of attack was to dispense with previous artillery preparation, and to depend instead on tanks to smash through the enemy's wire, of which there was a great quantity protecting his trenches.

As soon as the advance of the tanks and infantry, working in close co-operation, began, the artillery was to assist with counter battery and barrage work; but no previous registration of guns for this purpose could be permitted, as it would rouse the enemy's suspicions. The artillery of our new armies was therefore necessarily subjected to a severe test in this operation, and proved itself entirely worthy of the confidence placed in it.

The infantry, tanks, and artillery thus working in combination were to endeavor to break through all the enemy's lines of defense on the first day. If this were successfully accomplished and the situation developed favorably, cavalry were then to be passed through to raid the enemy's communications, disorganize his system of command, damage his railways, and interfere as much as possible with the arrival of his reinforcements. It was explained to all commanders that everything depended on secrecy up to the moment of starting, and after that on bold, determined, and rapid action. Unless opposition could be beaten down quickly, no great results could be looked for.

The Commander in Chief of the French Armies, to whom I secretly communicated my plans, most readily agreed to afford me every assistance. In addition to the steps taken by him to engage the enemy's attention elsewhere, he arranged for a strong force of French infantry and cavalry to be in a position whence they could be moved forward rapidly to take part in the exploitation of our success, if the situation should render it possible to bring them into action. On Nov. 20 certain of these French units were actually put in motion. The course of events, however, did not open out the required opportunity for their employment, but the French forces were held in readiness and within easy reach so long as there appeared to be any hope of it. Had the situation on Nov. 20 developed somewhat more favorably in certain directions, the nature of which will become apparent in the course of this report, the presence and co-operation of these French troops would have been of the greatest value.

The Enemy's Defenses

2. The German defenses on this front had been greatly improved and extended since the opening of our offensive in April, and comprised three main systems of resistance.

The first of these three trench systems, constituting part of the Hindenburg line proper, ran in a general northwesterly direction for a distance of six miles from the Canal de l'Escaut at Banteux to Havrincourt. There it turned abruptly north along the line of the Canal du Nord for a distance of four miles to Moeuvres, thus forming a pronounced salient in the German front.

In advance of the Hindenburg line the enemy had constructed a series of strong forward positions, including La Vacquerie and the northeastern corner of Havrincourt Wood. Behind it, and at distances respectively varying from a little less to rather more than a mile, and from three and a half to four and a half miles, lay the second and third main German systems, known as the Hindenburg reserve line, and the Beaurevoir, Masnières, Marquion lines.

The Attack Begun

3. All necessary preparations were completed in time, and with a secrecy reflecting

MAP OF THE BATTLE OF CAMBRAI, SHOWING FURTHEST BRITISH ADVANCE AND GROUND LOST AFTER GERMAN ATTACK. (SEE KEY ABOVE.)

the greatest credit on all concerned. At 6:20 A. M. on Nov 20, without any previous artillery bombardment, tanks and infantry attacked on a front of about six miles from east of Gonnelieu to the Canal du Nord opposite Hermies.

At the same hour demonstrations with gas, smoke, and artillery took place on practically the whole of the British front south of the Scarpe, and subsidiary attacks were launched east of Epéhy and between Bullecourt and Fontaine les Croisilles.

On the principal front of attack the tanks moved forward in advance of the infantry, crushing down the enemy's wire and forming great lanes through which our infantry could pass. Protected by smoke barrages from the view of the enemy's artillery, they rolled on across the German trenches, smashing up the enemy's machine guns and driving his infantry to ground. Close behind our tanks our own infantry followed, and, while the tanks patrolled the line of hostile trenches, cleared the German infantry from their dugouts and shelters.

In this way, both the main system of the Hindenburg line and its outer defenses were rapidly overrun, and tanks and infantry proceeded in accordance with program to the attack upon the Hindenburg reserve line.

In this advance the 12th (Eastern) Division moved along the Bonavis Ridge on the right of our attack, encountered obstinate resistance at Lateau Wood, which sheltered a number of German batteries. Fierce fighting, in which infantry and tank crews displayed the greatest gallantry, continued throughout the morning at this point, and ended in the capture of the position, together with the enemy's guns.

Meanwhile the 20th (Light) Division, which had captured La Vacquerie at the opening of its attack, stormed the powerful defenses of Welsh Ridge. The 6th Division carried the village of Ribecourt, after sharp fighting among the streets and houses, while the 62d (West Riding) Division (T.) stormed Havrincourt, where also parties of the enemy held out for a time.

The capture of these two villages secured the flanks of the 51st (Highland) Division (T.) advancing on the left centre of our attack up the slopes of Flesquières Hill against the German trench lines on the southern side of Flesquières village. Here very heavy fighting took place. The stout brick wall skirting the château grounds opposed a formidable obstacle to our advance, while German machine guns swept the approaches. A number of tanks were knocked out by direct hits from German field batteries in position beyond the crest of the hill. None the less, with the exception of the village itself, our second objectives in this area were gained before midday.

Many of the hits upon our tanks at Flesquières were obtained by a German artillery officer who, remaining alone at his battery, served a field gun single-handed until killed at his gun. The great bravery of this officer aroused the admiration of all ranks.

Capture of Marcoing

On the left of our attack, west of the Canal du Nord, the 36th (Ulster) Division captured a German strong point on the spoil bank of the canal and pushed northward in touch with the West Riding troops, who, as the first stage in a most gallant and remarkably successful advance, had taken Havrincourt. By 10:30 A. M. the general advance beyond the Hindenburg reserve line to our final objectives had begun, and cavalry were moving up behind our infantry.

In this period of the attack tanks and British infantry battalions of the 29th Division entered Masnières and captured Marcoing and Neuf Wood, securing the passages of the Canal de l'Escaut at both villages.

At Marcoing the tanks arrived at the moment when a party of the enemy were in the act of running out an electrical connection to blow up one of the bridges. This party was fired on by a tank and the bridge secured intact. At Masnières, however, the retreating enemy succeeded in destroying partially the bridge carrying the main road. In consequence the first tank which endeavored to cross at this point fell through the bridge, completing its destruction.

The advance of a number of our guns had been unavoidably delayed in the sunken roads which served this part of the battlefield, and though our infantry continued their progress beyond Masnières, without the assistance of tanks and artillery, they were not able at first to clear the enemy entirely from the northern portion of the village. Here parties of Germans held out during the afternoon, and gave the enemy time to occupy Rumilly and the section of the Beaurevoir-Masnières line south of it; while the destruction of the bridge also prevented the cavalry from crossing the canal in sufficient strength to overcome his resistance.

In spite of this difficulty, a squadron of the Fort Garry Horse, Canadian cavalry brigade, succeeded during the afternoon in crossing the canal by a temporary bridge constructed during the day. This squadron passed through the Beaurevoir-Masnières line and charged and captured a German battery in position to the east of it. Continuing its advance, it dispersed a body of about 300 German infantry, and did not cease its progress until the greater part of its horses had been killed or wounded. The squadron thereupon took up a position in a sunken road, where it maintained itself until night fell. It then withdrew to our lines, bringing with it several prisoners taken in the course of a most gallant exploit.

Brilliant Cavalry Work

Meanwhile, west of the canal de l'Escaut patrols of the 6th Division during the afternoon entered Noyelles-sur-l'Escaut, where

they were reinforced by cavalry, and other cavalry units pushed out toward Cantaing. West of Flesquières, the 62d Division, operating northward from Havrincourt, made important progress. Having carried the Hindenburg reserve line north of that village, it rapidly continued its attack and captured Graincourt, where two anti-tank guns were destroyed by the tanks accompanying our infantry. Before nightfall infantry and cavalry had entered Anneux, though the enemy's resistance in this village does not appear to have been entirely overcome until the following morning.

This attack of the 62d (West Riding) Division constitutes a brilliant achievement, in which the troops concerned completed an advance of four and a half miles from their original front, overrunning two German systems of defense and gaining possession of three villages.

On the left flank of our attack Ulster battalions pushed northward along the Hindenburg line and its forward defenses, maintaining touch with the West Riding troops, and carried the whole of the German trench systems west of the Canal du Nord as far north as the Bapaume-Cambrai road.

At the end of the first day of the attack, therefore, three German systems of defense had been broken through to a depth of some four and a half miles on a wide front, and over 5,000 prisoners had already been brought in. But for the wrecking of the bridge at Masnières and the check at Flesquières still greater results might have been attained.

Throughout these operations the value of the services rendered by the tanks was very great, and the utmost gallantry, enterprise, and resolution were displayed by both officers and crews. In combination with the other arms, they helped to make possible a remarkable success. Without their aid in opening a way through the German wire, success could only have been attained by methods which would have given the enemy ample warning of our attack and have allowed him time to mass troops to oppose it. As has been pointed out above, to enable me to undertake such an operation with the troops at my disposal secrecy to the last moment was essentual. The tanks alone made it possible to dispense with artillery preparation, and so to conceal our intentions from the enemy up to the actual moment of attack.

Great credit is due also to the Royal Flying Corps for very gallant and most valuable work carried out under conditions of the greatest difficulty from low clouds and driving mist.

In the subsidiary attack at Bullecourt battalions of the 3d Division and the 16th (Irish) Division successfully completed the work begun by our operations in this area in May and June, 1917, capturing the remainder of the Hindenburg support trench on their front, with some 700 prisoners. A number of counterattacks against our new positions at Bullecourt on this and the following day were repulsed, with great loss to the enemy.

The Advance Continued

4. On the morning of Nov. 21 the attack on Flesquières was resumed, and by 8 A. M. the village had been turned from the northwest and captured. The obstacle which more than anything else had limited the results of Nov. 20 was thereby removed, and later in the morning the advance once more became general.

Masnières had been cleared of the enemy during the previous evening, and at 11 A. M. our troops attacked the Beaurevoir-Masnières line and established themselves in the portion to the east and north of Masnières. Heavy fighting took place, and a counterattack from the direction of Rumilly was beaten off. At the same hour we attacked and captured Les Rues des Vignes, but later in the morning the enemy counterattacked and compelled our troops to fall back from this position. Progress was also made toward Crèvecoeur; but though the canal was crossed during the afternoon, it was found impossible to force the passage of the river in face of the enemy's machine-gun fire.

That evening orders were issued by the 3d Army to secure the ground already gained in this area of the battle, and to capture Rumilly on the morrow; but in consequence of the exhaustion of the troops engaged it was found necessary later in the night to cancel the orders for this attack.

West of the Canal de l'Escaut infantry of the 29th Division and dismounted regiments of the 1st and 5th Cavalry Divisions, including the Ambala Brigade, were heavily engaged throughout the day in Noyelles, and beat off all attacks in continuous fighting.

Following upon the capture of Flesquières, the 51st and 62d Divisions, in co-operation with a number of tanks and squadrons of the 1st Cavalry Division, attacked at 10:30 A. M. in the direction of Fontaine-notre-Dame and Bourlon.

In this attack the capture of Anneux was completed, and early in the afternoon Cantaing was seized, with some hundreds of prisoners. Progress was made on the outskirts of Bourlon Wood, and late in the afternoon Fontaine-notre-Dame was taken by troops of the 51st Division and tanks. The attack on Bourlon Wood itself was checked by machine-gun fire, though tanks advanced some distance into the wood.

Further west, the 36th Division advanced north of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, and reached the southern outskirts of Moeuvres, where strong opposition was encountered.

Position on Nov. 21

5. On the evening of the second day of the attack, therefore, our troops held a line which ran approximately as follows:

From our old front line east of Gonnelieu the right flank of our new positions lay along the eastern slopes of the Bonavis Ridge, passing east of Lateau Wood and striking the

Masnières-Beaurevoir line north of the Canal de l'Escaut at a point about half way between Crèvecoeur and Masnières. From this point our line ran roughly northwest, past and including Masnières, Noyelles, and Cantaing, to Fontaine, also inclusive. Thence it bent back to the south for a short distance, making a sharp salient round the latter village, and ran in a general westerly direction along the southern edge of Bourlon Wood and across the southern face of the spur to the west of the wood, to the Canal du Nord, southeast of the village of Moeuvres. From Moeuvres the line linked up once more with our old front at a point about midway between Bourcies and Pronville.

The forty-eight hours after which it had been calculated that the enemy's reserves would begin to arrive had in effect expired, and the high ground at Bourlon Village and Wood, as well as certain important tactical features to the east and west of the wood, still remained in the enemy's possession. It now became necessary to decide whether to continue the operation offensively or to take up a defensive attitude and rest content with what had been attained.

The Decision to Go On

6. It was not possible, however, to let matters stand as they were. The positions captured by us north of Flesquières were completely commanded by the Bourlon Ridge, and unless this ridge were gained it would be impossible to hold them, except at excessive cost. If I decided not to go on a withdrawal to the Flesquières Ridge would be necessary, and would have to be carried out at once.

On the other hand, the enemy showed certain signs of an intention to withdraw. Craters had been formed at road junctions, and troops could be seen ready to move east. The possession of Bourlon Ridge would enable our troops to obtain observation over the ground to the north, which sloped gently down to the Sensée River. The enemy's defensive lines south of the Scarpe and Sensée Rivers would thereby be turned, his communications exposed to the observed fire of our artillery, and his positions in this sector jeopardized. In short, so great was the importance of the ridge to the enemy that its loss would probably cause the abandonment by the Germans of their carefully prepared defense systems for a considerable distance to the north of it.

The successive days of constant marching and fighting had placed a very severe strain upon the endurance of the troops, and, before a further advance could be undertaken, some time would have to be spent in resting and relieving them. This need for delay was regrettable, as the enemy's forces were increasing, and fresh German divisions were known to be arriving, but, with the limited number of troops at my command, it was unavoidable.

It was to be remembered, however, that the hostile reinforcements coming up at this stage could at first be no more than enough to replace the enemy's losses; and although the right of our advance had definitely been stayed, the enemy had not yet developed such strength about Bourlon as it seemed might not be overcome by the numbers at my disposal. As has already been pointed out, on the Cambrai side of the battlefield I had only aimed at securing a defensive flank to enable the advance to be pushed northward and northwestward, and this part of my task had been to a large extent achieved.

An additional and very important argument in favor of proceeding with my attack was supplied by the situation in Italy, upon which a continuance of pressure on the Cambrai front might reasonably be expected to exercise an important effect, no matter what measure of success attended my efforts. Moreover, two divisions previously under orders for Italy had on this day been placed at my disposal, and with this accession of strength the prospect of securing Bourlon seemed good.

After weighing these various considerations, threfore, I decided to continue the operations to gain the Bourlon position.

Nov. 22 was spent in organizing the captured ground, in carrying out certain reliefs, and in giving other troops the rest they greatly needed. Soon after midday the enemy regained Fontaine-notre-Dame; but with our troops already on the outskirts of Burlon Wood and Cantaing held by us, it was thought that the recapture of Fontaine should not prove very difficult. The necessary arrangements for renewing the attack were therefore pushed on, and our plans were extended to include the recapture of Fontaine-notre-Dane.

Meanwhile, early in the night of Nov. 22, a battalion of the Queen's Westminsters stormed a commanding tactical point in the Hindenburg line west of Moeuvres know as Tadpole Copse, the possession of which would be of value in connection with the left flank of the Bourlon position when the latter had been secured.

Struggle for Bourlon Ridge

7. On the morning of Nov. 23, the 51st Division, supported by tanks, attacked Fontaine-notre-Dame, but was unable to force an entrance. Early in the afternoon this division repeated its attack from the west, and a number of tanks entered Fontaine, where they remained till dusk, inflicting considerable loss on the enemy. We did not succeed, however, in clearing the village, and at the end of the day no progress had been made on this part of our front.

At 10:30 A. M. the 40th Division attacked Bourlon Wood, and after four and a half hours of hard fighting, in which tanks again rendered valuable assistance to our infantry,

captured the whole of the wood and entered Bourlon village. Here hostile counterattacks prevented our further progress, and though the village was at one time reported to have been taken by us, this proved later to be erroneous. A heavy hostile attack upon our positions in the wood, in which all three battalions of the 9th Grenadier Regiment appear to have been employed, was completely repulsed.

Throughout this day, also, the 36th Division and troops of the 56th (London) Division (T.) were engaged in stubborn fighting in the neighborhood of Moeuvres and Tadpole Copse, and made some progress.

This struggle for Bourlon resulted in several days of fiercely contested fighting, in which English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish battalions, together with dismounted cavalry, performed most gallant service and inflicted heavy loss on the enemy.

During the morning of Nov. 24 the enemy twice attacked, and at his second attempt pressed back our troops in the northeastern corner of the wood. An immediate counterattack delivered by the 14th Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, the 15th Hussars, dismounted, and the remnants of the 119th Infantry Brigade, drove back the enemy in turn, and by noon our line had been reestablished. Meanwhile, dismounted cavalry had repulsed an attack on the high ground west of Bourlon Wood, and in the afternoon a third hostile attack upon the wood was stopped by our artillery and rifle fire.

Bourlon Village Captured

On this afternoon our infantry again attacked Bourlon village, and captured the whole of it. Later in the evening a fourth attack upon our positions in the wood was beaten off after fierce fighting. Further progress was made on this day in the Hindenburg line west of Moeuvres, but the enemy's resistance in the whole of this area was very strong. On the evening of Nov. 25 a fresh attack by the enemy regained Bourlon village, though our troops offered vigorous resistance, and parties of the 13th Battalion East Surrey Regiment held out in the southeast corner of the village until touch was re-established with them two days later. The continual fighting and the strength of the enemy's attacks, however, had told heavily on the 40th Division, which had borne the brunt of the struggle. This division was accordingly withdrawn, and on the following day our troops were again pressed back slightly in the northern outskirts of Bourlon Wood.

With the enemy in possession of the shoulder of the ridge above Fontaine-notre-Dame, as well as of part of the high ground west of Bourlon Wood, our position in the wood itself was a difficult one, and much of the ground to the south of it was still exposed to the enemy's observation. It was decided, therefore, to make another effort on Nov. 27 to capture Fontaine-notre-Dame and Bourlon village and to gain possession of the whole of the Bourlon Ridge.

In this attack, in which tanks co-operated, British Guards temporarily regained possession of Fontaine-notre-Dame, taking some hundreds of prisoners, and troops of the 62d Division once more entered Bourlon village. Later in the morning, however, heavy counterattacks developed in both localities, and our troops were unable to maintain the ground they had gained. During the afternoon the enemy also attacked our positions at Tadpole Copse, but was repulsed.

As the result of five days of constant fighting, therefore, we held a strong position on the Bourlon Hill and in the wood, but had not yet succeeded in gaining all the ground required for the security of this important feature. The two following days passed comparatively quietly, while the troops engaged were relieved and steps were undertaken to prepare for a deliberate attack which might give us the tactical points we sought.

Meanwhile, on other parts of the front, the organization of our new positions was proceeding as rapidly as conditions would allow. In particular, troops of the 12th Division had effected some improvement on the right flank of our advance opposite Banteux, and the 16th Division had made further progress in the Hindenburg line northwest of Bullecourt.

At the end of November the number of prisoners taken in our operations southwest of Cambrai exceeded 10,500. We had also captured 142 guns, some 350 machine guns, and 70 trench mortars, with great quantities of ammunition, material, and stores of all kinds.

The German Attack

8. During the last days of November increased registration of hostile artillery, the movements of troops and transport observed behind the German lines, together with other indications of a like nature, pointed to further efforts by the enemy to regain the positions we had wrested from him.

The front affected by this increased activity included that of our advance, as well as the ground to Vendhuille and beyond. The massing of the enemy's infantry, however, his obvious anxiety concerning the security of his defenses south of the Sensée River, the tactical importance of the high ground about Bourlon, and the fact that we were still only in partial possession of it, all pointed to the principal attack being delivered in the Bourlon sector.

9. Measures were accordingly taken, both by the 3d Army and by the lower formations concerned, to prepare for eventualities. Arrangements had been made after our last attack to relieve the troops holding the Bourlon positions by such fresh divisions as were available, and when these reliefs had been satisfactorily completed I felt confident that the defense of this sector could be considered secure.

Covering our right flank from Cantaing to the Banteux Ravine, a distance of about 16,000 yards, five British divisions were disposed, and, though these had been fighting for several days and were consequently tired, I felt confident that they would prove equal to stopping any attack the enemy could make on them.

From the Banteux Ravine southward the divisions in line were weak and held very extended fronts. On the other hand, the line held by us in this southern sector had been in our possession for some months. Its defenses were for this reason more complete and better organized than those of the ground gained by us in our attack. Moreover, the capture of the Bonavis Ridge had added to the security of our position further south.

The reserve divisions immediately available in the area consisted of the Guards and 2d Cavalry Divisions, both of which had been engaged in the recent fighting at Fontaine and Bourlon Wood. These were located behind the La Vacquerie-Villers Guislain front, while another division, the 62d, which had also been recently engaged, was placed further to the northwest in the direction of the Bapaume-Cambrai road. A fresh South Midland Division was assembling further back, two other cavalry divisions were within from two to three hours' march of the battle area, and another cavalry division but a little further distant.

In view of the symptoms of activity observed on the enemy's front, special precautions were taken by local commanders, especially from Villers Guislain to the south. Troops were warned to expect attack, additional machine guns were placed to secure supporting points, and divisional reserves were closed up. Special patrols were also sent out to watch for signs of any hostile advance.

The Battle Reopened

10. Between the hours of 7 and 8 A. M. on the last day of November the enemy attacked, after a short but intense artillery preparation, on the greater part of a front of some ten miles from Vendhuille to Masnières inclusive. From Masnières to Banteux, both inclusive, four German divisions would seem to have been employed against the three British divisions holding this area. Between Banteux exclusive and Vendhuille one German division and portions of two others were employed against the northern half of the British division holding that front.

On the Masnières front the 29th Division, composed of English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Guernsey, and Newfoundland battalions, although seriously threatened as the day wore on by the progress made by the enemy further south, where their battery positions had been taken in reverse, most gallantly beat off a succession of powerful assaults and maintained their line intact.

At the northern end of the Bonavis Ridge and in the Gonnelieu sector the swiftness with which the advance of the enemy's infantry followed the opening of his bombardment appears to have overwhelmed our troops, both in line and in immediate support, almost before they had realized that the attack had begun.

The nature of the bombardment, which seems to have been heavy enough to keep our men under cover without at first seriously alarming them, contributed to the success of the enemy's plans. No steadily advancing barrage gave warning of the approach of the German assault columns, whose secret assembly was assisted by the many deep folds and hollows typical of a chalk formation, and shielded from observation from the air by an early morning mist. Only when the attack was upon them great numbers of low-flying German airplanes rained machine-gun fire upon our infantry, while an extensive use of smoke shell and bombs made it extremely difficult for our troops to see what was happening on other parts of the battlefield, or to follow the movements of the enemy. In short, there is little doubt that, although an attack was expected generally, yet in these areas of the battle at the moment of delivery the assault effected a local surprise.

Stubborn British Resistance

None the less, stubborn resistance was offered during the morning by isolated parties of our troops and by machine-gun detachments in the neighborhood of Lateau Wood and southeast of La Vacquerie, as well as at other points. In more than one instance heavy losses are known to have been inflicted on the enemy by machine-gun fire at short range. Northeast of La Vacquerie the 92d Field Artillery Brigade repulsed four attacks, in some of which the enemy's infantry approached to within 200 yards of our guns before the surviving gunners were finally compelled to withdraw, after removing the breech-blocks from their pieces. East of Villers-Guislain the troops holding our forward positions on the high ground were still offering a strenuous resistance to the enemy's attack on their front at a time when large forces of German infantry had already advanced up the valley between them and Villers-Guislain. South of this village a single strong point known as Limerick Post, garrisoned by troops of the 1st and 5th Battalions, (King's Own,) Royal Lancaster Regiment, and the 1st and 10th Battalions, Liverpool Regiment, held out with great gallantry throughout the day, though heavily attacked.

The progress made by the enemy, however, across the northern end of the Bonavis Ridge and up the deep gully between Villers-Guislain and Gonnelieu, known as 22 Ravine, turned our positions on the ridge as well as in both villages. Taking in flank and rear, the defenses of Villers-Guislain, Gonnelieu, and Bonavis were rapidly overrun. Gouzeaucourt was captured about 9 A. M., the outer defenses of La Vacquerie were reached,

and a number of guns which had been brought up close to the line in order to enable them to cover the battle front about Masnières and Marcoing fell into the hands of the enemy.

At this point the enemy's advance was checked by the action of our local reserves, and meanwhile measures had been taken with all possible speed to bring up additional troops. About midday the Guards came into action west of Gouzeaucourt, while cavalry moved up to close the gap on their right and made progress toward Villers-Guislain from the south and southwest.

The attack of the Guards, which was delivered with the greatest gallantry and resolution, drove the enemy out of Gouzeaucourt and made progress on the high ground known as the St. Quentin Ridge, east of the village. In this operation the Guards were materially assisted by the gallant action of a party of the 29th Division, who, with a company of North Midland Royal Engineers, held on throughout the day to a position in an old trench near Gouzeaucourt. Valuable work was also done by a brigade of field artillery of the 47th Division, which moved direct into action from the line of march.

During the afternoon three battalions of tanks which, when they received news of the attack, were preparing to move away from the battlefield to refit, arrived at Gouzeaucourt and aided the infantry to hold the recaptured ground. Great credit is due to the officers and men of the tank brigade concerned for the speed with which they brought their tanks into action.

Meanwhile, the defense of La Vacquerie had been successfully maintained, and our line had been established to the north of that village, in touch with our troops in Masnières.

The Northern Attack

11. In the northern area, from Fontaine-notre-Dame to Tadpole Copse, the German attack was not launched until some two hours later. This was the enemy's main attack, and was carried out with large forces and great resolution.

After a heavy preliminary bombardment, and covered by an artillery barrage, the enemy's infantry advanced shortly after 9 A. M. in dense waves, in the manner of his attacks in the first battle of Ypres. In the course of the morning and afternoon no less than five principal attacks were made in this area, and on one portion of the attack as many as eleven waves of German infantry advanced successively to the assault. On the whole of this front a resolute endeavor was made to break down by sheer weight of numbers the defense of the London Territorials and other English battalions holding the sector.

In this fighting the 47th (London) Division (T.), the 2d Division, and the 56th (London) Division (T.) greatly distinguished themselves, and there were accomplished many deeds of great heroism.

Under the fury of the enemy's bombardment a company of the 17th Battalion Royal Fusiliers were in the course of being withdrawn from an exposed position in a saphead in advance of our line between Bourlon Wood and Moeuvres when the German attack burst upon them. The officer in command sent three of his platoons back, and with a rearguard composed of the remainder of his company held off the enemy's infantry until the main position had been organized. Having faithfully accomplished their task, this rearguard died fighting to the end with their faces to the enemy.

Somewhat later in the morning an attack in force between the Canal du Nord and Moeuvres broke into our foremost positions and isolated a company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment, in a trench just west of the canal. After maintaining a splendid and successful resistance throughout the day, whereby the pressure upon our main line was greatly relieved, at 4 P. M. this company held a council of war, at which the two remaining company officers, the company Sergeant Major, and the platoon Sergeants were present, and unanimously determined to fight to the last and have "no surrender." Two runners who were sent to notify this decision to battalion headquarters succeeded in getting through to our lines and delivered their message. During the remainder of the afternoon and far into the following night this gallant company were heard fighting, and there is little room for doubt that they carried out to a man their heroic resolution.

Enormous German Losses

Early in the afternoon large masses of the enemy again attacked west of Bourlon Wood, and, though beaten off with great loss at most points, succeeded in overwhelming three out of a line of posts held by a company of the 1st Battalion, Royal Berks Regiment, on the right of the 2d Division. Though repeatedly attacked by vastly superior numbers, the remainder of these posts stood firm, and when, two days later, the three posts which had been overpowered were regained, such a heap of German dead lay in and around them that the bodies of our own men were hidden.

All accounts go to show that the enemy's losses in the whole of his constantly repeated attacks on this sector of the battle front were enormous. One battery of eight machine guns fired 70,000 rounds of ammunition into ten successive waves of Germans. Long lines of attacking infantry were caught by our machine-gun fire in enfilade, and were shot down in line as they advanced. Great execution also was done by our field artillery, and in the course of the battle guns were brought up to the crest line and fired direct upon the enemy at short range.

At one point west of Bourlon the momentum of his first advance carried the enemy through our front line and a short way down the southern slopes of the ridge. There,

however, the German masses came under direct fire from our field artillery at short range and were broken up. Our local reserves at once counterattacked and succeeded in closing the gap that had been made in our line. Early in the afternoon the enemy again forced his way into our foremost positions in this locality, opening a gap between the 1st and 6th Battalions and the 1st and 15th Battalions, London regiments. Counterattacks led by the two battalion commanders, with all available men, including the personnel of their headquarters, once more restored the situation. All other attacks were beaten off with the heaviest losses to the enemy.

The greatest credit is due to the troops at Masnières, Bourlon, and Moeuvres for the very gallant service performed by them on this day. But for their steady courage and stanchness in defense, the success gained by the enemy on the right of our battle front might have had serious consequences.

I cannot close the account of this day's fighting without recording my obligation to the Commander in Chief of the French Armies for the prompt way in which he placed French troops within reach for employment in case of need at the unfettered discretion of the 3d Army commander. Part of the artillery of this force actually came into action, rendering valuable service, and though the remainder of the troops were not called upon, the knowledge that they were available should occasion arise was a great assistance.

At Gonnelieu and Masnieres

12. On Dec. 1 fighting continued fiercely on the whole front.

The Guards completed the capture of the St. Quentin Ridge and entered Gonnelieu, where they captured over 350 prisoners and a large number of machine guns. Tanks took an effective part in the fighting for the ridge. At one point, where our infantry were held up by fire from a hostile trench, a single tank attacked and operated up and down the trench, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy's garrison. Our infantry were then able to advance and secure the trench, which was found full of dead Germans. In it were also found fifteen machine guns that had been silenced by the tank. In the whole of this fighting splendid targets were obtained by all tank crews and the German casualties were seen to be very great.

Further south a number of tanks co-operated with dismounted Indian cavalry of the 5th Cavalry Division and with the Guards in the attacks upon Villers-Guislain and Gauche Wood, and were in great measure responsible for the capture of the wood. Heavy fighting took place for this position, which it is clear that the enemy had decided to hold at all costs. When the infantry and cavalry finally took possession of the wood, great numbers of German dead and smashed machine guns were found. In one spot four German machine guns, with dead crews lying round, were discovered within a radius of twenty yards. Three German field guns, complete with teams, were also captured in this wood.

Other tanks proceeded to Villers-Guislain, and, in spite of heavy direct artillery fire, three reached the outskirts of the village, but the fire of the enemy's machine guns prevented our troops advancing from the south from supporting them, and the tanks ultimately withdrew.

Severe fighting took place, also, at Masnières. During the afternoon and evening at least nine separate attacks were beaten off by the 29th Division on this front, and other hostile attacks were repulsed in the neighborhood of Marcoing, Fontaine-notre-Dame, and Bourlon. With the Bonavis Ridge in the enemy's hands, however, Masnières was exposed to attack on three sides, and on the night of Dec. 1-2 our troops were withdrawn under orders to a line west of the village.

On the afternoon of Dec. 2 a series of heavy attacks developed against Welsh Ridge in the neighborhood of La Vacquerie, and further assaults were made on our positions in the neighborhood of Masnières and Bourlon. These attacks were broken in succession by our machine-gun fire, but the enemy persisted in his attempts against Welsh Ridge, and gradually gained ground. By nightfall our line had been pushed back to a position west and north of Gonnelieu.

Next day the enemy renewed his attacks in great force on the whole front from Gonnelieu to Marcoing, and ultimately gained possession of La Vacquerie. North of La Vacquerie repeated attacks made about Masnières and Marcoing were repulsed in severe fighting, but the positions still retained by us beyond the Canal de l'Escaut were extremely exposed, and during the night our troops were withdrawn under orders to the west bank of the canal.

Withdrawal From Bourlon

13. By this time the enemy had evidently become exhausted by the efforts he had made and the severity of his losses, and Dec. 4 passed comparatively quietly. For some days, however, local fighting continued in the neighborhood of La Vacquerie, and his attitude remained aggressive. Local attacks in this sector were repulsed on Dec. 5, and on this and the following two days further fierce fighting took place, in which the enemy again endeavored without success to drive us from our positions on Welsh Ridge.

The strength which the enemy had shown himself able to develop in his attacks made it evident that only by prolonged and severe fighting could I hope to re-establish my right flank on the Bonavis Ridge. Unless this was done, the situation of my troops in the salient north of Flesquières would be difficult and dangerous, even if our hold on Bourlon Hill were extended.

I had therefore to decide either to embark

on another offensive battle on a large scale, or to withdraw to a more compact line on the Flesquières Ridge.

Although this decision involved giving up important positions most gallantly won, I had no doubt as to the correct course under the conditions. Accordingly, on the night of Dec. 4-5 the evacuation of the position held by us north of the Flesquières Ridge was commenced. On the morning of Dec. 7 this withdrawal was completed successfully, without interference from the enemy.

Before withdrawing, the more important of the enemy's field defenses were destroyed, and those of his guns which we had been unable to remove were rendered useless. The enemy did not discover our withdrawal for some time, and when, on the afternoon of Dec. 5, he began to feel his way forward, he did so with great caution. In spite of his care, on more than one occasion bodies of his infantry were caught in the open by our artillery.

Much skill and courage were shown by our covering troops in this withdrawal, and an incident which occurred on the afternoon of Dec. 6 in the neighborhood of Graincourt deserves special notice. A covering party, consisting of two companies of the 1st and 15th Battalions, London Regiment, 47th Division, much reduced in strength by the fighting at Bourlon Wood, found their flank exposed by a hostile attack further east, and were enveloped and practically cut off. These companies successfully cut their way through to our advanced line of resistance, where they arrived in good order, after having inflicted serious casualties on the enemy.

The new line taken up by us corresponded roughly to the old Hindenburg reserve line, and ran from a point about one and a half miles north by east of La Vacquerie, north of Ribecourt and Flesquières to the Canal du Nord, about one and a half miles north of Havrincourt—i. e., between two and two and a half miles in front of the line held by us prior to the attack of Nov. 20. We therefore retained in our possession an important section of the Hindenburg trench system, with its excellent dugouts and other advantages.

Results of the Battle

14. The material results of the three weeks' fighting described above can be stated in general terms very shortly.

We had captured and retained in our possession over 12,000 yards of the former German front line from La Vacquerie to a point opposite Boursies, together with between 10,000 and 11,000 yards of the Hindenburg line and Hindenburg reserve line and the village of Ribecourt, Flesquières, and Havrincourt. A total of 145 German guns were taken or destroyed by us in the course of the operations, and 11,100 German prisoners were captured.

On the other hand, the enemy had occupied an unimportant section of our front line between Vendhuille and Gonnelieu.

There is little doubt that our operations were of considerable indirect assistance to the allied forces in Italy. Large demands were made upon the available German reserves at a time when a great concentration of German divisions was still being maintained in Flanders. There is evidence that German divisions intended for the Italian theatre were diverted to the Cambrai front, and it is probable that the further concentration of German forces against Italy was suspended for at least two weeks at a most critical period, when our allies were making their first stand on the Piave line.

General Review

15. I have already summarized in the opening paragraphs of this dispatch both the reasons which decided me to undertake the Cambrai operations and the limitations to which these operations were subject.

In view of the strength of the German forces on the front of my attack and the success with which secrecy was maintained during our preparations, I had calculated that the enemy's prepared defenses would be captured in the first rush. I had good hope that his resisting power behind these defenses would then be so enfeebled for a period that we should be able on the same day to establish ourselves quickly and completely on the dominating Bourlon Ridge from Fontaine-notre-Dame to Moeuvres and to secure our right flank along a line including the Bonavis Ridge, Crèvecour, and Rumilly to Fontaine-notre-Dame. Even if this did not prove possible within the first twenty-four hours, a second day would be at our disposal before the enemy's reserves could begin to arrive in any formidable numbers.

Meanwhile, with no wire and no prepared defenses to hamper them, it was reasonable to hope that masses of cavalry would find it possible to pass through, whose task would be thoroughly to disorganize the enemy's systems of command and intercommunication in the whole area between the Canal de l'Escaut, the River Sensée, and the Canal du Nord, as well as to the east and northeast of Cambrai.

My intentions as regards subsequent exploitation were to push westward and northwestward, taking the Hindenburg line in reverse from Moeuvres to the River Scarpe, and capturing all the enemy's defenses and probably most of his garrisons lying west of a line from Cambrai northward to the Sensée, and south of that river and the Scarpe.

Time would have been required to enable us to develop and complete the operation; but the prospects of gaining the necessary time, by the use of cavalry in the manner outlined above, were in my opinion good enough to justify the attempt to execute the plan. I am of opinion that on Nov. 20 and 21 we went

very near to a success sufficiently complete to bring the realization of our full program within our power.

The reasons for my decision to continue the fight after Nov. 21 have already been explained. Though in the event no advantage was gained thereby, I still consider that, as the problem presented itself at the time, the more cautious course would have been difficult to justify. It must be remembered that it was not a question of remaining where we stood, but of abandoning tactical positions of value, gained with great gallantry, the retention of which seemed not only to be within our power, but likely even yet to lead to further success.

Whatever may be the final decision on this point, as well as on the original decision to undertake the enterprise at all with the forces available, the continuation of our efforts against Fontaine-notre-Dame gave rise to severe fighting, in which our troops more than held their own.

Risks Voluntarily Accepted

On Nov. 30 risks were accepted by us at some points in order to increase our strength at others. Our fresh reserves had been thrown in on the Bourlon front, where the enemy brought against us a total force of seven divisions to three and failed. I do not consider that it would have been justifiable on the indications to have allotted a smaller garrison to this front.

Between Masnières and Vendhuille the enemy's superiority in infantry over our divisions in line was in the proportion of about four to three, and we were sufficiently provided with artillery. That his attack was partially successful may tend to show that the garrison allotted to this front was insufficient, either owing to want of numbers, lack of training, or exhaustion from previous fighting.

Captured maps and orders have made it clear that the enemy aimed at far more considerable results than were actually achieved by him. Three convergent attacks were to be made on the salient formed by our advance; two of them delivered approximately simultaneously about Gonnelieu and Masnières, followed later by a still more powerful attack on the Bourlon front. The objectives of these attacks extended to the high ground at Beaucamp and Trescault, and the enemy's hope was to capture and destroy the whole of the British forces in the Cambrai salient.

This bold and ambitious plan was foiled on the greater part of our front by the splendid defense of the British divisions engaged; and, though the defense broke down for a time in one area, the recovery made by the weak forces still left and those within immediate reach is worthy of the highest praise. Numberless instances of great gallantry, promptitude, and skill were shown, some few which have been recounted.

I desire to acknowledge the skill and resource displayed by General Byng throughout the Cambrai operations and to express my appreciation of the manner in which they were conducted by him as well as by his staff and the subordinate commanders.

In conclusion, I would point out that the sudden breaking through by our troops of an immense system of defense has had a most inspiring moral effect on the armies I command and must have a correspondingly depressing influence upon the enemy. The great value of the tanks in the offensive has been conclusively proved. In view of this experience, the enemy may well hesitate to deplete any portion of his front, as he did last Summer, in order to set free troops to concentrate for decisive action at some other point.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, your obedient servant,

D. HAIG,
Field Marshal, Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

Millions of Horses Used by the Armies

Figures compiled by the Red Star Animal Relief Society show that at the beginning of 1918 there were 4,500,000 horses in use by all the armies in the war, and that the losses on the western front alone averaged 47,000 a month. About 1,500,000 horses had been bought by the Allies in America; 33,000 of these had died before they could be embarked, and 6,000 died in the ships. The value of horses shipped to Europe in 1917 was more than $50,000,000, and the loss in a heavy month of fighting is about $1,500,000. The United States Army in France will need 750,000 horses for draft purposes and mounts, with several hundred thousands more to fill losses. Experience on both sides has proved that a shortage of horses means a corresponding loss of guns in battle and the impossibility of rapid advance. Only well animals can be used, and there are always thousands in the hospitals. Behind the British lines there is a horse hospital within four miles of any point, and eight miles away from each is another. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has hospitals for 10,000 horses and mules, with well-designed buildings, complete operating equipments, ambulances, forage barns, cooking kitchens, quarters for the staff, and every detail for curing the wounded animals. The veterinary surgeons of this society are saving 80 per cent. of the injured horses and sending them back to the batteries.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

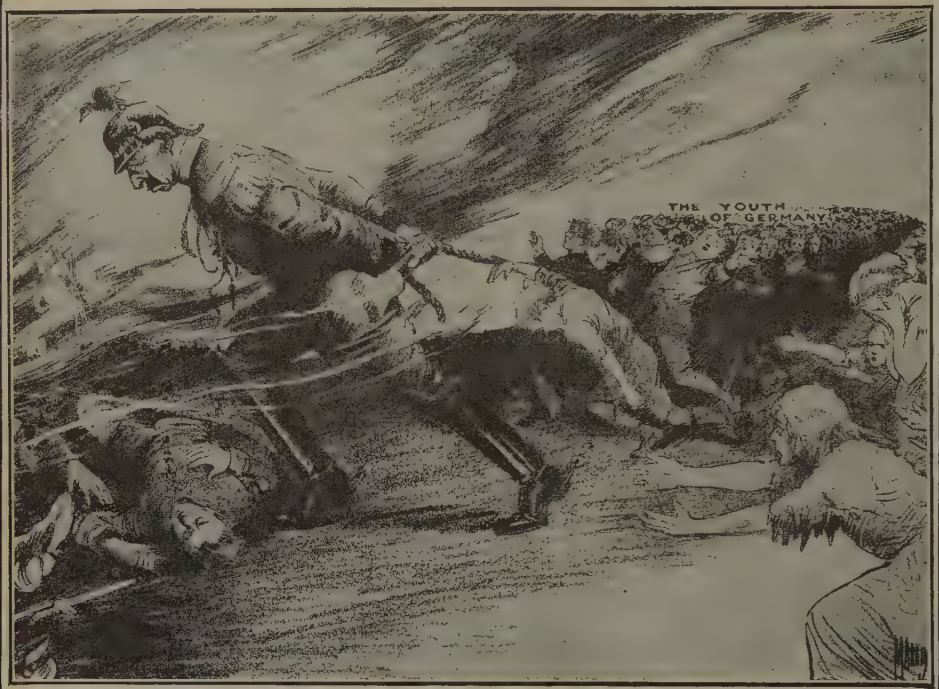
[American Cartoon]

In the Hands of His Friends

—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoons]

"Vorwärts Mit Gott!"



Sacrificing the Manhood and Youth of a Nation to Save a Throne.

—*From The New York Times.*

"Hold the line! We're coming ten million strong!"

[Italian Cartoon]

In Danger of Shipwreck

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

President Wilson's war aims threaten to bring disaster to the Central Powers' peace boat.

[English Cartoon]

If They Had Been Rationed

—From London Opinion.

How certain great historical personages might have looked if they had lived in the days of bread cards.

[German Cartoon]

Smoking the Peace Pipe

—*From Der Brummer, Berlin.*

THE ENTENTE: "What a pity we are excluded!"

[English Cartoon]

The Rescuer's Usual Fate!

—*From London Opinion.*

POLICEMAN JOHN BULL: "But I only came on the scene because he had started to knock you about!"

MRS. RUSSIA: "Never mind about that. Go on, Bill, teach 'im to interfere—hit me again."

[American Cartoon]

Proving a Fallacy

—From The Chicago Herald.

Russia's faith in Socialist pacifism, and what came of it.

[English Cartoon]

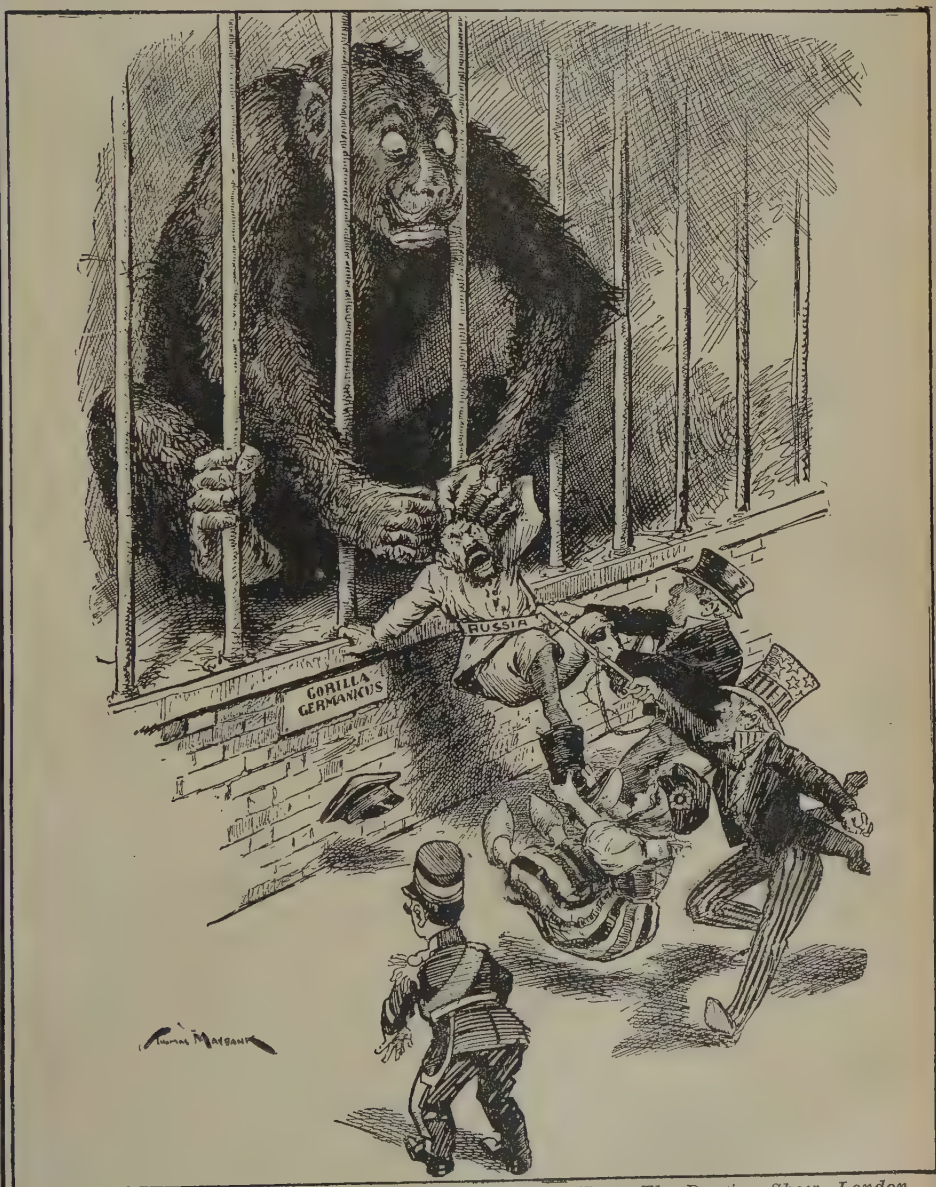
A Threatened Interruption

—*From London Opinion.*

["Japan will take steps of the most decided and most adequate character to meet the occasion."—VISCOUNT MOTONO, Minister for Foreign Affairs.]

[English Cartoon]

Russia's Fate



—*From The Passing Show, London.*

If he *would* go fooling around with him what could they do?

[English Cartoon]

Futurist Art in Russia

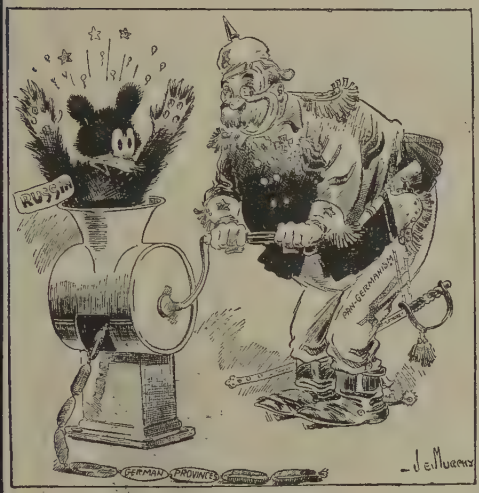
—*From The National News, London.*

STURDY OLD BURGESS: "And what, Sir, may your picture represent?"

PLUPERFECT FUTURIST TROTZKY: "The mental state of a Bolshevik contemplating 'German capitalists, bankers, and landlords, supported by the silent co-operation of English and French bourgeoisie.'"

STURDY OLD BURGESS: "Sir, you have produced a priceless masterpiece—and if it is true that you have sold it for £22,000 you have given it away!"

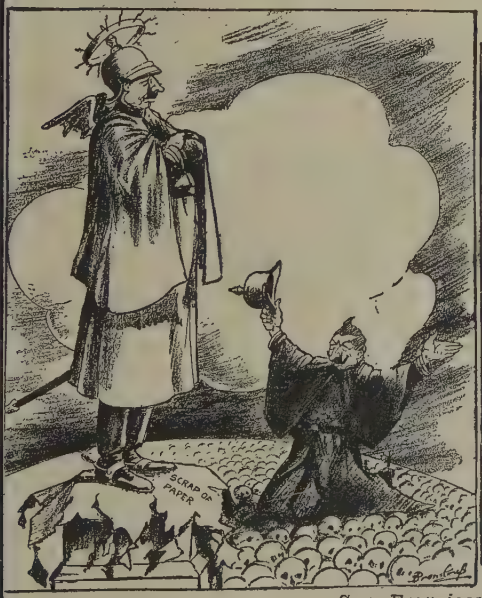
The Wurst Is Yet to Come



His New Trousers

—*San Francisco Call-Post.*

The Kaiser's God



Tougher Than Bear Meat

—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

Judging the Landslide by a Pebble

—*From Collier's.*

"That's My Fight Too!"

—*New York World.*

Dealing With Gas Attacks

—*Dallas News.*

[German Cartoon]

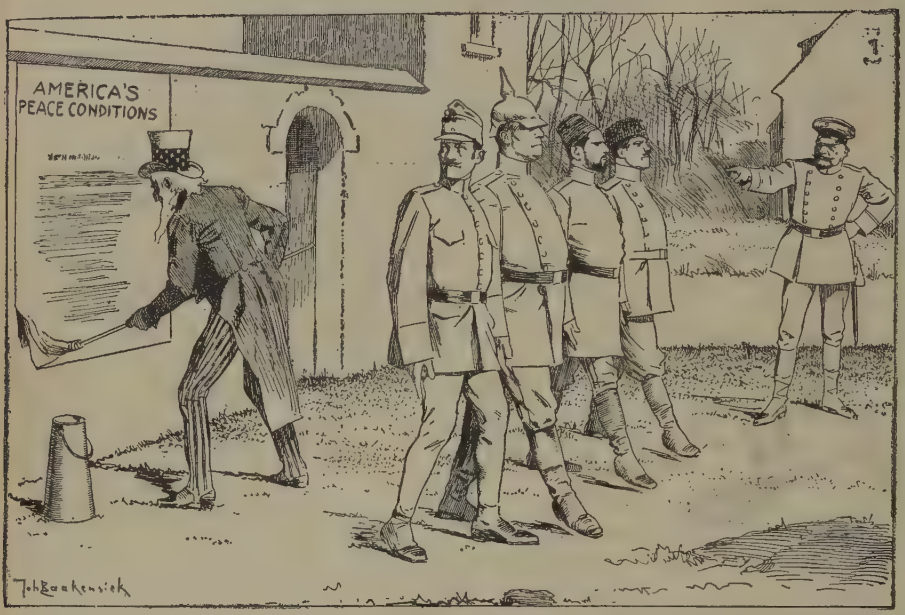
Italy's Troubles

—From Der Brummer, Berlin.

ITALY: "Hang it all! I have been at this window for nearly three years!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Austria and America



—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

GERMAN DRILL SERGEANT: "Now, Austrians! Eyes front! Mark time! Keep your eyes on me!"

[Italian Cartoon]

That Dinner in Paris

—From Il 420, Florence.

WILHELM: "Now that we have settled Russia, prepare that Paris feast."

CHEF: "For Paris, Sire? I am afraid the food will turn bad, as it did the other time."

[American Cartoon]

The Hohenzollern Fingerprints

—Macauley in Butterfield Syndicate.

[English Cartoon]

"Here's to Dear Old Trotzky!"

—Passing Show, London.

[American Cartoon]

In the Lion's Mouth

HINDENBURG
WELL, HERE GOES!
"I NEVER SAW VON HINDENBURG
I NEVER WANT TO SEE HIM;
BUT I CAN TELL YOU ANYHOW
I'D RATHER SEE THAN BE HIM."
FRED C. SEIDEL

—Knickerbocker Press, Albany.

[French Cartoon]

The Russian Campaign

—From La Victoire, Paris.

"Where are you running?"
"To kill our General before he commits suicide."

[American Cartoon]

The Progress of Kultur

—From The New York World.

Under His New Colonel—R. E. Morse

A Tail of Camouflage

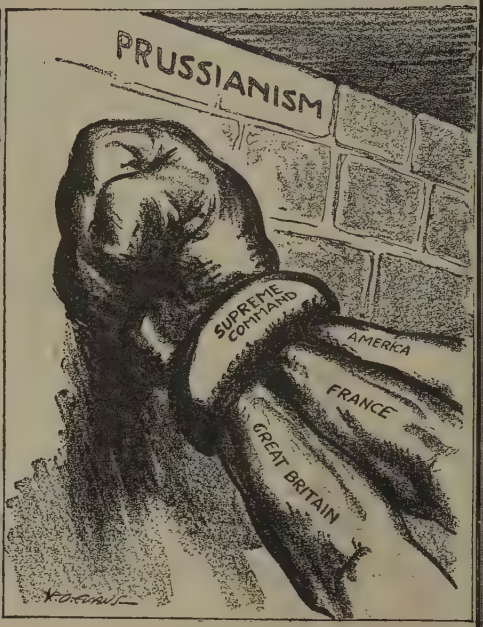
Anxious Moments

But Can He Get Out?

—Bushnell for Central Press Association.

"Sire, Ve Haf Located die Sammies!"

Putting All Their Punch in One Glove



Bringing the War Home to Us

Stuck

—*Baltimore American.*

Another German Substitute

—*Dayton Daily News.*

Back to Earth

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

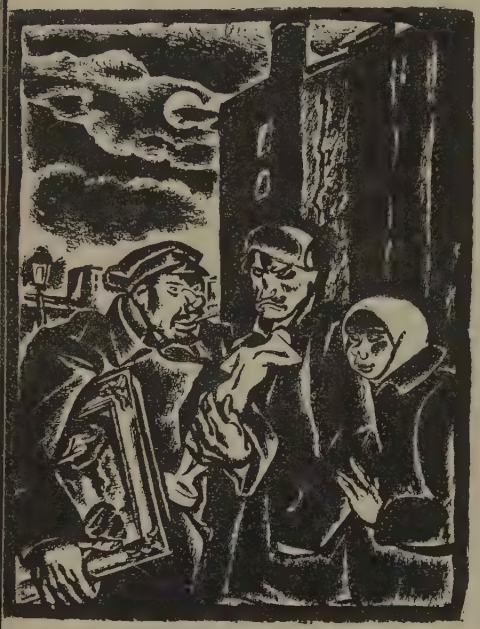
It Shoots Further Than He Dreams

—*Dallas News.*

"Whither Are We Going?"

—*Satterfield Syndicate.*

The Bolsheviki as Art Collectors



Thus it Was—Thus It Is

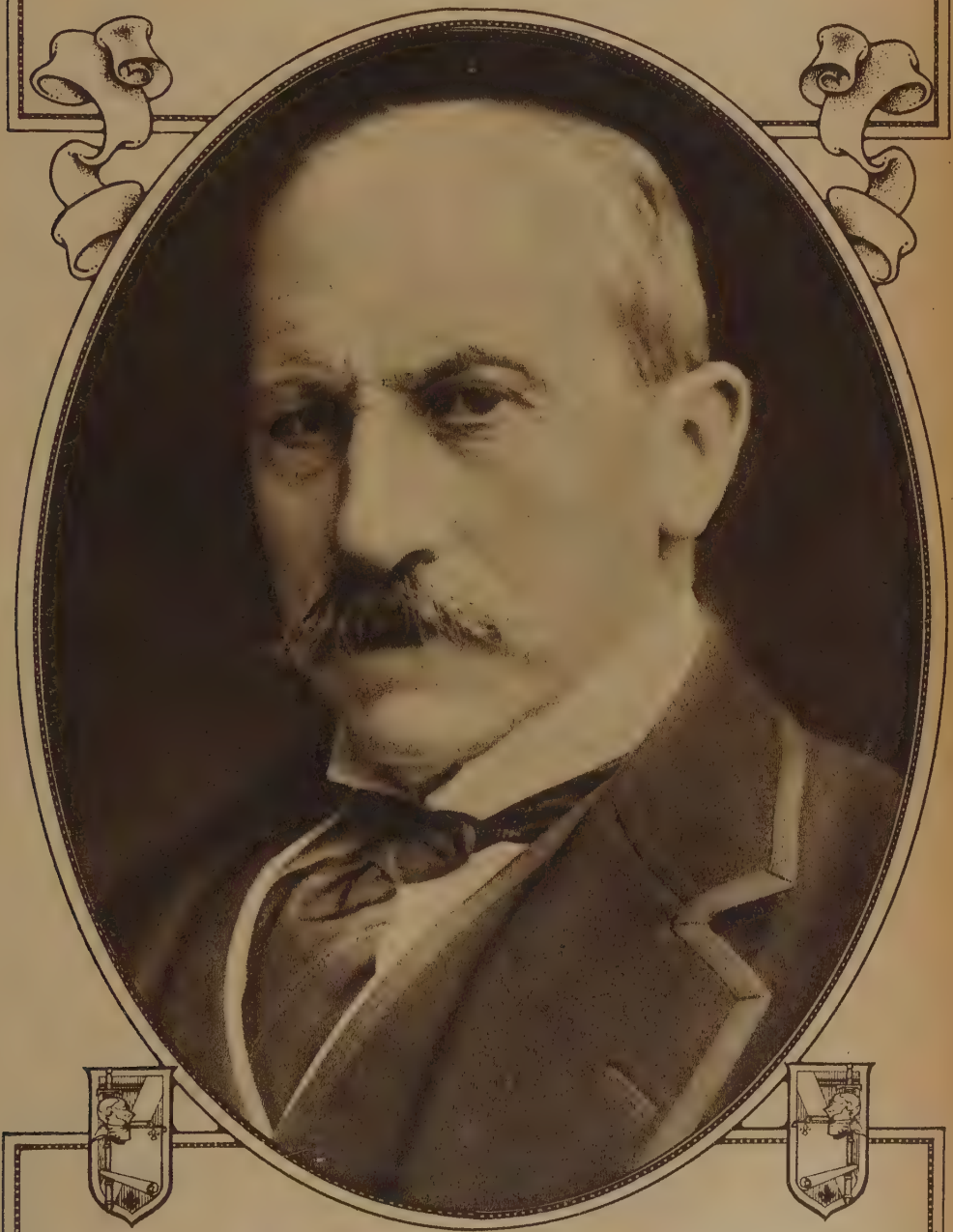
The Bolsheviki Even Brought the English to Their Knees

[Russian papers state that prayers for Russia were held in England, beginning, "Save Russia from the Bolsheviki."]

The Feast

—From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

VISCOUNT MILNER



The new British War Secretary in succession to Lord Derby. He had been a member of tne War Cabinet since its creation in December, 1916

(Central News)

GENERAL SIR W. R. MARSHALL

Commander in Chief of the British forces in Mesopotamia
(Central News)

PERIOD XLV.

Battles in Picardy and Flanders—The Greatest Battle of the War—American Soldiers in Battle—American Shipbuilders Break All Records—Third Liberty Loan Oversubscribed—Former War Loans of the United States—German Losses on All Fronts—Great Britain's Finances—Trade After the War—Finland Under German Control—German Aggression in Russia—More Bolshevist Legislation—Lithuania's Efforts Toward Autonomy—The Raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend—German U-boat Claims—A Secret Chapter of U-boat History—Sea-Raider Wolf and Its Victims—Treatment of British Prisoners—The Total Destruction of Rheims—The Abomination of Desolation—Lloyd George and General Maurice—The New British Service Act—British Aid to Italy—Emperor Charles's "Dear Sixtus" Letter—The Issues in Ireland—Greatest Gas Attack of the War—Plucky Dunkirk—Germany's Attempt to Divide Belgium—Stripping Belgian Industries—Belgium's Appeal to the Bolsheviki—Serbia's Hopes and Russia's Defection—Rumania's Peace Treaty—Bessarabia Voluntarily United to Rumania—The War and the Bagdad Railway—Lichnowsky's Memorandum—Germany's Long Plotting for Domination.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended May 19, 1918.]

Summary of War Activities

FOUR weeks of comparative calm on the western front intervened after the furious fighting that had continued throughout the preceding month. The Germans made several desperate efforts to smash their way through the British lines to the channel ports, but they failed. The British and French lines stood firm as granite, and the enemy suffered frightful losses. The battle lines remained practically unchanged.

From the English Channel to the Adriatic there was complete union of the British, French, American, and Italian forces under a single command; these forces, including reserves, were estimated at 6,000,000 men. No military event of importance occurred on the other fronts, though the British made some further advances in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

In political matters the month brought events of more importance, chief of which was the renewal of an alliance between Germany and Austria; this was accomplished at a meeting of the Emperors.

The acceleration of troop movements from the United States to France was a feature of the month, the estimate for the four weeks running as high as 150,000; it was semi-officially stated that in April, 1918, more than 500,000 American soldiers were in France, and that by Jan. 1, 1919, there would be 1,500,000 of our fighting men at the front, with 500,000 more at transportation, supply, and civil work; the speeding up of shipbuilding and other war work was significant. The Third Liberty Loan aggregated more than $4,000,000,000, with 17,000,000 subscribers, proving a brilliant success. The President by proclamation extended enemy alien restrictions to women also. A bill was passed enabling the President to consolidate and co-ordinate executive bureaus, thus giving him extraordinary executive powers. The sedition law was strengthened. A new commercial agreement was made with Norway.

In Great Britain the chief event was the triumph of the Premier over a military group that tried to overthrow his Ministry. There was a recrudescence of the spirit of rebellion in Ireland. In France the conviction of the Bonnet Rouge editors on a charge of treason deepened confidence in the stability of the Government. The German penetration of Russia continued, and all the evidence indicated that the country was coming under Teutonic control, economically, industrially, and financially. The humiliating peace forced on Rumania was ratified, and the country passed practically under German and Austrian domination.

The month's record of enemy U-boat losses strengthened faith that this menace was being eliminated and that new allied tonnage would exceed losses in increasing ratio from May 1, 1918.

The chief naval event was the daring British raid on the German submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend; the channel at the first named port was blocked, and the harbor entrance at Ostend, by means of a second raid, was partially blocked, resulting in a serious hampering of submarine operations. The Italians penetrated Pola Harbor, May 14, with a small torpedo boat and sank a 20,000-ton Austrian dreadnought.

* * *

Sinn Fein Plot Frustrated

DURING the night of May 18 the British authorities in Ireland suddenly arrested at their homes about 500 of the leading Sinn Feiners on the charge of having treasonable communication with the German enemy. Among those arrested were the Sinn Fein members of Parliament, also the conspicuous Irish agitators and irreconcilables, both men and women. A proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant declaring that a conspiracy with Germany had been discovered, calling upon all loyal Irishmen to assist in suppressing it, and urging voluntary enlistments. It was believed that this prompt action had prevented a

contemplated uprising, which was being aided by German spies. Comparative calm followed the arrests.

* * *

Foch's Army Comprises All Races of Earth

IT seems certain that never in the world's history were so many different races, peoples, and tongues united under the command of a single man as are now gathered together in the army of Generalissimo Foch. If we divide the human races into White, Yellow, Red, and Black, all four are largely represented. Among the white races there are Frenchmen, Italians, Portuguese, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Canadians, Australians, South Africans, (of both British and Dutch descent,) New Zealanders; in the American Army, probably every other European nation is represented, with additional contingents from those already named, so that every branch of the white race figures in the ethnological total. There are representatives of many Asiatic races, including not only the volunteers from the native States of India, but elements from the French colony in Cochin China, with Annam, Cambodia, Tonkin, Laos, and Kwang Chau Wan. England and France both contribute many African tribes, including Arabs from Algeria and Tunis, Senegalese, Saharans, and many of the South African races. The red races of North America are represented in the armies of both Canada and the United States, while the Maoris, Samoans, and other Polynesian races are likewise represented. And as, in the American Army, there are men of German, Austrian, and Hungarian descent, and, in all probability, contingents also of Bulgarian and Turkish blood, it may be said that Foch commands an army representing the whole human race, united in defense of the ideals of the Allies. The presence, among Foch's strategic reserves, of 250,000 Italian soldiers is peculiarly interesting, as no Italian force at all comparable to this in numbers seems ever to have operated on French soil, though French armies have again and again fought in Italy. During the early wars of Napoleon this was the case, and again in 1859, when the battles of Magenta and Solferino gave names to two new shades of red. In 1870 also there were French troops in Rome; their withdrawal, in the Summer of that year, opened the way for the final union of Italy.

* * *

Meeting of the German and Austrian Emperors

THE German and Austrian Emperors held a consultation at German Great Headquarters on May 12 to discuss future relations between the two empires. Emperor Karl was accompanied by Foreign Minister Burian, Field Marshal von Arz, Chief of the General Staff, and Prince Hohenlohe, Austrian Ambassador at Berlin. Germany was represented by Imperial Chancellor von Hertling, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, General Ludendorff, Foreign Secretary von Kuehlmann, and Count von Wedel, Ambassador at Vienna.

According to an official statement issued in Berlin, all the fundamental political, economic, and military questions affecting present and future relations were thoroughly discussed, and "there was complete accord on all these questions, tending to deepen the existing alliance." In many quarters the impression prevailed that the result of the meeting was to define and recognize formally the subservient relations of Austria-Hungary toward the German Empire. The State Department at Washington made public a report based upon indications given by the Berlin newspapers that the agreement made at the meeting concerned three points:

1. The duration of the alliance was fixed for twenty-five years.
2. Germany and Austria-Hungary are to sign a military convention imposing upon each much stricter military obligations than did the preceding treaty.
3. The economic relations will be regulated so as to realize the plan of Mitteleuropa.

A solution of the Polish question was also arrived at, according to a newspaper statement published in Berlin, on the lines of complete union between Austria-Hungary and Poland. Another message said that the German and Austrian Em-

perors had selected monarchs for Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Esthonia. It was officially stated that no actual treaty was signed.

One of the most interesting subsequent revelations was that King Ludwig of Bavaria and King Frederick August of Saxony were also present at the meeting at German Great Headquarters. Some of the reports represented these two monarchs as having been present uninvited.

* * *

The Prince Sixtus Letter

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, replying to inquiries in the House of Commons, May 16, stated that Emperor Karl's peace letter to Prince Sixtus, which had been received while Mr. Balfour was in America, was

> a private letter written y Emperor Charles to a relative (Prince Sixtus of Bourbon) and conveyed by him to President Poincaré and the French Premier under seal of the strictest secrecy, but with no permission to communicate it to any one except the Sovereign and Premier of this country, [Great Britain.] The letter was communicated to the French and English Premiers under these pledges.

He stated that he had no secrets from President Wilson, and added: "Every thought I have on the war or on the diplomacy connected with the war is as open to President Wilson as to any other human being." He declared that he regarded the Sixtus letter as not a peace effort, but a manoeuvre to divide the Allies. He declared that they were not fighting for "a bigger Alsace-Lorraine than in 1870," and added:

> If any representative of any belligerent country desires seriously to lay before us any proposals we are ready to listen to them.

Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade, in the same debate, after indorsing the preceding statement of Mr. Balfour, added this reference to Russia:

> We have no quarrel with Russia at all. On the contrary, with the Russian people we have always desired to be on the closest possible terms of friendship. We are anxious to do all we can to support and assist the Russian people to preserve Russia as a great country, not only now, but in the period after the war.

Lord Robert denied that Great Britain had any quarrel with the Bolsheviki over their domestic policy, saying:

> That is a matter for Russia, and Russia alone; we have no other desire than to see Russia great, powerful, and non-German.

* * *

Attacks on Hospital Ships

THE British Admiralty issued an official announcement on May 1, stating that it was considered proved conclusively that the British hospital ship Guildford Castle was attacked by a German submarine in the Bristol Channel, March 10, and narrowly escaped destruction. At the time the Guilford Castle was carrying 438 wounded soldiers and flying a Red Cross flag of the largest size with distinguishing marks distinctly illuminated. The attack occurred at 5:35 P. M., in clear weather. Two torpedoes were fired. In evidence of attacks on hospital ships the British Admiralty quotes the following extracts from the German official message, sent through the German wireless stations on April 24, 1918:

> With respect to the results of the submarine war for the month of March, the Deutsche Tageszeitung says: "Lloyd George and Geddes falsify the losses of ships plying in the military service (? ignoring) so-called naval losses, auxiliary cruisers, guard ships, *hospital ships,* and very probably also troop transports and munition steamers, that is to say, precisely that shipping space *which is particularly exposed to and attacked by the U-boats.*

* * *

Two More Latin-American Republics Aligned Against Germany

ON April 22, 1918, the National Assembly of Guatemala declared that that republic occupied the same position toward the European belligerents as did the United States. Guatemala had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany in April, 1917. On May 7 Nicaragua declared war against Germany and her allies. The declaration was in the form of a recommendation of President Chamorro, which the Nicaraguan Congress adopted with only four dissenting votes. A further declaration was adopted of solidarity with the United States and the other American republics at war with

Germany and Austria-Hungary. Nicaragua was the twentieth nation to declare war against Germany. Uruguay remains a neutral at this writing. On April 12 the Government asked Berlin, through Switzerland, whether Germany considered that a state of war existed with Uruguay, as stated by the commander of a submarine who had captured a Uruguayan military commission bound for France. The German Government replied on May 16 that it did not consider that a state of war existed. Chile refused to ask free passage of Spain for a commission of Chileans who sought to reach Germany, thereby indicating partiality to the Germans. Argentina in the President's message, delivered May 18, 1918, reaffirmed its neutrality.

* * *

France's Second Treason Trial.

DUVAL, who was director of the suppressed Germanophile newspaper, Bonnet Rouge, was condemned to death May 15 by court-martial for treason, and six other defendants were sentenced to imprisonment: Marion, assistant manager, for ten years; Landau, a reporter, eight years; Goldsky, a reporter, eight years; Joucla, a reporter, five years; Vercasson, two years and $1,000 fine; Leymarie, former director of the Ministry of the Interior, two years' imprisonment and $200 fine.

The Bonnet Rouge was an evening paper of decided pacifist tendency, which lost no occasion of belittling the military and political leaders and policy, not only of France, but also of England. The attention of the Government was drawn to it early in 1917, and its editor, Almeyreda, and its manager, Duval, were under lock and key by August, 1917.

The police investigations showed that the Bonnet Rouge was to a great extent dependent for its capital upon men whose ardor in the allied cause had not been notable, and revealed the astonishing fact that M. Malvy, as Minister of the Interior, had thought fit to subsidize the paper to the extent of $1,200 a month and to encourage it in other ways. It also became known to the public that Almeyreda before the war had been in the closest contact with M. Caillaux and that he had received from that politician, at the moment when Mme. Caillaux was being tried for the murder of M. Calmette, the editor of the Figaro, the sum of $8,000.

Duval, whose journeys to Switzerland had aroused the misgivings of the Government, was detained at the French frontier station, searched, and found to be in possession of a check for $32,800 drawn to the order of a Mannheim banking firm, the business relations of which will appear in subsequent trials. This check was photographed and was handed back to Duval by some one of the French military or civil secret service officials.

Almeyreda had hardly reached prison when he fell seriously ill and was removed to the infirmary prison at Fresnes. There he died. The official doctors first of all declared that he had been strangled, and then gave it as their opinion that he had committed suicide.

Louis J. Malvy, who was at the time Under Secretary of the Interior, and was Minister of the Interior under Ribot, will be tried by a parliamentary court on the charge of having been in personal relations with Duval and of having delivered to the Germans the scheme of the abruptly ended French offensive in the Champagne in April, 1917.

* * *

The City of Amiens.

AMIENS, the old capital city of Picardy, goes far back into the military history of Europe. Probably deriving its name from the Belgic tribe of Ambiani, it was the centre of Julius Cæsar's campaigns against those warlike tribes. Several Roman Emperors had military headquarters there, and it early gained importance as a bishopric. Evrard de Fouilloy, the forty-fifth Bishop, began the great Gothic cathedral of Amiens, one of the finest in the world, in the year 1220, the plans being made by René de Luzarches, while the work was completed by Thomas de Cormont and his son Renault in the year 1288, though the two great towers were not finished until a century later. Because it is intersected by eleven canals Louis XI. called Amiens "the little Venice."

Only second to the great cathedral in fame is the Hôtel de Ville, built between 1660 and 1760, in which, on May 25, 1802, was signed the famous treaty of Amiens, Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, being plenipotentiary for France. The parties to the Peace of Amiens were France, England, Holland, and Spain. To Holland were restored the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana, and other colonies; France received Martinique and Guadeloupe; Spain received Minorca; Malta went to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, while Egypt was restored to Turkey. England was secured in the control of India, and received Ceylon, (which had been first Portuguese and later Dutch,) and the island of Trinidad. But many of these dispositions were greatly modified thirteen years later, at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

In Amiens there is a famous Napoleonic Museum, which has many fine paintings by Puvis de Chavannes, including "War," "Peace," "Work," and "Rest." When, on Nov. 28, 1876, Amiens was captured by the army of the Prussians all religious monuments, including the cathedral, were scrupulously guarded against any possible damage, and the rights of private property were respected. Another of the titles of Amiens to fame is the fact that Peter the Hermit, leader of the First Crusade, was born there in 1050.

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The Rumanian Nation

OF the Emperor Hadrian's colony of Roman veterans at the mouth of the Danube there remain many architectural monuments, including parts of two fine bridges across the great river, a langauge largely Latin in substance, and the name Romania. The Roman colony spread through the Carpathians along the Roman road into Transylvania. It was in part submerged by Hun and Magyar waves of invasion, and the western part of the Rumanian people, west of the Carpathians, is still under Magyar rule, while a small number of Rumanians inhabit the Austrian crownland of Bukowina, once Rumanian soil. The Turks, following in the track of the Huns and Magyars, once more swept over Rumania and on toward Vienna and Russia, completely submerging the Balkan Peninsula, with the exception of the Black Mountain, Montenegro, held by Serbs.

In the nineteenth century the Balkan nations began to extricate themselves: Greece, with the aid of France, England, and Russia; Serbia, with the aid of Russia; and the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which were later to become Rumania. In the wars of Catherine the Great and Suvoroff, which Byron has embodied in his comedy epic, making Don Juan take part in the siege of Ismail, Russia took from Turkey the Province of Bessarabia, named from an old Rumanian princely house and largely populated by Rumanians.

The western half of Bessarabia was taken back from Russia and restored to Turkey after the Crimean War, immediately after which, in 1861, the two principalities were united in the single principality of Rumania, under Colonel Cuza, a Rumanian, as Hospodar, or Lord, Turkish suzerainty being acknowledged. In this way the strip of Bessarabia which had been Russian for half a century became not Turkish, but Rumanian. When Russia declared war against Turkey in 1877 she announced to Rumania that she sought the restoration of her strip of Bessarabian land; and, knowing this, Rumania became Russia's ally in the war against Turkey, with Prince Carol as commander of her forces, he being of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns. In 1881 he took the title of King, to which his nephew Ferdinand succeeded in 1914.

* * *

The Hetman of the Ukraine

WRITING in 1818, Byron described Mazeppa as "the Ukraine Hetman, calm and bold," and it is to the period of Mazeppa and even earlier that this title and office goes back. The word Hetman is of uncertain origin, but is probably derived from the Bohemian Heitman, a modification of Hauptmann or Headman. When the Ukraine, the "borderland," was under Polish suzerainty, in the period from 1592 to 1654, the epoch of "Fire and Sword," "Pan Michael," and "The Deluge," the Het-

man of the Cossacks, (a Tartar word, kazak, meaning warrior,) was a semi-independent viceroy.

After the acceptance of Russian suzerainty by the Ukraine under the great Hetman, Khmelnitski, in 1654, the title and authority of the Hetman were at first continued, but his power and privileges were gradually curtailed and finally abolished. It is not certain whether the word Ataman is a modification of Hetman or a Tartar title; at any rate, we find the title, "Ataman of all the Cossacks," coming into use as an appanage of the Czarevitch, or heir apparent of Russia, somewhat as the title of Prince of Wales is an appanage of the heir apparent of England. The Czarevitch was represented by Hetmans by delegation, for each division of the Cossacks, these divisions being military colonies westward as far as the Caspian, like that described by Tolstoy in his novel, "The Cossacks."

Writing in 1799, W. Tooke, in his "View of the Russian Empire," described the insignia of the Hetman as being the truncheon, the national standard, the horsetail, kettledrums and signet, a group of emblems strongly suggesting Tartar influence; the dress of the Cossacks was, likewise, borrowed from that of the Caucasus Mohammedan tribes, and in this Caucasian dress the new Hetman of the Ukraine, Skoropadski, took office at Kiev. His name indicates that he is not a Ruthenian, (Little Russian,) but a Pole. It has been a consistent element of Austrian policy to favor the Poles at the expense of the Ruthenians, with the result that many Poles are strongly pro-Austrian, and hold high office under the Austrian crown.

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Precedents for a Separate Ulster.

WHEN the Dominion of Canada was formed by the British North America act of 1867, it included only four provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, (Ontario and Quebec,) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Provision was made in the act for the voluntary admission of Prince Edward's Island, the Northwest Territories and Newfoundland into the Dominion. While the Northwest Territories took advantage of this provision, and are now organized as the Provinces of Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Yukon and the Northwest Territories, Newfoundland, with Labrador, the latter 120,000 square miles in area, preferred to remain outside the Dominion of Canada, and has a wholly distinct Constitution and administration, as independent of Canada as is that, for example, of British Guiana. Compulsion was never suggested to bring Newfoundland and Labrador within the Dominion of Canada, though Labrador is geographically a part of the Canadian mainland.

In Australia likewise the union of the colonies was entirely voluntary. Five of these, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania, by legislative enactments, approved by the direct vote of the electors, declared their desire for a federal union, and the Imperial Parliament gave effect to this by the act of July 9, 1900. This act provided for the inclusion of Western Australia in the Australian Commonwealth, if that colony so desired; and Western Australia shortly expressed and carried out that desire.

The population of Ulster in 1911 was 1,581,696, (that of Belfast being 386,947;) the population of Newfoundland with Labrador in 1914 was 251,726; the population of Western Australia when it exercised the option of inclusion in the Commonwealth of Australia was 184,114; it has since nearly doubled. A similar case of separate treatment, this time within the United States, is that of West Virginia, which, in 1862, determined to remain within the Union when the rest of Virginia seceded. West Virginia became a State on Dec. 31, 1862, and was not re-integrated in the Old Dominion at the close of the civil war.

* * *

Court-Martial in Italy.

FOUR principal Directors of the Genoese Electrical Power Company, named Königsheim, Ampt, Martelli, and Hess, early in April were sentenced to death by court-martial at Milan by being "shot in the spine," and a decoy girl

was doomed to twenty years' imprisonment, while three associates were relegated to the galleys for life. It was proved that the condemned men received from Germany wireless messages, to be forwarded to North and South America for the purposes of its underseas campaign, and incriminating letters of their treasonable acts were discovered. Ampt and his three co-Directors received a decoration from the Imperial Government, but were so successful in deceiving the Italian Government that they were subsequently decorated as Cavalieres of the Crown of Italy.

* * *

American Trade Pact with Norway.

THE signing of a general commercial agreement between the United States and Norway—the first agreement of the kind to be entered into by America with one of the North European neutrals—was announced by the War Trade Board on May 3, 1918. It was signed by Vance McCormick, Chairman of the War Trade Board, and Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the famous explorer, who was sent to the United States at the head of a special mission.

Under the agreement Norway is assured of supplies to cover her estimated needs so far as they can be furnished without detriment to the war needs of the United States and its allies, and Norway, on her part, agrees to permit the exportation to America and its allies of all Norwegian products not needed for home consumption. It is provided that none of the supplies imported from the United States or its allies or forwarded with the aid of American bunker coal shall go directly or indirectly to the Central Powers or be used to replace commodities exported to those countries. This applies to anything produced by any auxiliaries to production obtained under the agreement. In consequence of the agreement the War Trade Board announced on May 9 that exports to Norway were about to be resumed.

Another result of the improved relations between the two countries was the chartering by the United States Shipping Board of 400,000 tons of Norwegian sailing ships, to be put in non-hazardous trades, thereby releasing other ships for traffic in the danger zones. This was one of the most substantial increases which the American-controlled merchant fleet has received since its inception.

* * *

British Shipping Losses

IN the May issue of the Fortnightly Review of London appears the following analysis of the gains and losses of the British merchant navy since the outbreak of the war:

1914 (August to December.)

	Tons.		Tons.
Built	675,610	Total losses..	468,728
Captured from enemy	753,500	Total gains..	1,429,110
Total gains.	1,429,110	Balance ...	+960,382

1915.

Built	650,919	Total losses..	1,103,379
Captured from enemy	11,500	Total gains..	662,419
Total gains.	662,419	Balance in 1915	—440,960
		Brought down from 1914...	+960,382
		Balance at end of 1915.	+519,422

1916.

Built	541,552	Total losses..	1,497,848
Captured from enemy	3,500	Total gains..	545,052
Total gains.	545,052	Balance in 1916	—952,796
		Brought down from 1915..	+519,422
		Balance at end of 1916.	—433,374

1917.

Built	1,163,474	Total losses..	4,009,537
Captured from enemy	11,500	Total gains..	1,174,974
Total gains.	1,174,974	Balance in 1917	—2,834,563
		Brought down from 1916...	—433,374
		Balance at end of 1917	—3,267,937

During the first three months of 1918 the net losses were 367,296 tons; 320,280 tons were built and 687,576 were lost, bringing the adverse balance on April 1, 1918, to 3,635,233 tons.

* * *

Great Britain's War Expenses

THE British Government has issued a White Paper estimating the cost of the war for Great Britain in the year

ending March 31, 1919, at $12,750,000,000, of which $9,305,000,000 is allocated to navy, army, air service, munition and ordnance factories, $205,000,000 to pensions, $750,000 to National War Aims Committee; services not specified, (presumed to include shipping,) $500,000,000; Treasury loans, $1,750,000,000; Board of Trade, $265,000,000; wheat supplies, $230,000,000, of which $200,000,000 is the estimated loss on the sale of the 18-cent loaf of bread. Subsidies toward the sale of potatoes are estimated at $25,000,000; purchases of wool and other raw materials are put at $40,000,000, payment to railways at $175,000,000, and $25,000,000 for timber.

* * *

Hatred Between Italians and Austrians

THE implacable hatred which has developed between Italians and Austrians is illustrated by the following Italian *communiqué*, issued in Rome on Feb. 11, in reply to the Austrian Supreme Command's denial that the Austro-Germans were first to bombard cities from airplanes. It points out that the Austro-Germans first bombarded Udine, Treviso, Padua, Verona, Venice, Ravenna, &c., massacring defenseless and innocent populations and ruining valuable art treasures, and adds:

> The Italians went to Trieste not to bombard citizens and private houses, but the hydroplane stations in which are sheltered the assassins of Venice, and the two vessels of the Monarch type which were kept by the Imperial and Royal Navy behind the dyke, in the hope that the Italian elements of the city would help to protect them and afterward enable them to set out on some heroic enterprise against the defenseless localities on the Adriatic Coast. Immediately the hydroplanes, yielding to the indignation of the whole world, ceased bombarding Venice, and immediately the two vessels of the Monarch type were removed from Trieste, our aerial raids ceased, since an understanding was proposed.
>
> We wage war against the enemy's armed forces, and not against women, children, monuments, and hospitals. In spite of the most solemn denial issued by the Austrians of the acts which, after the first bombardments of Padua, Treviso, and Vicenza at the end of December and the beginning of January, they declared to be a question of reprisals for bombardments, carried out by Franco-British aviators on German towns, the Germans, in substance, gave to be understood what the Austrians hypocritically wished to hide, that is, that the pretext of reprisals enabled them to persevere with their nameless atrocities, which had been imposed upon them by some of their leaders having yielded to the impulses of a criminal mentality. Thus it happened that the Austrian Catholic command, bowing to the orders of the German Lutheran pastors, bombarded Catholic churches in the Italian cities. And so we see the Austro-Hungarian Government—so solicitous for peace and love between nations—sowing hatred which nothing can quench.

* * *

The Origin of the Irish

PERHAPS some light may be shed on the internal divisions which make the solution of the Irish question so nearly impossible by a realization of the fact that the population of Ireland consists of an unassimilated congeries of races, every element of which except one represents foreign invasion and conquest.

The earliest race, short, round-headed, dark, appears to be akin to the Ligurian race of the Mediterranean; this race hunted the huge Irish elks with flint arrows and axes, and may claim to be the real indigenous stock, still surviving in the west. The second race, tall, dark, long-headed, was akin to the Iberians (Basques) of Spain, who also invaded Western France, and who probably built the cromlechs and stone circles, since these are also found in Iberian Spain and Western France, as at Carnac in Brittany. The third race, tall, golden-haired, blue-eyed, came from the Baltic, bringing amber beads, and building chambered pyramids, such as are also found in Denmark. The fourth race to arrive included the Gaels, tall, round-headed, with red hair and gray eyes; they came from Central Europe, probably by way of France.

Each new arrival was followed by wars of conquest, the Gaels finally making themselves predominant, but not exterminating the older races, examples of whom may still be found, with unchanged race characteristics. In 1169 Norman French and Welsh came, as mercenaries in the army of the King of Leinster. The Burkes are descended from the Normans, the Fitzgeralds from the Welsh.

Battles in Picardy and Flanders

Military Review of All Fronts from April 17 to May 18, 1918.

IN order to obtain a view of the situation of the German offensive on April 17, which forms a background for the events to be related in this review, it is necessary to point out a few controlling facts and conditions—some long obvious, some recently revealed.

Ludendorff's major plan, based on the assumed shortness of vision on the part of the Allies, to separate the British from the French and, by isolating the former in the north and driving the latter toward their bases in the south, thereby reach the mouth of the Somme, had failed. It had failed, just as did the plan of Napoleon at Charleroi in 1815 to separate the English from the Prussians. It failed because the military genius of the British General Carey and the French General Fayolle on two separate occasions had closed up gaps in the line of the Allies, and because the vast masses of German troops were incapable, on account of their demoralization, of making the fractures permanent.

It is now evident that the demoralization of General Gough's 5th Army, which began on March 23, not only threatened his junction with Byng's 3d Army, by forming an eight-mile gap between the two—into which, as has already been related, Carey moved his hastily gathered nondescript detachment—but as the 5th Army retreated another gap, gradually lengthening to nearly thirty miles, was opened between its right wing and the 6th French Army. Here General Fayolle, who had just appeared on the field from Italy, did with organized divisions what Carey had done with his scratch volunteers further north.

From statements made before the Reichstag Main Committee, but more especially from letters and diaries found on captured German officers, it appears that both Carey and Fayolle stopped an armed mob, utterly incapable of taking advantage of the situation it had created as a disciplined force. Regiments thrown together, officers separated from their commands, detachments without control, all due to the impetuous rush forward, could not recover in time to

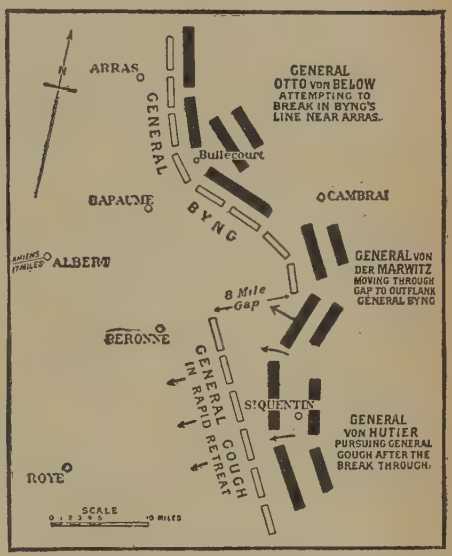


DIAGRAM SHOWING 8-MILE GAP, MARCH 23, WHICH WAS FILLED BY CAREY'S "SCRATCH DIVISION," WHO HELD THE BREACH FOR SIX DAYS

prevent Carey and Fayolle from completing their work.

But Ludendorff's major plan, having failed in the first month of his offensive, could not be repeated in the second. Since April 30 there has been no French, British, Belgian, Portuguese, or American front in Flanders or Picardy—only the front of the Allies, with the troops of their several nations used wherever needed by the supreme commander, Foch.

During the first month of the offensive two angles had been developed by Ludendorff: The first, the great one, in the south, from a base of sixty miles with a forty-mile perpendicular and its vertex near the Somme; the second in the north, from a base of twenty miles

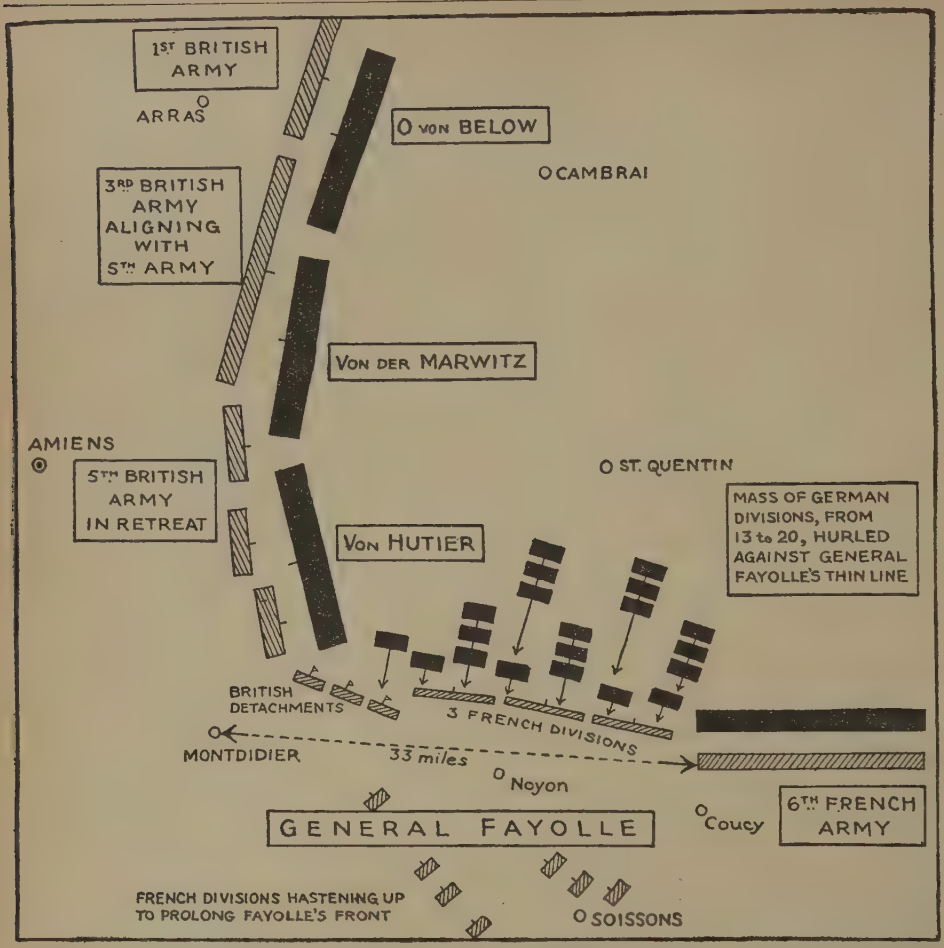


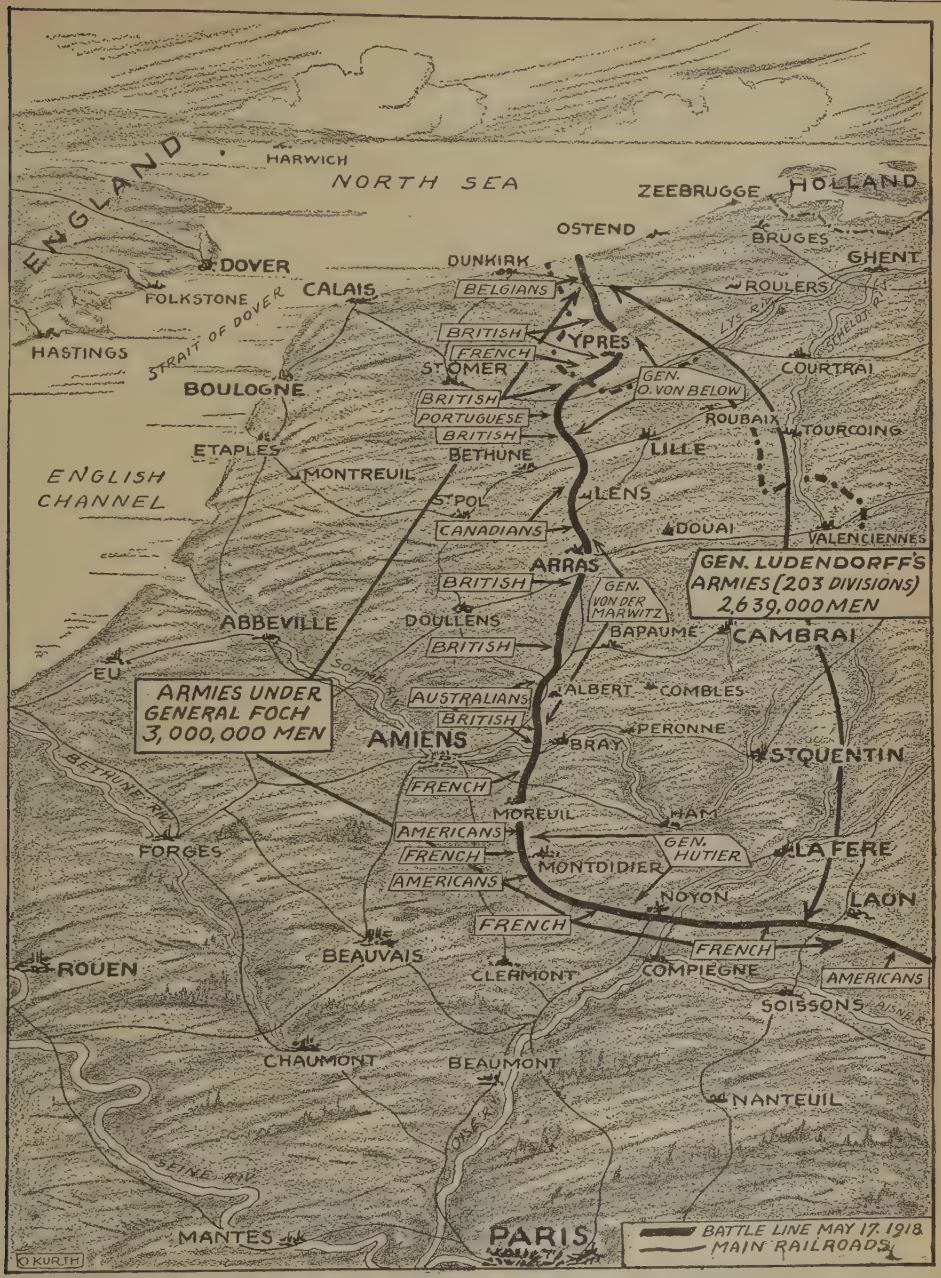
DIAGRAM OF CRITICAL SITUATION, MARCH 24, 1918, WHERE GENERAL FAYOLLE SAVED THE DAY BY THROWING HIS DIVISIONS INTO THE THIRTY-MILE GAP LEFT BY RETIREMENT OF BRITISH 5TH ARMY

with a fifteen-mile perpendicular and its vertex on the edge of the Forest of Nieppe. Between these two angles the original front of Lens, from Bailleul north to Givenchy, still held, fifteen miles in length. There had been voluntary or forced changes made by the Allies east of Ypres and east of Arras.

The corollary in Flanders, unless it could be demonstrated, would be as great a failure as the main proposition in Picardy. And the still possible successful issue of the latter depended absolutely, as we shall see, on a complete demonstration of the former. Both have been so far handicapped by the augmenting mobility of the Allies, their growing numbers, their centralized command, and their successful insistence to control the air.

Such was the situation in Flanders and Picardy which confronted Ludendorff at the dawn of the second month of the German offensive. The whole problem to be solved was just as apparent to the Allies as it was to him—to gain the barriers which threatened his angles of penetration, in order again to utilize his preponderant forces of men and guns on a broad front. To attempt to extend the vertices without broadening the sides would mean to court danger, even destruction, at their weakest points.

His frontal attacks upon Ypres and Arras, respectively from the Passchendaele Ridge and against the Vimy Ridge,



PERSPECTIVE MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF OPPOSING FORCES IN PICARDY AND FLANDERS. THE BLACK ARROW LINE ON THE RIGHT SHOULD NOT BE MISTAKEN FOR THE OLD BATTLELINE, WHICH IS NOT INDICATED AT ALL. GENERAL SIXT VON ARNIM'S FORCE, EAST OF YPRES, WAS INADVERTENTLY OMITTED

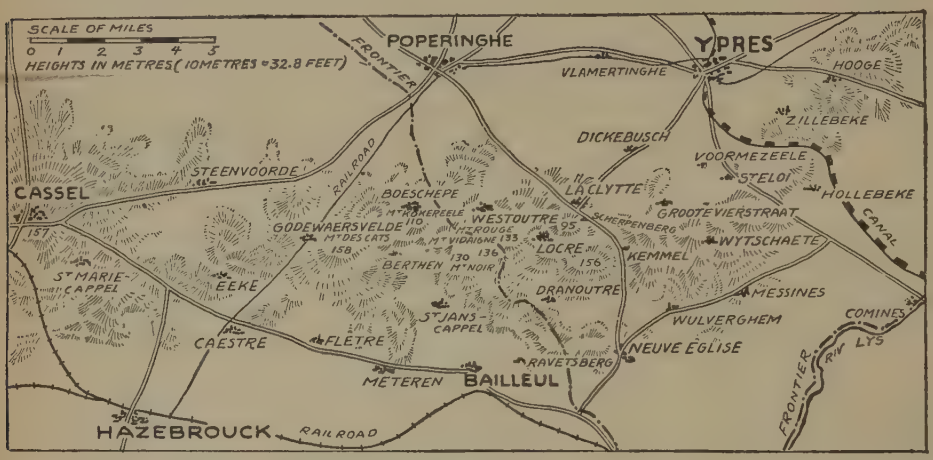
having failed, it became necessary to attempt to flank the Allies by the occupation of their defensive ridges. This explains his successful assaults upon Mont Kemmel, 325 feet high, and his desire to envelop Mont Rouge, 423 feet high, and his persistent attacks along the La Bassée Canal against the heights of Béthune, 141 feet, all preceded by diversions between the Somme and Avre, with

concentrations at Villers-Bretonneux, Hangard, and elsewhere.

On April 18 the French made a feint on both banks of the Avre River south of Hangard, drove in a mile, and picked up some prisoners; simultaneously the Germans, with a force of 137,000, made a heavy assault upon the allied front lying across the La Bassée Canal, with a diversion on the Lys River near St. Venant.

BATTLE FOR MONT KEMMEL

Meanwhile the Germans had been preparing for a decisive assault against Mont Kemmel with ever-augmenting artillery fire and with the concentration of vast numbers of troops on the sidings of the railroad between the villages of Messines and Wytschaete. These troops numbered nine divisions, or about 120,000 men. From the 24th till the 27th they



SCENE OF THE MONTH'S HEAVIEST FIGHTING IN FLANDERS, ESPECIALLY ABOUT MOUNT KEMMEL

Before the day was done they had switched their attack to the Kemmel sector. In all three places the Germans suffered repulse, with the loss of a few hundred prisoners. Four days later the British advanced their lines on the Lys, just as the French had on the Avre. Then on the 24th came the great enemy diversion at Villers-Bretonneux, nine miles southeast of Amiens. Here the Germans used tanks for the first time. The village, lost to the British on the first day, was recovered on the second, when just to the south the French and American troops were hotly contesting with the Germans the possession of Hangard. The sharp salient at this place made it difficult for the Allies to hold, while its retention, except as a site from which losses could be inflicted on the Germans, was unnecessary. Consequently it was evacuated, after the attacking detachment of the Prussian Guards had been annihilated.

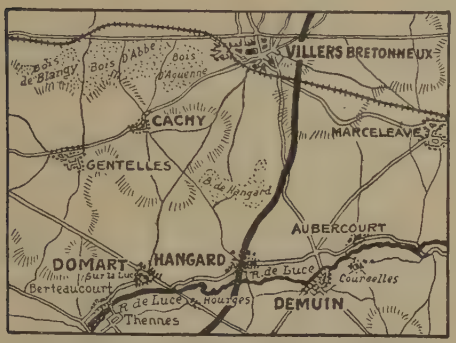
incessantly swung around Mont Kemmel in massed front and flank attacks, until the French and British were forced to give up the height, together with the village of the same name and the village of Dranoutre, retiring on La Clytte and Scherpenberg.

The occupation of Mont Kemmel, however, did not, as Ludendorff had anticipated, force the British out of the Ypres salient, for their voluntary retirement from part of the Passchendaele Ridge on April 17-19 had strengthened the salient, which could hold as long as the line of hills west of Kemmel held — Mont Rouge, Mont Diviagne, Mont des Cats, &c.

The Berlin publicity bureau advertised the fact that a direct thrust at Ypres had brought the Germans to within three miles of the town—an achievement of no particular military value—while it quite ignored the capture of Mont Kemmel, for the simple reason that its value

was now discovered to repose in their ability to carry their occupation throughout the entire range.

This they have since been vainly, except for local advances, trying to do, often employing great forces of men in mass for two or three days at a time—striving vainly to broaden the salient in



REGION OF HANGARD AND VILLERS-BRETONNEUX, WHERE GERMANS USED TANKS FOR THE FIRST TIME

three places: between Dickebusch and Voormezeele, due south from Ypres; by an envelopment of Mont Rouge to the southwest; on the south by an advance in the direction of Béthune.

VON ARNIM'S EFFORTS

In the northern part of the salient the attacks reached their climax on Monday, April 29, when General Sixt von Arnim's army was hurled in wave after wave between Voormezeele and Scherpenberg and on the latter and Mont Rouge, only to end in a repulse, which, on account of the number of men believed to have been lost by the enemy, may be considered a disastrous defeat. All this time a heavy bombardment had been going on in the Béthune region in preparation for an infantry attack there; yet on account of the defeat further north, it could not be delivered.

Henceforth, until May 16, von Arnim was obviously placed on the defensive, whereas the Allies were locally on the offensive, either recovering lost strategic points or consolidating their lines. On May 5, between Locre and Dranoutre, the Franco-British forces advanced on a 1,000-yard front to the depth of 500 yards. On the 8th the Germans made a half-hearted attack on the sector south of Dickebusch Lake and entered British trenches, only to be repulsed with heavy loss. A similar attack the next day between La Clytte and Voormezeele not only met with a similar repulse, but was followed up by a strong British counter-attack which won considerable ground. On the 12th the French captured Hill 44 on the north flank of Kemmel, between La Clytte and Vierstraat.

On May 16 renewed enemy artillery activity on the lines back of Béthune seemed to presage that an infantry attack was intended there. Nothing of this nature ensued, however. On the 15th the Germans made a sudden attack against Hill 44 but were hurled back by the French. On the 16th-17th they maintained a concentrated fire north of Kemmel.

GERMAN ATTACKS ON THE LYS

All these operations on the German northern salient, which is gradually coming to be called the Lys salient, have shown no indication of being intended to pave the way for a renewal of the general offensive in Flanders. Their success might, and probably would, have forced the evacuation of Ypres and affected the Picardy salient with its vertex near Amiens, forcing the evacuation of Arras. But, as we have seen, the operations on the Lys salient, meeting with an overwhelming obstruction on April 29, did not achieve these results. Throughout the next three weeks the manoeuvres of the enemy in Picardy afforded excellent opportunities for counterattacks on the part of the Allies, whose object here has been to punish the enemy as much as possible and to consolidate every strategic position on a broad front in anticipation of a renewal of Germany's original scheme to isolate the allied armies north of the Somme by a dash to the mouth of that river via Amiens.

In these circumstances, the enemy on April 30 launched heavy attacks on the French lines in the region of Hangard and Noyon. These fell down, and on May 2 the French made distinct gains in Hangard Wood and near Mailly-Raineval. The next day the French advanced

their lines between Hailles and Castel, south of the Avre, and captured Hill 82. On the 6th the British advanced their lines between the Somme and the Ancre, southwest of Morlancourt, and in the neighborhood of Locon and the Lawe River, taking prisoners in both places. On the 11th skirmishes southwest of Mailly-Raineval, between Hangard and Montdidier, developed into a pitched battle, in which the French at first lost ground and then recovered it. On May 14 the Germans, after an intense local bombardment, delivered a spirited attack on a mile front of the British southwest of Morlancourt, gaining a footing in their first trenches. Instantly some Australian troops counterattacked and completely re-established the British positions. On the 16th and 17th the enemy showed impressive and portentous artillery activity along the Avre and at Rollott, on the Abbéville road, south of Montdidier, similar in character to that observed north of Kemmel, on the Lys salient.

There are now believed to be over half a million American rifles on the western front, either at definite places or available as reserves. On April 20 a battalion of Germans made a raid on our eight-mile sector south of the Woeuvre, and succeeded in reaching the front-line trenches and taking the village of Seicheprey. Our losses were between 200 and 300; 300 German dead were counted. A detachment of our army, principally artillery, holds a sector of five miles with the French infantry east of Montdidier, on the Picardy front, protecting the Beauvais-Amiens road. Here their fire is principally employed in breaking up German concentrations and transport in and around Montdidier.

THE ZEEBRUGGE RAID

The German submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend on the Belgian coast have been repeatedly bombed from the sea and shelled by British monitors with indifferent results. With the adding of super-U-boats to the German submarine fleet and the increased transatlantic traffic of the Allies the necessity for effectually sealing these bases has long been apparent. Theoretically the nature of the entrance to the harbors of both places, resembling the neck of a bottle, about 250 feet wide, made such a task easy by the sinking of block ships. Practically it was most difficult, on account of both sea obstructions and the shore batteries.

On the night of April 22-23 British naval forces, commanded by Vice Admiral Keyes, with the co-operation of French destroyers, and hidden by a newly devised smoke-screen, invented and here employed by Wing-Commander Brock, attempted to seal up the harbors. At Zeebrugge the enterprise was entirely successful. The Intrepid and Iphigenia were sunk well within and across the narrow channel, the Thetis at the entrance. All three were loaded with cement, which became solid concrete after contact with the water and can be removed only by submarine blasting. A detachment of troops was also landed on the mole from the Vindictive and engaged the crews of the German machine gun batteries stationed there. An old submarine was placed under the bridge of the mole and detonated. A German destroyer and some small craft were sunk. Before the blockships were placed a torpedo had been driven against the lock gates which lead from the channel into the inner harbors. The expedition retired with the loss of fifty officers and 538 men, of whom sixteen officers and 144 men had been killed.

At Ostend, the entrance to whose harbor is protected by no mole, the block ships Sirius and Brilliant were not effectively placed. Against this port the experiment was, therefore, repeated on the night of May 9-10. The Vindictive, with a cargo of concrete, was planted and sunk at the entrance to the channel, but not entirely blocking it.

ITALIAN RAID AT POLA

Another naval exploit of the month worthy of record was the sinking in the Austrian Harbor of Pola of a dreadnought of the Viribus Unitis class (20,000 tons) by Italian naval forces, in the morning of May 15. The achievement was similar to that performed by the

CHARLES M. SCHWAB

Head of the Bethlehem Steel Works, who has been appointed Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation to carry out the Government's shipbuilding program

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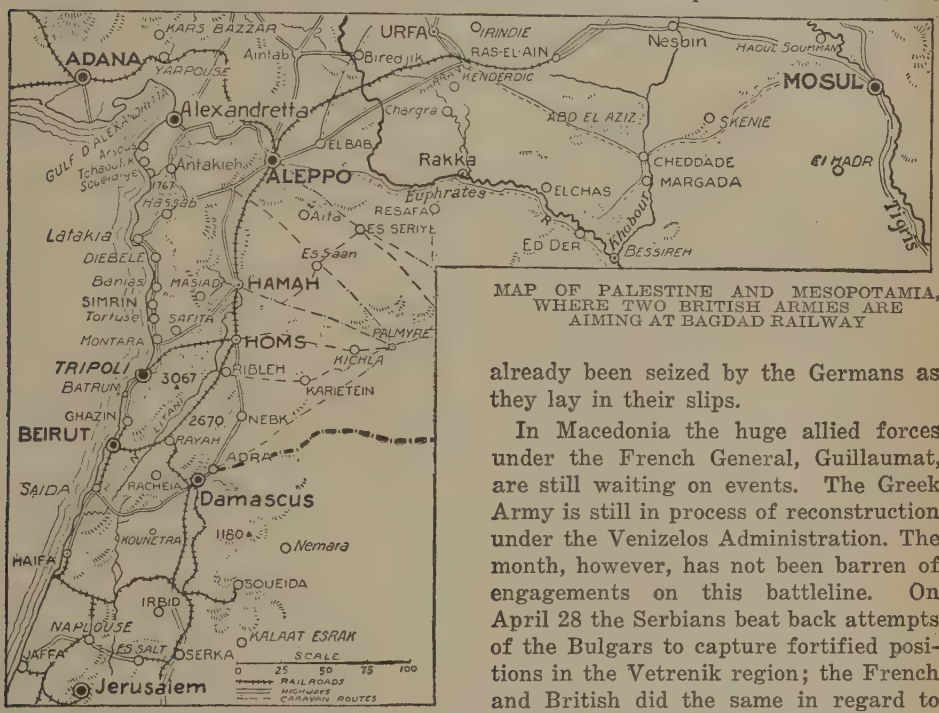
JOHN D. RYAN

President of the Anaconda Copper Company, who has been appointed Director of Aircraft Production for the United States Army

Italians on the night of Dec. 9-10, when a destroyer sawed her way through the steel net protecting the Harbor of Trieste and torpedoed the predreadnoughts Wien and Monarch, (5,000 tons each,) sinking the former. The Harbor of Pola, however, is much more difficult to penetrate. It is three miles deep and entered by a two-mile channel, at certain places less than half a mile wide, and protected along its entire course by strong defenses. A mole covers its mouth, making the channel here less than 1,000 yards wide. Forts Cristo and Musil guard the entrance.



MAP OF PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA, WHERE TWO BRITISH ARMIES ARE AIMING AT BAGDAD RAILWAY

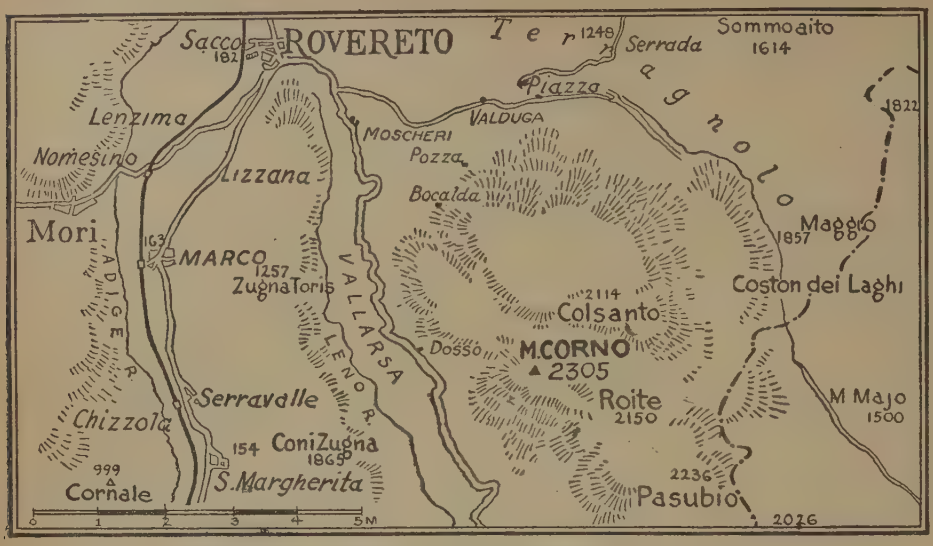
TEUTONIZING THE BLACK SEA

Save for the reports which have come to hand denoting the steady progress of the British forces in Palestine and Mesopotamia, little of importance has occurred in the Near East. Still the Teutonizing of the Black Sea goes steadily on. On May 2 it was announced that a German force had occupied the great Russian fortress of Sebastopol, famous for its protracted siege by the British and French in 1855, and until then considered impregnable. On May 12 part of the Russian Black Sea fleet was taken possession of by the Germans at that place, while the remainder escaped to Novorossysk. Among the captured vessels only the battleship Volga and the protected cruiser Pamiat Merkuria were in serviceable condition. At Odessa a new dreadnought and two protected cruisers had already been seized by the Germans as they lay in their slips.

In Macedonia the huge allied forces under the French General, Guillaumat, are still waiting on events. The Greek Army is still in process of reconstruction under the Venizelos Administration. The month, however, has not been barren of engagements on this battleline. On April 28 the Serbians beat back attempts of the Bulgars to capture fortified positions in the Vetrenik region; the French and British did the same in regard to German attacks aimed at points west of Makovo and south of Lake Doiran. So it has been all the month, the monotony only varied on April 27, when there was intense artillery fire by the allied guns in the neighborhood of Monastir, on the Cerna, and, in the Vetrenik region, a Serbian assault annihilated a Bulgar section.

IN THE NEAR EAST

There has been no serious attempt on the part of the Turks during the month to oppose the expansion of General Allenby's front beyond Jerusalem or the triumphant march of General Marshall up the Euphrates and the Tigris—on the latter river now sixty miles below Mosul, Marshall's obvious objective. The objective of Allenby is Aleppo, where there is said to be a single division of German



SCENE OF LATEST ITALIAN FIGHTING IN THE ALPS

troops in addition to the Turks, who have been forced north from Jerusalem. Allenby and Marshall are advancing along parallel lines with a desert space of about 400 miles between. The Turks and their ally still have possession of the caravan trail and the partly built and entirely surveyed Bagdad Railway, which intersect the prospective parallel paths of Allenby and Marshall, whose lines of communication already reach hundreds of miles to the rear. But while Allenby has a lateral sea communication with Syrian ports, no such advantage is enjoyed by Marshall, who must get all his supplies from the head of the Persian Gulf, 450 miles to the south. Whatever be the force at the disposition of the enemy, it is evident that he will continue to possess a predominating tactical and strategic advantage until he has been decisively defeated at both Aleppo and Mosul or a junction has been established between Allenby and Marshall, or both.

The former's line, which is a sixty-mile front, extending from Arsuf el Haram on the Mediterranean east to the Jordan, took Es-Salt with thirty-three German and 317 Turkish prisoners on May 1—twenty miles north of Jerusalem—which was first occupied by Allenby early in December.

Marshall's advance has been much more rapid. In the week of May 1 his cavalry, in pursuit of the fleeing Turks, advanced twenty miles and captured 1,000 prisoners. On May 7 he was 80 miles from Mosul; on May 10 he was within 60 miles. Allenby is 300 miles from Aleppo and 110 miles from Damascus.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

Without any large movements of troops taking place, several things have occurred since April 18 to invite attention to the Italian front, and much speculation by military men has been indulged in as to whether the resumption of the Teutonic offensive would be from the Piave or south from the Astico-Piave line lying across the Sette Comuni and the Brenta, or from the west of the Adige and the Lago di Garda, in an attempt to reach Brescia and the metallurgic centre of Italy.

And most of the things in question which have occurred have served to restore and augment the confidence of the Italians in their position. A new 2d Army has taken the place of the old, annihilated in the Capporetto campaign. All the lost guns have been replaced and new heavies added. Revolution is, at any moment, expected to break out in Austria-Hungary, while the Congress of

Jugoslavs in Rome on April 9-11 has secured the adhesion to the Allies of the subjects of the Hapsburgs and enabled the Italian Government to make use of them as a fighting force. There are now believed to be no German divisions on the Italian front, where the entire enemy strength, not measurably increased since the snows have disappeared in the north, consists of 800 Austro-Hungarian battalions, or less than 1,000,000 men.

But what has promoted most satisfaction in the Italian Government and people was the decree issued by the Inter-allied Supreme Council of War at Abbéville on May 3, giving General Foch authority to include the Italian front under his supreme command, that front thereby becoming the right wing of the allied battle line in Europe—now "one army, one front, and one supreme command."

That is the way Bonaparte fought his victorious battles in the days of the First Republic, alternately on the Rhine and the Adige. Moreau could not win without Bonaparte, nor Bonaparte without Moreau, while Carnot, in the centre, was the vehicle of transit.

Before the snows made manoeuvres impossible the Italians had closed two gates which threatened the plains of Veneto from the north—one at the junction of the front with the Piave, one at the angle of the Frenzela Torrent and the Brenta River.

Gunfire had been steadily augmenting on the front when, on May 10, they closed another, and on May 15 still another. The first of these was the capture of Monte Corno, which commanded the part up the Vallarsa, the second was a partial recovery of Monte Asolone, between the Brenta and the Piave, sufficient to cover the path up the Val San Lorenzo. Both mountains are really plateaus of about two square miles area each, whose irregular summits the enemy had strongly fortified in order to clear the valleys below. In both places subsequent Austrian counterattacks were broken up.

Meanwhile, Italian aircraft dominate from above. On May 14 the enemy lost eleven airplanes with no losses to the Italians and the British, who were assisting them.

Premier Lloyd George on German Autocracy

Premier Lloyd George wrote the following preface for a volume containing extracts from speeches he delivered during the war:

I have never believed that the war would be a short war, or that in some mysterious way, by negotiation or compromise, we would free Europe from the malignant military autocracy which is endeavoring to trample it into submission and moral death. I have always believed that the machine which has established its despotic control over the minds and the bodies of its victims and then organized and driven them to slaughter in order to extend that control over the rest of the world, would only be destroyed if the free peoples proved themselves strong and steadfast enough to defeat its attempt in arms. The events of the last few weeks must have made it plain to every thinking man that there is no longer room for compromise between the ideals for which we and our enemies stood. Democracy and autocracy have come to death grips. One or the other will fasten its hold on mankind. It is a clear realization of this issue which will be our strength in the trials to come. I have no doubt that freedom will triumph. But whether it will triumph soon or late, after a final supreme effort in the next few months or a long-drawn agony, depends on the vigor and self-sacrifice with which the children of liberty, and especially those behind the lines, dedicate themselves to the struggle. There is no time for ease or delay or debate. The call is imperative. The choice is clear. It is for each free citizen to do his part.

The Greatest Battle of the War

Second Month of the Desperate Fighting in Flanders and Picardy

By Philip Gibbs

Special Correspondent With the British Armies

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The May issue of Current History Magazine contained Philip Gibbs's story of the great German offensive up to April 18, 1918. At that time the Germans were seeking to break the British lines in front of Ypres, as part of their drive for Amiens and the British Channel ports, generally known as the battle of Picardy. The pages here presented are a continuation of his eyewitness narrative of the most sanguinary battle in history.

APRIL 18.—The arrival of French troops on our northern front is the most important act that has happened during the last three or four days, and it was with deep satisfaction that we met these troops on the roads and knew that at last our poor, tired men would get support and help against their overwhelming odds.

Beside the khaki army of the British has grown very quickly an army in blue, the cornflower blue of the French poilus. They are splendid men, hard and solid fellows, who have been war-worn and weather-worn during these three and a half years past, and look the great fighting men who have gone many times into battle and know all that war can teach them in endurance and cunning and quick attack.

As they came marching up the roads to the front they were like a streaming river of blue—blue helmets and coats and blue carts and blue lorries, all blending into one tone through these April mists as they went winding over the countryside and through French market towns, where their own people waved to them, and then through the villages on the edge of the Flanders battlefields, where they waited to go into action under shell-broken walls or under hedges above which British shellfire traveled, or in fields where they made their bivouacs, and fragrant steams arose to one's nostrils as cuistots lifted the lids of stewpans and hungry men gathered around after a long march.

The attack this morning from Robecq, below St. Venant, down to Givenchy, is a serious effort to gain La Bassée Canal and form a strong defensive flank for the enemy while he proceeds with his battles further north and also to get more elbow room from the salient in which he is narrowly wedged below Merville.

For this purpose he brought up several more divisions, including the 239th, which was in the Somme fighting of March, but not heavily engaged. This one attacked the British at Robecq and was repulsed with heavy losses. It was at a place called La Bacquerolles Farm, near Robecq, where after heavy shelling last night the enemy rushed one of the outposts at 10 o'clock. In order to facilitate the attack this morning of German divisions north and south at 4 o'clock the German guns began a heavy bombardment of the British lines as far down as Givenchy and maintained it for five hours, using large numbers of gas shells, on account of the east wind, which was in their favor.

His guns shelled the bridges across the canal in the hope of preventing the British supports going up. Then his troops

came forward in waves on a wide front. They were in immense numbers as usual, with many mixed battalions. One of the British units today took prisoners from ten different regiments. There were some ten German divisions facing four British ones north of Béthune, and all along the line the troops were much outnumbered; nevertheless, the enemy was repulsed at all but a few points of attack and beaten back bloodily.

THE GHASTLY LOSSES

In this battle one regiment of the 42d German Division has lost over 50 per cent. of its strength, and other losses are on a similar scale. These ghastly casualties have been piling up along this line between Merville and Béthune since the 13th of this month, when the Germans made a series of small attacks as a prelude to today's battle, owing, it seems, to battalion officers taking the initiative without orders from the High Command, in order to push forward and break the British lines if they could find weakness there.

On the 13th and 14th some of the South Country troops were attacked by strong forces repeatedly, and on the second day for five hours at a stretch the enemy endeavored to come across from houses and inclosures west of Merville toward St. Venant. For those five hours the South Country lads fired with rifles, Lewis guns, and machine guns into solid bodies of Germans, and their field guns tore gaps in the enemy's formations and broke up their assemblies before the attacks could proceed. One advance in five waves was mown down before it could make any progress, and others were dealt with in the same way.

Mr. Gibbs describes the German repulse between Robecq and Givenchy as a "black day for the enemy," and continues:

April 19.—At the end of the day all the enemy's efforts ended in bloody failure, in spite of the daring and courage of his troops, who sacrificed themselves under the British fire, but were only able to gain a few bits of trench work and one or two outposts below the fortified works at Givenchy, which are quite useless to them for immediate or future use.

It was a big attack, for which they had prepared in a formidable way. After the shock of their repulse by the Lancashire men of the 55th Division they increased their strength of heavy artillery by three times bringing up large numbers of howitzers, including eleven-inch monsters. They were massed in divisions in front of us and determined to smash through in the wake of a tremendous bombardment.

BRITISH UNDER FIRE

For five hours, as I said, this storm went on with high explosives and gas, and the devoted British had to suffer this infernal thing, the worst ordeal human beings may be called upon to bear, this standing to while all the earth upheaved and the air was thick with shell splinters.

But when the bombardment had passed and the German infantry came forward the British received them with blasts of machine-gun fire, incessant volleys of rifle fire, and a trench mortar bombardment that burst with the deadliest effect among the attacking troops.

This trench mortar barrage of the British was one of the most awful means of slaughter yesterday, especially when the enemy tried to cross La Bassée Canal further north, and in that sector the infantry and gunner officers say more Germans were killed yesterday along the canal bank than on any other day since the fighting in this neighborhood. One battery of trench mortars did most deadly execution until their pits were surrounded, and only two of their crews were able to escape.

The machine gunners fought out in the open after some of their positions had been wiped out by gunfire, caught the enemy waves at fifty yards' range, and mowed them down; but the enemy was not checked for a long time, despite his losses, and when one body fell another came up to fill its place and press on into any gap that had been made by their artillery or their own machine-gun sections.

There was one such momentary gap

between a body of the Black Watch, who had been weakened by shellfire, and some of their comrades further north, and into this the enemy tried to force a way. Other Scottish troops were in reserve, and when it became clear that a portion of the line was endangered by this turning movement they came forward with grim intent, and by a fierce counterattack swept through the gap and flung back the enemy, so that the position was restored.

Further north some Gloucesters were fighting the enemy both ways, as once before in history, when they fought back to back, thereby winning the honor of wearing their cap badge back and front, which they do to this day. The Germans had worked behind them as well as in front of them, and they were in a tight corner, but did not yield, and finally, after hard fighting, cleared the ground about them.

Meanwhile further south some Lancashire troops on the canal lost some parts of their front line under an intense bombardment, but still fought on in the open, repulsing every effort to drive them back and smashing the enemy out of their positions, so that only remnants of the German outposts clung on until late last night, up to which time there was savage strife on both sides.

FIGHTING FOR THE CANAL

Extraordinary scenes took place on the canal bank when the enemy tried to cross. In the twilight of early dawn a party came out of a wood and tried to get across the water, but was seen by the British machine gunners and shot down.

Then another body of men advanced and carried with them a floating bridge, but when those who were not hit reached the water's edge they found the bridge as fixed did not reach to the other side. Some of them walked on it, expecting perhaps to jump the gap, but were shot off, and other men on the bank also were caught under British fire.

A Corporal went down to the canal edge and flung hand grenades at the Germans still struggling to fix the bridge, and then a Lieutenant and a few men rushed down and pulled the bridge on to their side of the bank.

Later this young officer saw one of the British pontoons drifting down and swam to it and made it fast beyond the enemy's reach, but in a position so that some of his men ran across and caught the enemy under their fire on his side of the canal.

At 7 o'clock yesterday morning, while a handkerchief was hoisted by the enemy, three hundred of them made signs of surrender. Some of them changed their minds at the last moment and ran away, but 150 gave themselves up, and some of them swam the canal in order to reach our side for this purpose. They were shivering in their wet clothes and in the northeast wind, which lashed over the battle lines yesterday, and they were very miserable men.

THE BELGIAN VICTORY

Mr. Gibbs declares that had the Germans been able to pass Givenchy or cross the canal north of Béthune on the 18th and 19th the result would have proved disastrous. He gives credit for the repulse to the British and French combined lines. He thus describes the achievement of the Belgians on April 17:

The Germans on the 17th pressed the attack in force against the Belgians. Besides three regiments of the 1st Landwehr Division usually holding this sector, between the Ypres-Staden railway and Kippe, they brought up from Dixmude—poor Dixmude, into whose flaming ruins I went when it was first bombarded in October, 1914—two regiments of the 6th Bavarian Division, and from the coast the 5th Matrosen Regiment of the 2d Naval Division, with a regiment of the 58th Saxons. It was a heavy force, and they hoped to surprise and annihilate the Belgian resistance by their weight and quickness of attack.

The Belgians were waiting for them, standing, too, in those swampy fields which they have held against the enemy for three and a half years, always shelled, always paying daily a toll of life and limb, not getting much glory or recognition because of the great battles elsewhere, but patient and enduring as when I knew them on the Yser in the first dreadful Winter of the war, and their little regular army fought to a finish.

Even before the battle the German marines,

Saxon troops, and Landwehr suffered misery and lost many men. They lay out in the flat, wet fields two nights previously, and were very cold, and scared by the Belgian gunfire which burst among them. They had no great artillery behind them, and the Saxons and German sailors now prisoners of the Belgians curse bitterly because they were expected to get through easily in spite of this.

Germans Cut Off

The enemy's intention was to take Bixschoote and advance across the Yser Canal, driving south to Poperinghe. What they did by their massed attacks was to penetrate to a point near Hoekske, southeast of Merckem, the main weight of their pressure being directed along the Bixschoote road. The Belgians delivered a quick counterattack, with wonderful enthusiasm among officers and men. They had perfect knowledge of the country, and used this fully by striking up from a place called Luyghem in such a way that the enemy was driven toward the swamp, where any who went in sank up to his neck in the ice-cold water.

The Germans were cut off from their own lines and trapped. Seven hundred of them surrendered, men of all the regiments I have mentioned, and they seemed to think themselves lucky at getting off so cheaply, though they quailed when they were brought back through the towns behind the lines, and the Belgian women, remembering many things, raised a cry as these men passed. It was not a pleasant sound. I heard it once in France when a German officer passed through with an escort. It was a cry which made my blood run cold. But there is gladness among the Belgian troops, for they had long waited for their chance of striking, and made good.

Heroism of the Doctors

As heroic a story as anything in all this history of the last four weeks is that of the medical officers, nurses, orderlies, and ambulance men belonging to these casualty clearing stations, who were not far behind the fighting lines when the battle began on March 21.

And then in a few hours they were on the very edge of the enemy's advancing tide, so that they were almost caught by it and had to make brave efforts to rescue the wounded, save their equipment, and get away to a place where for a little while again they could go on with their noble work until the red edge of war swept up with its fire again and they had to retreat still further.

I used to pass very often the outer ring of those casualty clearing stations on the right of the British line beyond Bapaume, in the Cambrai salient, and away toward St. Quentin.

They were almost caught on that day of March 21 when the infernal bombardment was flung over a wide belt of the British lines, and the enemy stormed the defenses and the British fought back in heroic rearguard actions. It became a question of only a few hours, sometimes of the last quarter of an hour, when these brave medical officers with the nurses and orderlies could get away.

It is always the rule of patients first, and at Ham there were 1,200 wounded, and many others in other places. The railways were choked with military transport or destroyed by shellfire. On the roads refugees were mixed up with the transport and guns and troops. It was a frightful problem, but the medical staffs did not lose their nerve, and set about the business of removal with fine skill and discipline.

Caring for the Wounded

What wounded could walk were gathered together and sent on to the roads to make their way back as far as their strength would carry them. The badly wounded were packed into all the available ambulances and sent away. The equipment had sometimes to be put on any train, regardless of its destination. It was gathered in afterward from whatever place it went to.

A casualty clearing station of 1,000 beds needs 100 lorries to move it, but nine lorries take a full kit for 200 beds, and always nine lorries moved off first after the wounded to take up a new station further back and carry on. The medical officers looked after the surgical instruments and trundled them along the roads on wheeled stretchers. One officer went twenty-five miles this way and another seventeen miles. The sisters, after the wounded had left, were put on any vehicle going back from the battleline.

During these days I saw them squeezed between drivers and men on motor lorries, sitting among the Tommies in transport wagons, one at least on a gun limber, and others perched on top of forage, still merry and bright in spite of all the tragedy about them, because that is their training and their faith.

In this retreat one poor sister was killed and another wounded. Many of them, with the medical officers, lost their kits. At Achiet le Grand, on March 21, a shell killed eight orderlies and blew out the back of the operating theatre, and at another village on a second night, three ambulances were smashed up by bombs. Two drivers, with some of their patients, were killed, but all the wounded were brought away from the outer ring of casualty clearing stations safely, and then from the second ring through Roye and Marincourt, Dernacourt, and Aveluy.

At Roye there was no time to spare, owing to the enemy's rapid advance, and seventy patients remained with a medical officer and twelve orderlies until they could be rescued, if there was any possible chance. There seemed at first no chance, but on the way back to Villers-Bretonneux the medical offi-

cer in command of the first convoy met some motor ambulances and begged the drivers to go into Roye and rescue those who had been left behind. They went bravely and brought away all the wounded and the staff, and had no time to spare, because the last ambulance came under the German rifle fire.

It is a strange and wonderful thing that the patients do not seem to be harmed in any way by this excitement and fatigue, and one of the chiefs who made a tour of inspection of all his clearing stations at this time tells us he found all the wounded in good condition and apparently no worse for their experience.

Fall of Villers-Bretonneux

On April 24 the Germans attacked the important village of Villers-Bretonneux, near Amiens; it is on a hill above the Somme, and was used as a corps headquarters and administrative office by the British. The attack was in great force, including tanks, the first time they had been used by the Germans.

The initial assault was a success and the Germans took the village and advanced nearly a mile beyond—but let Mr. Gibbs tell the rest:

During the night they were driven out by Australian troops, who, by a most skillful and daring piece of generalship, were sent forward in the darkness without preliminary artillery preparation, and, relying absolutely on the weapons they carried to regain this important portion, which gave the enemy full observation of the British positions on both sides of the Somme Valley beyond Amiens.

The splendid courage of the Australian troops, the cunning of their machine gunners, and the fine leadership of their officers achieved success, and, in conjunction with English battalions, they spent the night clearing out the enemy from the village, where he made a desperate resistance, and brought back altogther something like 700 or 800 prisoners.

It was a complete reversal of fortune for the enemy, and in this twenty-four hours of fighting he has lost great numbers of men, whose bodies lie in heaps between Villers-Bretonneux and Warfusee and all about the ruins and fields in that neighborhood.

First German Tanks

The attack on Villers-Bretonneux was made by four divisions. They were the 4th Guards, the 77th, quite new to this phase of the war, the 228th, and the 243d. They were in the full strength of divisions, twelve regiments in each, and a great weight of men on such a narrow front against one British division, whose men had already been under frightful fire and had been living in clouds of poison gas with masks on.

An officer of the Middlesex was in a bit of a trench when the first German tank attacked his men on the east side of the village, and it went right over him as he lay crouched, and traveled on, accompanied by bodies of troops.

The Middlesex and West Yorks put up a great fight but had to give ground to superior numbers. The East Lancashires, who were the garrison of Villers-Bretonneux, were also attacked with great odds, and after a brave resistance fell back with the general line, which took up a position toward the end of this first phase of the battle west of Villers-Bretonneux and in the edge of Bois Abbé to the left of it. Into this wood in the course of the day a German patrol of one officer and forty men made their way and stayed there out of touch with their own men, and were taken prisoners last night.

The Night Battle

The attack by the Australians was made after 10 o'clock at night. It was difficult to attack suddenly like this. There was no artillery preparation. There should have been a moon, but by bad luck it was veiled in a thick, wet mist.

It was decided by the Australian General that his men should go straight into the attack with bayonet and machine gun, not waiting for artillery protection which would tell the enemy what was coming.

The plan of attack was to push forward in two bodies and to encircle Villers-Bretonneux, while some Northamptons and others were in the centre with the order to fight through the village from the north. This manoeuvre was carried out owing to the magnificent courage of each Australian soldier and the gallantry of the officers.

The Germans fought desperately when they found themselves in danger of being trapped. They had nests of machine guns along the railway embankment below the village, and these fired fiercely, sweeping the attackers who tried to advance upon them.

Those who worked around north and east of the village also came under a burst of machine-gun fire from weapons hidden among the ruins and trenches, but they rounded up the enemy and fought him from one bit of ruin to another in streets which used to be filled with civilian life only a few weeks ago and crowded with staff officers and staff cars, but now were littered with dead bodies and raked by bullets.

The Australians captured two light field guns, which the enemy had brought up in the morning, according to his present habit of advancing guns behind his third wave of men, and several minenwerfer and many machine guns.

Great Piles of Dead

During the night they and the English troops seized over 500 men as prisoners and sent them back, and several hundred seem to have been routed out. Today, [the 25th,] judging from these I saw myself, the living were not so many as the dead.

It was fierce fighting in Villers-Bretonneux

and around it last night and this morning the enemy fought until put out by bayonet, rifle bullet, or machine gun. The Australian officers say that they have never seen such piles of dead, not even outside of Bullecourt or Lagnicourt last year, as those who lie about this village of frightful strife.

The German tanks, which were first seen in this battle, though heavier than the British, with bigger guns, have now beaten a retreat, leaving one of their type in No Man's Land. The tank has a high turret and thick armor plates, and is steered and worked on a different system from the British. One of them was "killed" by a tank of the old British class, and then the British put in some of the newer, faster, and smaller types, which can steer almost as easily as a motor car, as I know, because I have traveled in one at great pace over rough ground.

These set out to attack bodies of German infantry of the 77th Division forming up near Cachy. It was a terrible encounter, and when they returned this morning their flanks were red with blood. They slew Germans not by dozens nor by scores, but by platoons and companies. They got right among the masses of men and swept them with fire, and those they did not kill with their guns they crushed beneath them, manoeuvring about and trampling them down as they fell. It seems to have been as bloody a slaughter as anything in this war.

Battle for Kemmel Hill

The furious battle for the possession of Kemmel Hill, an eminence of strategic importance in the Ypres region, occurred April 25, 26, and 27, and was as sanguinary as any in Flanders. Although the Germans won the hill, their victory involved such colossal sacrifices that this deadly thrust ended their serious offensive for the time. Mr. Gibbs's description of this battle in part follows:

After several attempts against Kemmel had been frustrated the enemy all went out, April 25, to capture this position. Four divisions at least, including the Alpine Corps, the 11th Bavarians, and the 5th, 6th, and 107th, were moved against Kemmel in the early morning fog after a tremendous bombardment of the Franco-British positions. It was a bombardment that begun before the first glimmer of dawn, like one of those which the British used to arrange in the days of their great Flanders battles last year. It came down swamping Kemmel Hill so that it was like a volcano, and stretched away on to the British lines on the left of the French by Maedelstede Farm and Grand Bois down to Vierstraat.

Then the German infantry attacked in depth, battalion behind battalion, division behind division, and their mountain troops of Alpine Corps and Jägers and Bavarians came on first in the assault of Kemmel Hill, which was not much more than a hillock, though it looms large in Flanders, and in this war. The French had suffered a terrible ordeal of fire, and the main thrust of the German strength was against them.

Foe Strikes in Two Directions

The enemy struck in two directions to encircle the hill and village of Kemmel, one arrowhead striking to Dranoutre and the other at the point of junction between the French and British northward.

In each case they were favored by fog and the effect of their gunfire. They were able to drive in a wedge which they pushed forward until they had caused gaps. The French on Kemmel Hill became isolated and there was a gulf between the British and the French and between the French left and right.

On the hill the French garrison fought with splendid heroism. These men, when quite surrounded, would not yield, but served their machine guns and rifles for many hours, determined to hold their positions at all costs, and to the death. Small parties of them on the west of the hill held out until midday or beyond, according to the reports of the airmen, who flew low over them, but by 9 o'clock this morning, owing to the gaps made by the enemy, the French main line was compelled to draw back from Kemmel.

They inflicted severe losses on the enemy as they fell back and thwarted his efforts to break their line on the new defensive positions. Meanwhile a body of Scottish troops were seriously involved. Some of their officers whom I saw today tell me the fog was so thick, as on March 21, that after a terrific bombardment the first thing known at some points a little way behind the line was when the Germans were all around them.

Germans Under Von Arnim

The German army of assault upon Kemmel and the surrounding country was under command of General Sixt von Arnim, who was the leading opponent of the Allies in the long struggle of the first Somme battles, and whose clear and ruthless intelligence was revealed in the famous document summing up the first phase of that fighting, when he frankly confessed to many failures of organization and supply, but with acute criticism which was not that of a weak or indecisive man.

Under his command as corps commanders were Generals Seiger and von Eberhardt, and they had picked troops, including the Alpine Corps and strong Bavarian and Prussian divisions specially trained for assault in such country as that of Kemmel. Their plan of attack to strike at the points of junction between the French and British east of Kemmel, and also at the French troops south of it, near Dranoutre, proved for the time successful, and by driving in wedges they were able to make the Allies fall back on the flanks and encircle Kemmel Hill after furious and heroic fighting by the French and British troops.

The British now were in weak numbers compared with the strength brought against them. Their withdrawal to the new lines of defense by Vierstraat and the furious attacks across the Ypres-Comines Canal gave the enemy some ground in the region of St. Eloi and the bluff and the spoil bank of the canal itself. It is villainous ground there, foul with wreckage of the old fighting.

British troops and Canadian troops were put to the supreme test of courage to take and hold these places. The glorious old 3d Division, commanded in those days of 1915 and 1916 by General Haldane, fought from St. Eloi to the bluff, month in and month out, and lost many gallant officers and men there after acts of courage which belong to history.

German storm troops made three violent attacks on Locre, which were flung back by the French, with heavy casualties among the enemy, and it was only at the fourth attempt with fresh reserves that they were able to enter the ruins of the village, from which the French then fell back in order to reorganize for a counterattack. This they launched today at an early hour, and now Locre is in their hands after close fighting, in which they slew numbers of the enemy.

After their success on April 25, when they captured Kemmel, the Germans have made little progress, and, though there was fierce fighting all day yesterday, they failed to gain their objectives, and were raked by fire hour after hour, so that large numbers of their dead lie on the field of battle. At 4 in the afternoon they engaged in fresh assaults upon the positions near Ridge Wood, to which the line had fallen back, but English and Scottish troops repulsed them and scattered their waves. It was a bad day for them because of their great losses. The British have broken the fighting quality of some of the enemy's most renowned regiments.

The Country Devastated

All the roads and camps around Ypres are under a heavy, harassing fire once more, Ypres itself being savagely bombarded by high-explosive and gas shells, so that after some months of respite those poor ruins are again under that black spell which makes them the most sinister place in the world. Suicide Corner has come into its own again, and the old unhealthy plague spots up by the canal are under fire.

The enemy's guns are reaching out to fields and villages hitherto untouched by fire, and these harassing shots, intended, perhaps, to catch traffic on the roads or soldiers' camps, often serve the enemy no more than by the death of innocent women and children. A day or two ago a monstrous shell fell just outside a little Flemish cottage tucked away in an angle of a road which I often pass. It scooped out a deep pit in the garden without even scarring the cottage walls, but two children were playing in the garden and were laid dead beside a flower bed.

Yesterday a small boy I know went grubbing about this plot of earth and brought back a great chunk of shell bigger than his head. Those are the games children play in this merry century of ours. They are astoundingly indifferent to the perils about them, and sleep o' nights to the thunder of gunfire not very far away, or slip their heads under the bedclothes when bombs fall near.

But older folk find this gradual creeping up of the war a nervous strain and a mental agony which keeps them on the rack. It is pitiful to watch their doubts and perplexities and their clinging on to their homes and property. Shells smash outlying cottages to dust with their people inside them, but still the people in the village itself stay on, hoping against hope that the Germans' guns have reached their furthest range.

"I shall not go till the first shell falls in the middle of the square," said a girl.

Another woman said:

"If I go I lose all I have in life, so I will risk another day."

They take extraordinary risks, and our officers and men find some of them on the very battlefields and in farmyards where they unlimber their guns.

Heavy German Losses

The enemy's losses in this continual fighting have been severe. We have been able to get actual figures of some of their casualties, which are typical of the more general effect of the British fire. Of one company of the 7th German Division which fought at St. Eloi on Friday only 40 men remained out of its full strength of 120.

The 4th Ersatz Division lost most heavily, and a prisoner of the 279th Pioneer Company, which relieved the 360th Regiment of that division, says the average company strength was fifteen men.

The entire regimental staff was killed by a direct hit of a British shell on their headquarters dugout near Cantieux. The same thing happened to the battalion headquarters of the 223d Regiment, which is now in a state of low morale, having been fearfully cut up.

The 1st Guards Reserve Regiment of the 1st Guards Division, which was much weakened in the fighting on the Somme and afterward was sent to La Bassée, lost thirty-six officers, including a regimental commander and one battalion commander. These losses are affecting inevitably the outlook of the German troops on the prospects of their continued offensive.

Prisoners from divisions which suffered most confess they have no further enthusiasm for fighting, and that their regiments can only be made to attack by stern discipline and the knowledge that they must fight on or be shot for desertion.

On the other hand, the best German troops, especially those now attacking in Flanders, like the Alpine Corps and 11th Bavarian Division, are elated and full of warlike spirit.

Even their prisoners profess to believe they

are winning the war and will have a German peace before the year is out.

Desperate Fighting for Ypres

The Germans vainly launched desperate attacks of unexampled fury against the British and French lines in the Ypres region on April 29. Mr. Gibbs in his cable dispatch of that date thus refers to these assaults:

It becomes clearer every hour that the enemy suffered a disastrous defeat today. Attack after attack was smashed up by the British artillery and infantry, and he has not made a foot of ground on the British front.

The Border Regiment this morning repulsed four heavy assaults on the Kemmel-La Clytte road, where there was extremely hard fighting, and destroyed the enemy each time.

One of the enemy's main thrusts was between Scherpenberg and Mont Rouge, where they made a wedge for a time and captured the crossroads, and it was here that a gallant French counterattack swept them back.

The British had no more than a post or two in Voormezeele this morning, and the enemy was there in greater strength, and sent his storm troops through this place, but was never able to advance against the fire of the British battalions.

His losses began yesterday, when his troops were seen massing on the road between Zillebeke and Ypres in a dense fog, through which he attempted to make a surprise attack. This was observed by low-flying planes, and his assembly was shattered by gunfire. After a fierce shelling all night, so tremendous along the whole northern front that the countryside was shaken by its tumult, German troops again assembled in the early morning mist, but were caught once more in the British bombardment.

At 3 o'clock a tremendous barrage was flung down by the German gunners from Ypres to Bailleul, and later they began the battle by launching first an attack between Zillebeke Lake and Meteren. South of Ypres they crossed the Yser Canal by Lock 8, near Voormezeele, which was their direction of attack against the British, while they tried to drive up past Locre against the French on the three hills.

The successful defense has made the day most bloody for many German regiments.

Enemy's Attacks Futile

In order to turn them if frontal attacks failed against the French, German storm troops—they are now called grocskampf, or great offensive troops—were to break the British lines on the French left between Locre and Voormezeele and on the French right near Merris and Meteren. That obviously was the intention of the German High Command this morning, judging from their direction of assault.

So far they have failed utterly. They failed to break or bend the British wings on the French centre, and they failed to capture the hills, or any one of them, defended by the French divisions.

They have attacked again and again since this morning's dawn, heavy forces of German infantry being sent forward after their first waves against Scherpenberg and Voormezeele, which lies to the east of Dickebusch Lake, but these men have been slaughtered by the French and British fire and made no important progress at any point.

For a time the situation seemed critical at one or two points, and it was reported that the Germans had been storming the slopes of Mont Rouge and Mont Noir, but one of the British airmen flew over these hills at 200 feet above their crests, and could see no German infantry near them.

Round about Voormezeele, North Country and other English battalions had to sustain determined and furious efforts of Alpine and Bavarian troops to drive through them by weight of numbers, after hours of intense bombardment, but the men held their ground and inflicted severe punishment upon the enemy.

All through the day the German losses have been heavy under field-gun and machine-gun fire, and the British batteries, alongside the French seventy-fives, swept down the enemy's advancing waves and his masses assembled in support at short range.

There is no doubt that the French guarding the three hills have fought with extreme valor and skill. For a brief period the Germans apparently were able to draw near and take some of the ground near Locre, but an immediate counterattack was organized by the French General, and the line of French troops swung forward and swept the enemy back. Further attacks by the Germans north of Ypres and on the Belgian front were repulsed easily, and again the enemy lost many men.

French and British Valor

On April 30 Mr. Gibbs confirmed the details of the disastrous German defeats on the two preceding days and gave these further particulars:

It was the valor of Frenchmen as well as Englishmen which yesterday inflicted defeat upon many German divisions, and the Allies fought side by side, and their batteries fired from the same fields and their wounded came back along the same roads, and the khaki and blue lay out upon the same brown earth.

I have already given an outline of yesterday's battle, how, after a colossal bombardment, the German attack early in the morning from north of Ypres to south of Voormezeele, where English battalions held the lines, and from La Clytte past the three hills of Scherpenberg, Mont Rouge, and Mont Noir, which French troops held to the north of Meteren, where the English joined them; again, how the English Tommies held firm

against desperate assaults until late in the evening; how the enemy made a great thrust against the French, driving in for a time between Scherpenberg and Mont Noir until they were flung back by a French counter-attack.

In the night the French, who had now regained all the ground that had been temporarily in the enemy's hands, made a general counterattack and succeeded in advancing their line to a depth of about fifteen hundred yards beyond the line of the three hills, which thereby was made more secure against future assaults.

Deadly Machine-Gun Work

Meanwhile throughout the day the English battalions had been sustaining heavy assaults, breaking the enemy against their front. The Leicesters, especially, had fierce fighting about Voormezeele, where, as I told yesterday, the enemy was in the centre of the village. German storm troops advanced against our men here and along other parts of the line with fixed bayonets, but in most places, except Voormezeele, where there was close fighting, they were mowed down by Lewis-gun fire before they could get near. Line after line of them came on, but lost heavily and fell back.

Over the ground east of Dickebusch Lake some Yorkshire troops saw these groups of field gray men advancing upon them, and the glint of their bayonets, wet in the morning mist, and swept them with bullets from the Lewis guns and rifles until heaps of bodies were lying out there on the mud flats in the old Ypres salient. The most determined assaults were concentrated upon the 25th Division, but it held firm and would not budge, though the men had been under fearful fire in the night bombardment, and their machine gunners kept their triggers pressed, and bullets played upon the advancing Germans like a stream from a garden hose.

The troops in the whole division yielded no yard of ground and they hold that they killed as many Germans as any battalion in this battle. It was a black day for Germany. More than ten German divisions, probably thirteen, seem to have been engaged in this attempt to smash our lines and encircle the three hills. They included some of the enemy's finest divisions, so they lost quality as well as quantity in this futile sacrifice of man-power—man-power which seems to mean nothing in flesh and blood and heart and soul to men like Ludendorff, but is treated as a material force like guns and ammunition and used as cannon fodder.

Brilliant French Fighters

Referring to the French troops in this battle, Mr. Gibbs wrote:

Today again I have been among the thousands of French soldiers. It is splendid to see them because of their fine bearing. They are men in the prime of life, not so young as some of the British and with a graver look than one sees on British faces, when they have not yet reached the zone of fire. They are men who have seen all that war means during these years of agony and hope and boredom and death. They have no illusions. They stare into the face of death unflinchingly and shrug their shoulders at its worst menace and still have faith in victory.

So I read them, if any man may read the thoughts that lie behind those bronzed faces with the dark eyes and upturned mustaches under the blue painted helmets or the black Tam o' Shanters.

They are not gay or boisterous in their humor, and they do not sing like the British as they march, but they seem to have been born to this war, and its life is their life, and they are professionals.

The Tricolor passes along the roads of France and Flanders, and French trumpets ring out across the flat fields below Scherpenberg, and all the spirit of the French fighting men, who have proved themselves great soldiers in this war, as for thousands of years of history, is mingled with our own battalions. Together yesterday they gave the German Army a hard knock.

The British Guards

In his cable of May 1 Mr. Gibbs gave details of the extraordinary heroism of the British Guards. He related incidents which had occurred April 11 to 14, after the Germans had broken through the Portuguese in their efforts to widen the gap between Armentières and Merville by gaining the crossings of the Lys.

The Grenadier, Irish, and Coldstream Guards were sent forward along the Hazebrouck-Estaires road when the situation was at its worst, when the men of the 15th Division and other units had fought themselves out in continual rearguard and holding actions, so that some of those still in the line could hardly walk or stand, and when it was utterly necessary to keep the Germans in check until a body of Australian troops had time to arrive. The Guards were asked to hold back the enemy until those Australians came and to fight at all costs for forty-eight hours against the German tide of men and guns which was attempting to flow around the other hard pressed men, and that is what the Guards did, fighting in separate bodies with the enemy pressing in on both flanks.

Greatly outnumbered, they beat back attack after attack, and gained precious hours, vital hours, by the most noble self-sacrifice. A party of Grenadiers were so closely surrounded that their officer sent back a message saying:

"My men are standing back to back and shooting on all sides."

The Germans swung around them, circling them with machine guns and rifles and pouring a fire into them until only eighteen men were left. Those eighteen, standing among

their wounded and their dead, did not surrender. The army wanted forty-eight hours. They fixed bayonets and went out against the enemy and drove through him. A wounded Corporal of Grenadiers, who afterward got back to the British lines, lay in a ditch, and the last he saw of his comrades was when fourteen men of them were still fighting in a swarm of Germans.

Fought Back to Back

The Coldstream Guards were surrounded in the same way and fought in the same way. The army had asked for forty-eight hours until the Australians could come, and many of the Coldstreamers eked out the time with their lives. The enemy filtered in on their flanks, came crawling around them with machine guns, sniped them from short range and raked them from ditches and upheaved earth.

The Coldstream Guards had to fall back, but they fought back in small groups, facing all ways and making gaps in the enemy's ranks, not firing wildly, but using every round of small-arms ammunition to keep a German back and gain a little more time.

Forty-eight hours is a long time in a war like this. For two days and nights the Irish Guards, who had come up to support the Grenadiers and Coldstreamers, tried to make a defensive flank, but the enemy worked past their right and attacked them on two sides. The Irish Guards were gaining time. They knew that was all they could do, just drag out the hours by buying each minute with their blood. One man fell and then another; but minutes were gained, and quarters of hours and hours.

Small parties of them lowered their bayonets and went out among the gray wolves swarming around them, and killed a number of them until they also fell. First one party and then another of these Irish Guards made those bayonet charges against men with machine guns and volleys of rifle fire. They bought time at a high price, but they did not stint themselves nor stop their bidding because of its costliness.

The brigade of Guards here and near Vieux Berquin held out for those forty-eight hours, and some of them were fighting still when the Australians arrived, according to the time-table.

Carnage Near Locre

Mr. Gibbs, in a dispatch dated May 3, gave these vivid descriptions of the fighting in the Locre-Dranoutre-Kemmel region:

On April 24 the German bombardment was intensified and spread over a deep area, destroying villages, tearing up roads, and making a black vomit of the harrowed fields. Dranoutre, Locre, Westoutre, and other small towns were violently bombarded. That night the French discovered that the Germans were preparing an attack for the next morning, to be preceded by a gas bombardment. The officers warned all their men, and they stood on the alert with gas masks when at 3:30 in the morning thousands of gas shells fell over them, mixed with high explosives of all calibres up to the monster twelve-inch, which burst like volcanic eruptions.

In the intensity of bombardment several officers who fought at Fleury said: "This is the most frightful thing we have seen. Verdun was nothing to it."

All the French troops jammed on gas masks, and on one day put them on fifty times, only removing them when the wind, which was fairly strong, blew away the poison fumes until other storms of shells came. For nearly a week they wore them constantly, sleeping in them, officers giving orders in them, and the men fighting and dying in them and charging with the bayonet in them. It was worth the trouble and suffering, for this French regiment between Locre and Dranoutre had only twelve gas casualties.

That morning the German attack fell first on Kemmel Hill, which they turned from the north, and two hours later, the bombardment continuing all along the line, they developed a strong attack against Dranoutre in the south in order to take Locre and turn the French right. Until evening the troops on Kemmel Hill, with a small body of British, still held out with great devotion in isolated positions, but by 8 o'clock that morning Kemmel Hill was entirely cut off.

Other British Units in Danger

This was a severe menace to their comrades at Locre and southward, because both their flanks were threatened. They did heroic things to safeguard their right and left, which again and again the enemy tried to pass. I have already told in a previous message how a gallant French officer and a small company of men made a counter-attack at Dranoutre and held the post there against all odds.

Up by Locre the commandant of the left battalion found machine-gun fire sweeping his left flank, and his men had to face left to defend their line. Small parties of Germans with machine guns kept filtering down from the north and established themselves on the railway in order to rake the French with an enfilade fire.

One French company, led by devoted officers, counterattacked there five times with the bayonet into the sweep of those bullets, and by this sacrifice saved their flank. Another company advanced to hold the hospice. There was desperate fighting day after day, so that its ruins, if any bits of wall are left, will be as historic as the château at Vermelles, or other famous houses of the battlefields.

French and Germans took it turn and turn about, and although the enemy sent great numbers of men to garrison this place they never were able to hold it long, because always some young French Lieutenant and a

handful of men stormed it again and routed the enemy. When it was taken last on April 29, the day of the enemy's severe defeat, the French captured 100 prisoners in the cellars there, and they belonged to fourteen battalions of four regiments of three divisions, showing the amazing way in which the enemy's divisions have been flung into confusion by the French fire.

Under Constant Shellfire

On the morning of April 26 French companies made six attacks, and in the afternoon two more, and though their losses were heavy, that evening both the village and hospice of Locre stayed in their hands. That night, their men being exhausted for a time after so many hours under fire, they withdrew their line a little to the Locre-Bailleul road by the Château of Locre and west of Dranoutre in order to reorganize a stronger defense. The German bombardment slackened on the morning of April 28 owing to fog, and those few hours on that day and one other were the only respite these French troops had from the incessant and infernal gunfire when, owing to open warfare, "en rase campagne," as the French call it, as in 1914, without a complete system of trenches or dugouts or other artificial cover, they were much exposed.

"There were ten big shells a second," one of these officers told me, "and that lasted, with only two short pauses, for six days all through the battle, and other shells were uncountable."

The enemy had brought up light artillery and trench mortars almost to his front lines in Dranoutre Wood and other places and attempted to take the French in an enfilade fire from Kemmel, but by this time many French guns were in position, reinforcing the British artillery, and on the 28th they opened up and killed great numbers of the enemy.

Allied aviators saw long columns of Germans on the roads by Neuve Eglise and in Dranoutre Wood, and signaled to the guns to range on these human targets. The guns answered. Masses of Germans were smashed by the fire and panicstricken groups were seen running out of Dranoutre Wood.

Night of Horror for Germans

That night the Germans seemed to be relieving their troops, and again the French and British guns flung shells into them, and for the enemy it was a night of death and horror; but the next day, the 29th, the enemy made reply by a prolonged bombardment, more intense even than before, and then attacked with new troops all along the line. But the French also had many fresh troops in line—not those I met yesterday—who at 2 o'clock in the morning went forward into attack and took back the village. This defeated the enemy's plan of turning the French left.

All through that day the enemy's desperate efforts to break through were shattered, and that night the French held exactly the same ground as before and had caused enormous losses to the German divisions, at least 40 per cent. of their strength, as it is reckoned on close evidence.

That night even the German guns stopped their drumfire, as though Sixt von Arnim's army was in mourning for its dead. It was a night of strange and uncanny silence after the stupendous tumult, but for those French regiments who had been holding the line for nearly a week it had been a day of supreme ordeal.

Preparing for Another Advance

There were no general engagements during the preceding five days nor up to May 18, but incessant artillery fire was kept up and raids were constantly made. On May 5 Mr. Gibbs described the difficulties encountered by the Germans in preparing for a new advance:

The enemy has many divisions, both up in the Flemish fields and on the Somme, divisions in line and divisions in reserve—divisions crowded in reserve—and there are few roads for them down which to march. There is not much elbow room for such masses to assemble, and not much cover in trenches or dugouts from high explosives or shrapnel. So we pound them to death, many of them to death and many of them to stretcher cases, and relief comes up, gets wildly mixed with the divisions coming down, and at night there is mad confusion in the ranks of marching men and transport columns, which gallop past dead horses and splintered wagons and wrecks of transport columns, and among the regimental and divisional staffs, trying to keep order in the German way when things are being smashed into chaos, while the Red Cross convoys are overloaded with wounded and unable to cope with all the bodies that lie about.

This is what is happening behind the German lines—I have not overdrawn the picture, believe me—and it is upsetting somewhat the plans of the high German officers who are arranging things from afar through telephones, down which they shout their orders.

"The Drums of Death"

In his dispatch of May 9 the following was written to describe the difficulties of the Germans in reorganizing their battered forces:

From many points the British have complete observation of the enemy's positions there, as he has of theirs from the other side of the way, and, needless to say, they are making use of this direct view by flinging over storms of shells whenever his transport is seen crawling along the tracks of the old Somme battlefields or his troops are seen massing among their shell craters.

The town of Albert itself, where once until

recent history the golden Virgin used to lean downward with her babe outstretched above the ruins, is now a death trap for the German garrisons there and for any German gunners who try to hide their batteries among the red brick houses. By day and night their positions are pounded with high explosives and soaked in asphyxiating gas.

I went within 2,000 yards of it yesterday, and saw the heaviest work of the British upon it. It was a wonderful May day, as today is, and the sun shone through a golden haze upon the town. As I looked into Albert and saw the shells smashing through, and then away up the Albert-Bapaume road, past the white rim of the great mine crater of La Boiselle to the treeless slopes of Posières, and over all that ground of hills and ditches to the high, wooded distant right, with its few dead stumps of trees, it was hard to believe that all this was in the area of the German Army, that the white, winding lines freshly marked upon this bleak landscape were new German trenches, and that the enemy's outposts were less than 2,000 yards from where I stood.

Fritz Having a "Thin Time"

Some siege gunners were lying on their stomachs and observing the enemy's lines for some monsters I had seen on my way up, monsters that raised their snouts slowly, like elephants' trunks, before bellowing out with an earthquake roar, annihilating all one's senses for a second. Some of the men passed the remark to me that "Albert isn't the town it was" and that "Fritz must be having a thin time there." They also expressed the opinion that the Albert-Bapaume road was not a pleasant walk for Germans on a sunny afternoon.

I did not dispute these points with them, for they were beyond argument. Big shells were smashing into Albert and its neighborhood from many heavy batteries, raising volcanic explosions there, and shrapnel was bursting over the tracks in white splashes.

In describing the artillery fire which broke up a threatened assault on May 5, Mr. Gibbs wrote:

A new German division, the 52d Reserve, and the 56th German Division prepared an assault on Ridge Wood. All these men were crowded into narrow assembly grounds and did not have quiet hours before the moment of attack. They had hours of carnage in the darkness. British and French guns were answering back the German bombardment with their heaviest fire. French howitzers, long-muzzled fellows, which during recent weeks I had seen crawling through Flanders with the cornflowers, as the French soldiers call themselves, crowded about them on the gun limbers and transport wagons and muddy horses, and which had traveled long kilometers, were now in action from their emplacements between the ruined villages of the Flemish war zone, and with their little brothers, the soixante-quinzes, their bloodthirsty little brothers, were savage in their destruction and harassing fire.

I have seen the soixante-quinze at work and have heard the rafale des tambours de la mort—the ruffle of the drums of death—as the sound of their fire is described by all soldier writers of France. It was that fire, that slashing and sweeping fire, which helped to break up any big plan of attack against the French troops yesterday morning, and from those assembly places a great part of the German infantry never moved all day, but spent their time, it seems, in carrying back their wounded.

Tragic Desolation of Arras

Mr. Gibbs on May 11 described a visit to Arras, as follows:

Since the beginning of these great battles in bleak, cold weather Spring has come, and almost Summer, changing all the aspect of the old battlefields and of the woods behind craterland and of the cities under fire.

I went into one of those cities the other day, Arras, which to me and to many of us out here is a queerly enchanted place because of its beauty, which survives even three years of bombardment, and because of the many great memories which it holds in its old houses and streets and the sense of romance which lurks in its courtyards and squares, reaching back to ancient history before its death. For Arras is dead and but the beautiful corpse of the city that was once very fair and noble.

During the recent weeks the enemy has flung many big explosive shells into it, so that its ruins have become more ruined and many houses hardly touched before have now been destroyed. It was sad to see this change, the fresh mangling of stones that had already been scarred, the heaps of masonry that lay piled about these streets that were utterly deserted. I walked down many of them and saw no living soul, only a few lean cats which prowled about, slinking close to the walls and crouching when a German shell came over with a rending noise.

Bright sunlight shone down these streets, putting a lazy glamour upon their broken frontages and flinging back shadows from high walls, except where shell holes let in the light. The cathedral and the great Palace of the Bishops were unroofed, with tall pillars broken off below the vaulting and an avalanche of white masonry about them. They were clear-cut and dazzling under the blue sky, and one was hushed by the tragic grandeur of these ruins.

One of the British airplanes flew low over the city, and its engine sang loudly with a vibrant humming, and now and again the crash of a gun or a shell loosened some stones or plaster below its wings. Other birds were singing, Spring birds, who are not out for war but sweethearting in the gardens of Arras.

America's Sacrifice

By Harold Begbie

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

ONE of the finest moral actions in this war has been done by America. It is action on a gigantic scale, and yet of a directly personal character. Insufficient publicity, I think, has been given to this action.

Is it realized by the people of this country that America has already saved us from capitulating to the enemy? Either we should have been forced into this surrender (with our armies unbroken and our munitions of war unexhausted) or we should at this moment be struggling to live and work and fight on one-third of our present rations.

America is sending to these islands almost two-thirds of our food supplies. Sixty-five per cent. of the essential foodstuffs eaten by the British citizen comes to him from the American Continent. This in itself is something which calls for our lively gratitude. But there is a quality in the action of America which should intensify our gratitude. For these American supplies, essential to our health and safety, represent in very large measure the personal and voluntary self-sacrifice of the individual American citizen. They are not crumbs from the table of Dives. They are not the commandeered supplies of an autocratic Government. They represent, rather, the kindly, difficult, and entirely willing self-sacrifice of a whole nation, the vast majority of whom are working people.

There is only one altar for this act of sacrifice—it is the table of the American working classes. And the rite is performed by men, women, and children, at every meal of the day, day after day, week after week.

This act of self-sacrifice, let us remember, is made in the midst of plenty. Well might the American housewife ask why she should deprive her children of food, why she should institute wheatless and meatless days, when all about her there is a visible superabundance of these things. Questions such as this are natural enough on the other side of the Atlantic, and on the other side of the American continent, 5,000 miles away from the battlefields of France.

But the citizens of America do not ask such questions. With a cheerfulness and a courage which are as vigorous as their industry, and with a moral earnestness which is by far the greatest demonstration America has yet given to the world of American character, these people so far away from us on the other side of the Atlantic have willingly and with no coercion by the State denied themselves for the sake of the Entente. They are going short, they are going hungry, for our sakes. They are practicing an intimate self-sacrifice in order that we may hold our own till their sons come to fight at our side. All over America the individual American citizen is making this self-sacrifice, and making it without a murmur. He is feeding, by his personal self-sacrifice, not only these islands, but France, Italy, and many of the neutrals.

This great demonstration of character has had no other impetus than the simple declaration of the facts by Herbert Hoover, the man who fed Belgium. Hoover has told his countrymen how things stand. That is all. The Winter of 1918, he declared to them, will prove to mankind whether or not the American Nation "is capable of individual self-sacrifice to save the world." His propaganda has never descended to unworthy levels. He has appealed always to the conscience of his countrymen. He has spoken of "a personal obligation upon every one of us toward some individual abroad who will suffer privation to the extent of our own individual negligence."

America has answered this appeal in a manner which marks her out as one of the greatest moral forces in the world. It should be known out there, in the farmhouses and cottages of the American Continent, that the people of this country are mindful of America's self-sacrifice, and are grateful.

GENERAL STAFF OFFICERS WITH PERSHING

Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord,
Adjutant
(© Harris & Ewing)

Brig. Gen. Andre W. Brewster
Inspector
(© Harris & Ewing)

Brig. Gen. Edgar Russell,
Signal Officer
(Underwood from Buck)

Brig. Gen. Harry L. Rogers,
Quartermaster
(© Harris & Ewing)

Brig. Gen. B. D. Foulois,
Aviation Officer on Pershing's Staff
(Press Illustrating Service)

Dr. F. P. Keppel,
Recently appointed Assistant Secretary of War
(© Harris & Ewing)

W. C. Potter,
Chief of Equipment Division of Signal Corps
(© Harris & Ewing)

Brig. Gen. C. B. Wheeler,
Ordnance Officer on Pershing's Staff
(© Harris & Ewing)

American Soldiers in Battle

How They Repelled an Attack at Seicheprey and Fought in Picardy

[MONTH ENDED MAY 20, 1918]

SEICHEPREY, in the Toul sector, was the scene on April 20, 1918, of the most determined attack launched against the American forces in France up to that time. A German regiment, reinforced by storm troops, a total of 1,500, was hurled against the American positions on a one-mile front west of Remières Forest, northwest of Toul, after a severe bombardment of gas and high explosive shells. The Germans succeeded in penetrating the front-line trenches and taking the village of Seicheprey, but after furious hand-to-hand fighting the American troops recaptured the village and most of the ground lost in the early fighting.

Next morning, after a brief bombardment, the Americans attacked and drove the enemy out of the old outposts, which they had gained, and thus broke down an offensive which, it was believed, was intended as the beginning of a German plan to separate the Americans and the French. The French lines also were attacked, but the Germans were repulsed and the lines re-established.

The losses were the heaviest sustained by Americans since they began active warfare in France. In a dispatch to the War Department General Pershing indicated that the losses among his men were between 200 and 300. According to the German official statement 183 Americans were taken prisoner, so that the American casualties apparently came mostly under the heading of captured. Official reports of the German losses, according to a prisoner captured later, gave 600 killed, wounded, and missing.

IN THE PICARDY BATTLE

"Franco-American positions south of the Somme and on the Avre" were officially mentioned for the first time in the French War Office report of April 24, indicating that forces of the United States were there on the battlefront resisting the great German offensive. The report stated that an intense bombardment of the positions all along this front was followed by an attack directed against Hangard-en-Santerre, the region of Hailles, and Senecat Wood. The Germans were repulsed almost everywhere.

Formal announcement that American troops sent to reinforce the allied armies had taken part in the fighting was made by the War Department in its weekly review of the situation issued on April 29. "Our own forces," the statement read, "have taken part in the battle. American units are in the area east of Amiens. During the engagements which have raged in this area they have acquitted themselves well."

UNDER INTENSE FIRE

Another heavy attack was launched by the Germans against the Americans in the vicinity of Villers-Bretonneux on April 30. It was repulsed with heavy losses for the enemy. The German bombardment opened at 5 o'clock in the afternoon and was directed especially against the Americans, who were supported on the north and south by the French. The fire was intense, and at the end of two hours the German commander sent forward three battalions of infantry. There was hand-to-hand fighting all along the line, as a result of which the enemy was thrust back, his dead and wounded lying on the ground in all directions. The French troops were full of praise for the manner in which the Americans conducted themselves under trying circumstances, especially in view of the fact that they are fighting at one of the most difficult points on the battlefront. The American losses were rather severe.

The gallantry of the 300 American engineers who were caught in the

opening of the German offensive on March 21 was the subject of a dispatch from General Pershing made public by the War Department on April 19. The engineers were among the forces hastily gathered by Major Gen. Sanderson Carey, the British commander, who stopped the gap in the line when General Gough's army was driven back. [See diagram on Page 389.] During the period of thirteen days covered by General Pershing's report, the engineers were almost continuously in action. They were in the very thick of the hardest days of the great German drive in Picardy.

General Pershing embodied in his report a communication from General Rawlinson, commander of the British 5th Army, in which the latter declared that "it has been largely due to your assistance that the enemy is checked." The report covered the fighting period from March 21 to April 3. The former date marked the beginning of the Ludendorff offensive along the whole front from La Fère to Croisilles. It showed that while under shellfire the American engineers destroyed material dumps at Chaulnes, that they fell back with the British forces to Moreuil, where the commands laid out trench work, and were then assigned to a sector of the defensive line at Demuin, and to a position near Warfusee-Abancourt.

During the period of thirteen days covered by the report the American engineers had two officers killed and three wounded, while twenty men were killed, fifty-two wounded, and forty-five reported missing.

STORY OF CAREY EPISODE

A correspondent of The Associated Press at the front gave this account of the part played by Americans in the historic episode under General Carey:

A disastrous-looking gap appeared in the 5th Army south of Hamel in the later stages of the opening battle. The Germans had crossed the Somme at Hamel and had a clear path for a sweep southwestward.

No troops were available to throw into the opening. A certain Brigadier General was commissioned by Major Gen. Gough, commander of the 5th Army, to gather up every man he could find and to "hold the gap at any cost." The General called upon the American and Canadian engineers, cooks, chauffeurs, road workmen, anybody he could find; gave them guns, pistols, any available weapon, and rushed them into the gap in trucks, on horseback, or on mule-drawn limbers.

A large number of machine guns from a machine-gun school near by were confiscated. Only a few men, however, knew how to operate the weapons, and they had to be worked by amateurs with one "instructor" for every ten or twelve guns. The Americans did especially well in handling this arm.

For two days the detachment held the mile and a half gap. At the end of the second day the commander, having gone forty-eight hours without sleep, collapsed. The situation of the detachment looked desperate.

While all were wondering what would happen next, a dusty automobile came bounding along the road from the north. It contained Brig. Gen. Carey, who had been home on leave and who was trying to find his headquarters.

The General was commandeered by the detachment and he was found to be just the commander needed. He is an old South African soldier of the daredevil type. He is famous among his men for the scrapes and escapades of his schoolboy life as well as for his daring exploits in South Africa.

Carey took the detachment in hand and led it in a series of attacks and counter-attacks which left no time for sleeping and little for eating. He gave neither his men nor the enemy a rest, attacking first on the north, then in the centre, then on the south—harassing the enemy unceasingly with the idea of convincing the Germans that a large force opposed them.

Whenever the Germans tried to feel him out with an attack at one point, Carey parried with a thrust somewhere else, even if it took his last available man, and threw the Germans on the defensive.

The spirit of Carey's troops was wonderful. The work they did was almost supernatural. It would have been impossible with any body of men not physical giants, but the Americans and Canadians gloried in it. They crammed every hour of the day full of fighting. It was a constantly changing battle, kaleidoscopic, free-for-all, catch-as-catch-can. The Germans gained ground. Carey and his men were back at them, hungry for more punishment. At the end of the sixth day, dog-tired and battle-worn, but still full of fight, the detachment was relieved by a fresh battalion which had come up from the rear.

STAFF CHANGES

Major Gen. James W. McAndrew, it was announced on May 3, was appointed Chief of Staff of the American expeditionary force in succession to Brig. Gen. James G. Harbord, who was assigned to a command in the field. Other changes on General Pershing's staff included the appointment of Lieut. Col. Robert C. Davis as Adjutant General, and Colonel Merritte W. Ireland as Surgeon General.

The General Staff of the American expeditionary forces in France, as the result of several changes in personnel, consisted on May 14, 1918, of the following:

Commander.....General John J. Pershing
Aid de Camp.....Colonel James L. Collins
Aid de Camp.....Colonel Carl Boyd
Aid de Camp....Colonel M. C. Shallenberger
Chief of Staff...Major Gen. J. W. McAndrew
Adjutant.....Lieut. Col. Robert C. Davis
Inspector.....Brig. Gen. Andre W. Brewster
Judge Advocate..Brig. Gen. Walter A. Bethel
Quartermaster..Brig. Gen. Harry L. Rogers
Surgeon.....Colonel Merritte W. Ireland
Engineer.....Brig. Gen. Harry Taylor
Ordnance Officer..Brig. Gen. C. B. Wheeler
Signal Officer.....Brig. Gen. Edgar Russell
Aviation Officer.....Brig. Gen. B. D. Foulois

President Wilson on May 4 pardoned two soldiers of the American expeditionary force who had been condemned to death by a military court-martial in France for sleeping on sentry duty and commuted to nominal prison terms the death sentences imposed on two others for disobeying orders.

HEALTH OF THE SOLDIERS

Major Hugh H. Young, director of the work of dealing with communicable blood diseases in our army in France, made this striking statement on May 12 regarding the freedom of the American expeditionary force from such diseases:

> In making plans for this department of medical work in France it had been calculated by the medical authorities in Washington to have ten 1,000-bed hospitals, in which a million men could receive treatment, but with 500,000 Americans in France there is not one of the five allotted Americans in any of the hospitals now running, and only 500 cases of this type of disease needing hospital treatment, instead of the expected 5,000.
>
> In other words, instead of having 1 per cent. of our soldiers in hospitals from social diseases, as had been expected, the actual number is only one-tenth of 1 per cent. There is no reason to doubt that this record will be maintained. The hospitals prepared for this special treatment are to be used for other cases.

This means that the American Army is the cleanest in the world. The results, according to Major Young, have been achieved by preventive steps taken by the American medical directors, coupled with the co-operation of the men.

Overseas Forces More Than Half a Million

Preparing for an Army of 3,000,000

THE overseas fighting forces of the United States have been increasing at a much more rapid rate than the public was aware of. Early in May the number of our men in France was in excess of 500,000. A great increase in the ultimate size of the army was further indicated when the War Department asked the House Military Affairs Committee for a new appropriation of $15,000,000,000.

Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, appeared before the committee on April 23 and, after describing the results of his inspection of the army in France, said that the size of the army that the United States would send abroad was entirely dependent upon the shipping situation. Troops were already moving to France at an accelerated rate.

President Wilson, through Mr. Baker, presented the House Military Affairs Committee on May 2 with proposals for increasing the army. The President asked that all limits be removed on the number of men to be drafted for service. Mr. Baker said that he declined to discuss the numbers of the proposed army "for the double reason that any number implies a limit, and the only possible limit is our ability to equip and transport men, which is constantly on the increase."

The Administration's plans were submitted in detail on May 3, when the committee began the preparation of the army appropriation bill carrying $15,000,000,000 to finance the army during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919. Mr. Baker again refused to go into the question of figures, but it became known at the Capitol that the estimates he submitted were based on a force of not fewer than 3,000,000 men and 160,000 officers in the field by July 1, 1919. The plan contemplated having 130,000 officers and 2,168,000 men, or a total of 2,298,000, in the field and in camps by July 1, 1918, and approximately an additional million in the field before June 30, 1919.

Mr. Baker said that all the army camps and cantonments were to be materially enlarged, to take care of the training of the men to be raised in the next twelve months. The General Staff had this question under careful consideration, and the idea was to increase the size of existing training camps rather than to establish new camps. These camps, it was estimated, already had facilities for training close to a million men at one time.

The Secretary of War also made it clear that the total of $15,000,000,000 involved in the estimates as revised for the new army bill did not cover the whole cost of the army for the next fiscal year. The $15,000,000,000, he explained, was in addition to the large sums that would be carried in the Fortifications Appropriation bill, which covers the cost of heavy ordnance both in the United States and overseas. Nor did it include the Military Academy bill. It was emphasized that, although estimates were submitted on the basis of an army of a certain size, Congress was being asked for blanket authority for the President to raise all the men needed, and the approximate figures of $15,000,000,000 could be increased by deficiency appropriations.

It was brought out in the committee that the transportation service had improved and that the War Department was able to send more men to France each month. It was estimated that if transport facilities continued to improve, close to 1,500,000 fighting men would be on the western front by Dec. 31, 1918. The United States had now in camp and in the field, it was explained to the committee, the following enlisted men and officers:

Enlisted men	1,765,000
Officers	120,000
Total	1,885,000

Provost Marshal General Crowder announced on May 8 that 1,227,000 Americans had been called to the colors under the Selective Draft act, thereby indicating approximately the strength of the national army. Additional calls during May for men to be in camp by June 2 affected something like 366,600 registrants under the draft law. These men were largely intended to fill up the camps at home, replacing the seasoned personnel from the divisions previously training there. With the increase of the number of divisions in France, the flow of replacement troops was increasing proportionately.

In regard to the number of men in France, Mr. Baker on May 8 made the following important announcement:

> In January I told the Senate committee that there was strong likelihood that early in the present year 500,000 American troops would be dispatched to France. I cannot either now or perhaps later discuss the number of American troops in France, but I am glad to be able to say that the forecast I made in January has been surpassed.

This was the first official utterance indicating even indirectly the number of men sent abroad. The first force to go was never described except as a division, although as a matter of fact it was constituted into two divisions soon after its arrival in France.

An Associated Press dispatch dated May 17 announced that troops of the new American Army had arrived within the zone of the British forces in Northern France and were completing their training in the area occupied by the armies which were blocking the path of the Germans to the Channel ports. The British officers who were training the Americans stated that the men from overseas were of the finest material. The newcomers were warmly greeted by the British troops and were reported to be full of enthusiasm.

American Troops in Central France

By Laurence Jerrold

This friendly British view of our soldiers in France is from the pen of a noted war correspondent of The London Morning Post

I HAVE recently visited the miniature America now installed in France, and installed in the most French part of Central France. There is nothing more French than these ancient towns with historic castles, moats, dungeons, and torture chambers, these old villages, where farms are sometimes still battlemented like small castles, and this countryside where living is easy and pleasant. On to this heart of France has descended a whole people from across the ocean, a people that hails from New England and California, from Virginia and Illinois. The American Army has taken over this heart of France, and is teaching it to "go some." Townsfolk and villagers enjoy being taught. The arrival of the American Army is a revelation to them.

I was surprised at first to find how fresh a novelty an allied army was in this part of France. Then I remembered that these little towns and villages have in the last few months for the first time seen allies of France. The ports where the American troops land have seen many other allies; they saw, indeed, in August, 1914, some of the first British troops land, whose reception remains in the recollection of the inhabitants as a scene of such fervor and loving enthusiasm as had never been known before and probably will not be known again. In fact, to put it brutally, French ports are blasé. But this Central France for the first time welcomes allied troops. It is true they had seen some Russians, but the least said of them now the better. Some of the Russians are still there, hewing wood for three francs a day per head, and behaving quite peaceably.

These old towns and villages look upon the American Army in their midst as the greatest miracle they have ever known, and a greater one than they ever could have dreamed of. One motors through scores of little towns and villages where the American soldier, in his khaki, his soft hat, (which I am told is soon to be abolished,) and his white gaiters, swarms. The villagers put up bunting, calico signs, flags, and have stocks of American "canned goods" to show in their shop windows. The children, when bold, play with the American soldiers, and the children that are more shy just venture to go up and touch an American soldier's leg. Very old peasant ladies put on their Sunday black and go out walking and in some mysterious way talking with American soldiers. The village Mayor turns out and makes a speech utterly incomprehensible to the American soldier, whenever a fresh contingent of the latter arrives. The 1919 class, just called up, plays bugles and shouts "Good morning" when an American car comes by.

Vice versa, this Central France is perhaps even more of a miracle to the American troops than the American troops are to it. To watch the American trooper from Arkansas or Chicago being shown over a castle which is not only older than the United States, but was in its prime under Louis XII., and dates back to a Roman fortress now beneath it, is a wonderful sight. Here the American soldier shows himself a charming child. There is nothing of the "Innocents Abroad" about him. I heard scarcely anything (except about telephones and railways) of any American brag of modernism in this ancient part of France. On the contrary, the soldier is learning with open eyes, and trying to learn with open ears, all these wonders of the past among which he has been suddenly put. The officer, too, even the educated officer, is beautifully astonished at all this past, which he had read about, but which, quite possibly, he didn't really believe to exist. The American officers who speak French—and there are some of them, coming chiefly from

the Southern States—are, of course, heroes in every town, and sought after in cafés at recreation hours by every French officer and man. Those who do not know French are learning it, and I remember a picturesque sight, that of a very elderly, prim French governess in black, teaching French to American subalterns in a Y. M. C. A. canteen.

A great French preacher the other day, in his sermon in a Paris church, said that this coming to France of millions of English troops and future millions of American troops may mean eventually one of the greatest changes in Continental Europe the world has ever known. His words never seemed to me so full of meaning as they did when I was among the Americans in the heart of France. There, of course, the contrast is infinitely greater than it can be in the France which our own troops are occupying and defending. These young, fresh, hustling, keen Americans, building up numerous works of all kinds to prepare for defending France, have brought with them Chinese labor and negro labor; and Chinese and negroes and German and Austrian prisoners all work in these American camps under American officers' orders. Imagine what an experience, what a miracle, indeed, this spectacle seems to the countryfolk of this old French soil, who have always lived very quietly, who never wanted to go anywhere else, and who knew, indeed, that France had allies fighting and working for her, but had never seen any of them until these Americans came across three thousand miles of ocean.

Something of a miracle, also, is what our new allies are accomplishing. They are doing everything on a huge scale. I saw aviation camps, training camps, aviation schools, vast tracts where barracks were being put up, railways built, telegraphs and telephones installed by Chinese labor, negro labor, German prisoners' labor, under the direction of American skilled workmen, who are in France by the thousand. There are Y. M. C. A. canteens, Red Cross canteens, clubs for officers and for men, theatres and cinemas for the army, and a prodigious amount of food—all come from America. The hams alone I saw strung up in one canteen would astonish the boches. American canned goods, meat, fruit, condensed milk, meal, &c., have arrived in France in stupendous quantities. No body of American troops land in France until what is required for their sustenance several weeks ahead is already stored in France. Only the smallest necessaries are bought on the spot, and troops passing through England on their way to France are strictly forbidden, both officers and men, to buy any article of food whatsoever in England. As for the quality, the American has nothing to complain of, so far as I could see. All pastry, cakes, sweets are henceforth prohibited throughout civilian France, but the American troops rightly have all these things in plenty. I saw marvelous cakes and tarts, which would create a run on any Paris or London teashop, and the lady who manages one American Red Cross canteen (by the way, she is an Englishwoman, and is looked up to by the American military authorities as one of the best organizers they have met) explained to me wonderful recipes they have for making jam with honey and preserved fruit. The bread, of course, they make themselves, and, as is right, it is pure white flour bread, such as no civilian knows nowadays.

One motors through scores of villages and more, and every little old French spot swarms with American Tommies billeted in cottages and farmhouses. Many of them marched straight to their billets from their landing port, and the experience is as wonderful for them, just spirited over from the wilds of America, as it is for the villagers who welcome these almost fabulous allies. But it is the engineering, building, and machinery works the Americans are putting up which are the most astonishing. Gangs of workers have come over in thousands. Many of these young chaps are college men, Harvard or Princeton graduates. They dig and toil as efficiently as any laborer, and perhaps with more zeal. One American Major told me with glee how a party of these young workers arrived straight from America at 3:30 P. M.,

and started digging at 5 A. M. next morning. "And they liked it; it tickled them to death." Many of these drafts, in fact, were sick and tired of inaction in ports before their departure from America, and they welcomed work in France as if it were some great game.

Perhaps the biggest work of all the Americans are doing is a certain aviation camp and school. In a few months it has neared completion, and when it is finished it will, I believe, be the biggest of its kind in the world. There pilots are trained, and trained in numbers which I may not say, but which are comforting. The number of airplanes they use merely for training, which also I must not state, is in itself remarkable. "Training pilots is the one essential thing," I was told by the C. O. These flying men—or boys—who have, of course, already been broken in in America, do an additional course in France, and when they leave the aviation camp I saw they are absolutely ready for air fighting at the front. This is the finishing school. The aviators go through eight distinct courses in this school. They are perfected in flying, in observation, in bombing, in machine-gun firing. On even a cloudy and windy day the air overhead buzzes with these young American fliers, all getting into the pink of condition to do their stunts at the front. They seemed to me as keen as our own flying men, and as well disciplined. They live in the camp, and it requires moving heaven and earth for one of them to get leave to go even to the nearest little quiet old town.

The impression is the same of the American bases in France as of the American front in France. I found there and here one distinctive characteristic, the total absence of bluff. I was never once told that we were going to be shown how to win the war. I was never once told that America is going to win the war. I never heard that American men and machines are better than ours, but I did hear almost apologies from American soldiers because they had not come into the war sooner. They are, I believe, spending now more money than we are—indeed, the pay of their officers is about double that of ours. I said something about the cost. "Yes, but you see we must make up for lost time," was all the American General said. And he told me about the splendid training work that is being done now in the States by British and French officers who have gone out there knowing what war is, and who teach American officers and men from first-hand experience. This particular General hoped that by this means in a very short time American troops arriving in France may be sent much more quickly to the front than is now the case.

An impression of complete, business-like determination is what one gets when visiting the Americans in France. A discipline even stricter than that which applies in British and French troops is enforced. In towns, officers, for instance, are not allowed out after 9 P. M. Some towns where subalterns discovered the wine of the country have instantly been put "out of bounds." No officer, on any pretext whatsoever, is allowed to go to Paris, except on official business. From the camps they are not even allowed to go to the neighboring towns. They have, to put it quite frankly, a reputation of wild Americanism to live down, and they sometimes surprise the French by their seriousness. It is a striking sight to see American officers and men flocking into tiny little French Protestant churches on Sundays in this Catholic heart of France. The congregation is a handful of old French Huguenots, and the ancient, rigid French pasteur never in his life preached to so many, and certainly never to soldiers from so far. They come from so far, and from such various parts, these Americans, and for France, as well as for themselves, it is a wonderful experience. I was told that the postal censors who read the letters of the American expeditionary force are required to know forty-seven languages. Of these languages the two least used are Chinese and German.

American Shipbuilders Break All Records

Charles M. Schwab Speeds the Work

[Month ended May 15, 1918]

ALL shipbuilding records have been broken by American builders in the last month. On May 14 it was announced that the first million tons of ships had been completed and delivered to the United States Government under the direction of the Shipping Board. The actual figures on May 11 showed the number of ships to be 159, aggregating 1,108,621 tons. More than half of this tonnage was delivered since Jan. 1, 1918. Most of these ships were requisitioned on the ways or in contract form when the United States entered the war. This result had been anticipated in the monthly records, which showed a steady increase in the tonnage launched:

Month.	Number of Ships Launched.	Aggregate Tonnage.
January	11	91,541
February	16	123,100
March	21	166,700

The rapidity with which ships are being produced was shown by the breaking of the world's record on April 20 and in turn the breaking of this record on May 5. On the former date the 8,800-ton steel steamship West Lianga was launched at Seattle, Wash., fifty-five working days from the date the keel was laid. This was then the world's record. But on May 5 at Camden, N. J., the steel freight steamship Tuckahoe, of 5,548 tons, was launched twenty-seven days after the keel was laid.

Ten days after this extraordinary achievement the Tuckahoe was finished and furnished and ready for sea—another record feat.

Charles M. Schwab, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, was on April 16, 1918, appointed Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation to speed up the Government's shipbuilding program. He was invested with practically unlimited powers over all construction work in shipyards producing vessels for the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Charles Piez in consequence ceased to be General Manager of the Corporation, remaining, however, as Vice President to supervise administrative details of construction and placing contracts.

Mr. Schwab, who was the fifth man to be put in charge of the shipbuilding program, was not desirous of accepting the position when first approached because he considered his work in producing steel of first importance in the carrying out of the nation's war program. But after a conference with President Wilson, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board; Bainbridge Colby, another member of the board, and Charles Piez, he decided to accept the new position.

Almost the first thing Mr. Schwab did was to move his headquarters to Philadelphia as the centre of the steel-shipbuilding region, taking with him all the division chiefs of the Fleet Corporation directly connected with construction work and about 2,000 employes. The Shipping Board and Mr. Piez retained their offices in Washington with 1,500 subordinates and employes. As a further step toward decentralization it was arranged to move the operating department, including agencies such as the Interallied Ship Control Committee, headed by P. A. S. Franklin, to New York City.

The original "cost-plus" contract under which the Submarine Boat Corporation of Newark was to build 160 ships of 5,000 tons for the Government was canceled by Mr. Schwab as an experiment to determine whether shipyards operating under lump-sum contracts and accepting all responsibility for providing materials could make greater speed in construction than those operating with Government money, such as the Hog Island yards. The result was to increase the cost of each of the 160 ships from $787,500 to $960,000.

A request for an appropriation of $2,223,835,000 for the 1919 program was presented by Mr. Hurley and Mr. Schwab to the House Appropriations Committee on May 8.

Of this total $1,386,100,000 was for construction of ships and $652,000,000 for the purchasing and requisitioning of plants and material in connection with the building program.

Third Liberty Loan Oversubscribed

Approximately 17,000,000 Buyers

WHEN the Third Liberty Loan, raised to finance America's war needs, closed on May 4, 1918, the subscriptions were well over $4,000,000,000, a billion in excess of the amount called for. The total was announced on May 17 as $4,170,019,650. Secretary McAdoo stated that he would allot bonds in full on all subscriptions.

The loan was regarded as the most successful ever floated by any nation, not so much because of the volume of sales, but because of the wide distribution of the loan. Approximately 17,000,000 individuals subscribed, that is, about one person in every six in the United States. The number of buyers in the Third Loan exceeded those in the Second by 7,000,000 and those in the First by 12,500,000.

The campaign throughout the country was conducted with all the thoroughness of a great political struggle, with the difference that there were no contending parties and all forces were marshaled to make the loan a success. Nor was the campaign merely a display of efficient organization and vigorous propaganda. It had many features of dramatic and picturesque interest, not only in the large cities, but in almost every smaller centre of the nation. A noonday rally of 50,000 men and women in Wall Street, New York, on the closing day, was typical. An eyewitness described it thus:

> The Police Department Band appeared and the band of the 15th Coast Artillery from Fort Hamilton. Taking advantage of the occasion, James Montgomery Flagg now appeared in his studio van on the southern fringe of the Broad Street crowd. A girl with him played something on the cornet. It was a good deal like a show on the Midway at a Western county fair. But this was no faker—one of the most famous artists in America, throwing in a signed sketch of whoever bought Liberty bonds. Those near him began pushing and crowding to take advantage of the offer.
>
> And now, suddenly, a tremendous racket up the street toward Broadway. Who comes?
>
> Cheer on cheer, now. It is the "Anzacs." Twelve long, rangy fellows, officers all, six or seven of them with the little brass "A" on the shoulder, which signifies service at Gallipoli and in Flanders. They are members of the contingent of 500 which arrived here yesterday on its way to the battlefields of France. They run lightly up the Sub-Treasury steps and take their stand in a group beside the soldier band.
>
> And now they all come—all the actors in the drama of the day. Governor Whitman, bareheaded, solemn-faced; Rabbi Stephen Wise, with his rugged face and his shock of blue-black hair; Mme. Schumann-Heink, panting a little with excitement; Auguste Bouilliz, baritone of the Royal Opera of Brussels, who later is to thrill them all with his singing of the "Marseillaise"; Cecil Arden, in a shining helmet and draped in the Union Jack, come to sing "God Save the King," while the sunburned Australian officers stand like statues at salute; Oscar Straus, and then—
>
> "Yee-ee-ee-eee."
>
> Oh, how they cheered! For the "Blue Devils" of France had poured out of the door of the Sub-Treasury and, with the fitful sun shining once more and gleaming on their bayonets, were running down the steps in two lines, past the "Anzacs," past the soldier band, to draw up in ranks at the bottom.
>
> Lieutenant de Moal speaks. What does he say? Who knows? But he is widely cheered, just the same, as he gives way to Governor Whitman.
>
> "There are gatherings like this, though not so large, all over our land today," cries the Governor. "In every town and

city we Americans are gathered together at this moment to demonstrate that we are behind our army, behind our navy, behind our President."

The cheers that acclaimed his mention of the President drowned his voice for several moments.

"Here are the Australians," he cries, pointing to the "Anzac" officers. "They have brought us a message, but we are going to give them a message, too."

As the Governor stepped back to cheers that rocked the street, Lieutenant de Moal barked a sharp order, and the "Blue Devils" shouldered their guns with fixed bayonets, the six trumpeters ta-ra-ta-raed, and the soldiers of France moved off up the sidewalk lane to the side door of the Stock Exchange, where all business was suspended during the fifteen minutes of their visit on the floor.

Four of the "Anzacs" meanwhile were taken from their ranks on the steps of the building up to the pedestal of the statue of Washington, which was used as speaker's platform, and Captain Frank McCallam made a brief address.

"We haven't many men left," he said simply. "And it is up to you people to help us out to the best of your ability."

More cheers, and then Cecil Arden sang "God Save the King." The American regular fired a blank volley over the heads of the crowd, and the kids scrambled for the empty shells.

Following Wise and Straus, Bouilliz, the Belgian baritone, sang the "Marseillaise," and then, after the soldier band had played "Where Do We Go from Here, Boys?" Mme. Schumann-Heink advanced and sang the national anthem, following it up with an appeal that was the climax to the play.

Less exciting but more impressive was the parade on April 26, when thousands of mothers who had sent their sons to the front marched in a column of 35,000 men and women in the Liberty Day parade in New York City. This day had been proclaimed as such by President Wilson for "the people of the United States to assemble in their respective communities and liberally pledge anew their financial support to sustain the nation's cause, and to hold patriotic demonstrations in every city, town, and hamlet throughout the land."

The challenge of the mothers was inscribed on one of the banners they carried: "We give our sons—they give their lives—what do you give?"

Remarkable as was the appearance of these mothers with the little service flags over their shoulders, many of them so old that they marched with difficulty, the spectators who flanked the line of march along Fifth Avenue from Washington Square to Fifty-ninth Street found it even more thrilling to note that so very many of them, whether they were mothers or young wives, or just young girls proud of the brothers that had gone forth to service—so very many of them carried service flags with three and four and five and even six stars, and occasionally a glint of the sun would even carry the eye to a gold star, which meant, whenever it appeared, a veil of mourning for a wooden cross somewhere in France.

Among the minor but ingenious forms of publicity was the Liberty Loan ball which was rolled from Buffalo to New York, a distance of 470 miles, and which ended its journey of three weeks on May 4 at the City Hall. The ball was a large steel shell covered with canvas.

Every community that reached or exceeded its quota to the loan was entitled to raise a flag of honor specially designed for the purpose. At least 32,000 communities gained the honor and raised the flag.

To strengthen the financial basis of the nation's war industries and use monetary resources to the best advantage the War Finance Corporation bill was passed by Congress and approved by President Wilson on April 5, 1918. The two main purposes of the act are to provide credits for industries and enterprises necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war and to supervise new issues of capital. The act creates the War Finance Corporation, consisting of the Secretary and four additional persons, with $500,000,000 capital stock, all subscribed by the United States. Banks and trust companies financing war industries or enterprises may receive advances from the corporation.

Former War Loans of the United States

A Historical Retrospect

The United States Government asked for $2,000,000,000 on the First Liberty Loan in the Spring of 1917, and $3,034,000,000 was subscribed by over 4,000,000 subscribers. For the Second Loan, near the end of 1917, $3,000,000,000 was sought, and $4,617,532,300 was subscribed by 9,420,000 subscribers.

The Guaranty Trust Company of New York in a recent brochure reviewed the history of the various war loans of the United States, beginning with the Revolutionary loans, as follows:

WHEN the patriots at Lexington "fired the shot heard 'round the world," the thirteen Colonies found themselves suddenly in the midst of war, but with practically no funds in their Treasuries. The Continental Congress was without power to raise money by taxation, and had to depend upon credit bills and requisitions drawn against the several Colonies. France was the first foreign country to come to the aid of struggling America, the King of France himself advancing us our first loan. All told, France's loan was $6,352,500; Holland loaned us $1,304,000; and Spain assisted us with $174,017. Our loan from France was repaid between 1791 and 1795 to the Revolutionary Government of France; the Holland loan during the same period in five annual installments, and the Spanish loan in 1792-3.

Our first domestic war loan of £6,000 was made in 1775, and the loan was taken at par. A year and a half later found Congress laboring under unusual difficulties. Boston and New York were held by the enemy, the patriot forces were retreating, and the people were as little inclined to submit to domestic taxation as they had formerly been to "taxation without representation." To raise funds even a lottery was attempted. In October, 1776, Congress authorized a second loan for $5,000,000. It was not a pronounced success, only $3,787,000 being raised in twelve months. In 1778 fourteen issues of paper money were authorized as the only way to meet the expenses of the army. By the end of the year 1779 Congress had issued $200,000,000 in paper money, while a like amount had been issued by the several States. In 1781, as a result of this financing and of the general situation, Continental bills of credit had fallen 99 per cent.

Then came Robert Morris, that genius of finance, who found ways to raise the money which assured the triumph of the American cause. By straining his personal credit, which was higher than that of the Government, he borrowed upon his own individual security on every hand. On one occasion he borrowed from the commander of the French fleet, securing the latter with his personal obligation. If Morris and other patriotic citizens had not rendered such assistance to the Government, some of the most important campaigns of the Revolutionary War would have been impossible. Following came the Bank of Pennsylvania, which issued its notes—in effect, loans—to provide rations and equipment for Washington's army at Valley Forge. These notes were secured by bills of exchange drawn against our envoys abroad, but it was never seriously intended that they should be presented for payment. The bank was a tremendous success in securing the money necessary to carry out its patriotic purposes, and was practically the first bank of issue in this country.

With the actual establishment of the United States and the adoption of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton came forward with a funding scheme by which the various debts owed to foreign countries, to private creditors, and to the several States were combined. In 1791, on a specie basis, our total debt was $75,000,000. The paper dollar was practically valueless and the people were forced to give the Government adequate powers to raise money and to impose taxes. Between that date and 1812

thirteen tariff bills were passed to raise money to meet public expenditures and pay off the national debt.

THE WAR OF 1812.

For some time previous to the actual outbreak of the War of 1812 hostilities had been predicted. In a measure, this enabled Congress to prepare for it. And although the war did not begin until June of 1812, as early as March of that year a loan of $11,000,000, bearing 6 per cent. at par, to be paid off within 12 years from the beginning of 1813, was authorized. Of this, however, only $2,150,000 was issued, and all was redeemed by 1817. The next year a loan of $16,000,000 was authorized and subscribed. This was followed, in August, by a loan of $7,500,000 which sold at 88¼ per cent.

At the end of the war the total loans negotiated by the Government aggregated $88,000,000. The nation's public debt, as a result of this war, was increased to $127,334,933 in 1816. By 1835, either by redemptions or maturity, it was all paid.

MEXICAN WAR LOANS

The Mexican War net debt incurred by the United States was approximately $49,000,000 and was financed by loans in the form of Treasury notes and Government stock. The Treasury notes, under the act of 1846, totaled $7,687,800 and the stock $4,999,149. The latter paid 6 per cent. interest. By act of 1847 Treasury notes to the amount of $26,122,100 were issued, bearing interest in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, reimbursable one and two years after date, and convertible into United States stock at 6 per cent. They were redeemable after Dec. 31, 1867. Economic developments following this war led to a period of extraordinary industrial prosperity which lasted for several years. A change in the fiscal policy of the Government, with overexpansion of industry, however, resulted in a panic in 1857 and a Treasury deficit in 1858. The debt contracted in consequence of the Mexican War was redeemed in full by 1874.

The situation had not improved to any great extent when Lincoln took office on March 4, 1861, and by mid-November of that year a panic was in full swing. The outbreak of the civil war found the Treasury empty and the financial machinery of the Government seriously disorganized. Public credit was low, the public mind was disturbed, and raising money was difficult. In 1862 the Legal Tender act was passed, authorizing an issue of $150,000,000 of legal-tender notes, and an issue of bonds in the amount of $500,000,000 was authorized.

This proved to be a most popular loan. The bonds were subject to redemption after five years and were payable in twenty years. They bore interest at 6 per cent., payable semi-annually, and were issued in denominations of $50, $100, $500, and $1,000. Through one agent, Jay Cooke, a genius at distribution, who employed 2,850 sub-agents and advertised extensively, this loan was placed directly with the people at par in currency. Altogether the aggregate of this loan was $514,771,600. Later in that year Congress authorized a second issue of Treasury notes in the amount of $150,000,000 at par, with interest at 6 per cent.; in January, 1863, a third issue of $100,000,000 was authorized, which was increased in March to $150,000,000, at 5 per cent. interest. These issues were referred to as the "one and two year issues of 1863."

DEFICIT IN 1862

In December, 1862, Congress had to face a deficit of $277,000,000 and unpaid requisitions amounting to $47,000,000. By the close of 1863 nearly $400,000,000 had been raised by bond sales. A further loan act, passed March 3, 1864, provided for an issue of $200,000,000 of 5 per cent. bonds known as "ten-fortys," but of this total only $73,337,000 was disposed of. Subsequently, on June 30, 1864, a great public loan of $200,000,000 was authorized. This was an issue of Treasury notes, payable at any time not exceeding three years, and bearing interest at 7 3-10 per cent. Notes amounting to $828,800,000 were sold. The aggregate of Government loans during the civil war footed up a total of $2,600,700,000; and on Sept. 1, 1865, the public debt closely

approached $3,000,000,000, less than one-half of which was funded.

Civil war loans, with one exception, which sold at 89 3-10, were all placed at par in currency, subject to commissions ranging from an eighth to one per cent. to distributing bankers. The average interest nominally paid by the Government on its bonds during the war was slightly under 6 per cent. Owing to payment being made in currency, however, the rate was, in reality, much higher. With the conclusion of the war, the reduction of the public debt was undertaken, and it has continued with but two interruptions to date.

Heavy tax receipts for several years after the close of the war potentially enabled the Government to reduce its debt. Indeed, from 1866 to 1891, each year's ordinary receipts exceeded disbursements, and enabled the Government to lighten its financial burdens. In 1866 the decrease in the net debt was $120,395,408; in 1867, $127,884,952; in 1868, $27,297,798; in 1869, $48,081,540; in 1870, $101,601,917; in 1871, $84,175,888; in 1872, $97,213,538, and in 1873, $44,318,470.

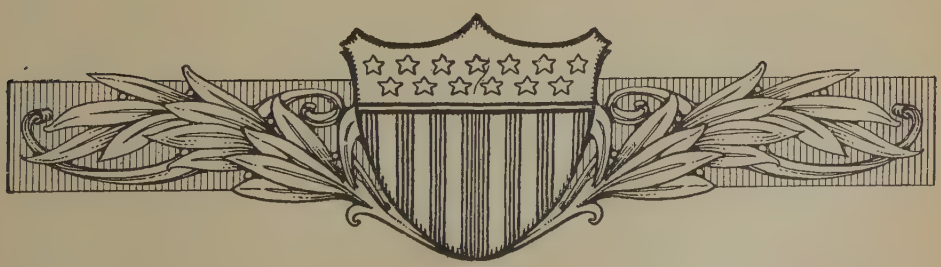
Through refunding operations—in addition to bonds and short-time obligations redeemed with surplus revenues—the Government paid off, up to 1879, $535,000,000 bonds bearing interest at from 5 to 6 per cent. In this year the credit of the Government was on a 4 per cent. basis, and a year later on a 3¼ per cent. basis, against a maximum basis of 15½ per cent. in 1864.

Between 1881 and 1887 the Government paid off, either with surplus revenues or by conversion, $618,000,000 of interest-bearing debt. In 1891 all bonds then redeemable were retired, and on July 1, 1893, the public debt amounted to less than one-third of the maximum outstanding in 1865. In 1900 the Government converted $445,900,000 bonds out of an aggregate of $839,000,000 convertible under the refunding act passed by Congress in that year. And further conversions in 1903, 1905, and 1907 brought the grand total up to $647,250,150—a result which earned for the Government a net annual saving in interest account of $16,551,037.

SPANISH WAR LOANS

The United States is a debt-paying nation. Hence, America's credit, despite occasional fluctuations, has steadily risen, and our national debt has sold on a lower income basis than that of any other nation in the world.

Following the sinking of the Maine in Havana Harbor, in 1898, Congress authorized an issue of $200,000,000 3 per cent. ten-twenty-year bonds. Of this aggregate $198,792,660 were sold by the Government at par. So popular was this loan, it was oversubscribed seven times. During the year 1898, following the allotment to the public, this issue sold at a premium, the price going to 107¾, and, during the next year, to 110¾. After the war ended, the Government, in accordance with its unvarying custom, began to pay off this debt; but, despite the Secretary of the Treasury's offer to buy these bonds, he succeeded in purchasing only about $20,000,000 of them.



American Labor Mission in Europe

War Aims of Organized Workers Conveyed to English and French Labor Unions

AN American Labor Mission visited England and France in April, 1918, to present the views of American workingmen regarding the war. The delegation numbered eighteen, headed by James Wilson, President of the Patternmakers' League of North America. In his first address at London, April 28, before the British and Foreign Press Association, Mr. Wilson said:

We recognize as a fundamental truth that there can be no democracy with the triumph of the Imperial German Government. The principle of democracy or the principle of Prussian military autocracy will prevail as a result of the world war. There can be no middle course nor compromise. The contest must be carried on to its finality.

The Central Powers have staked everything on the result of this struggle. Their defeat means the destruction of a machine which has been built with remarkable efficiency and embodies the very life of the German race.

On the other hand, every free man instinctively appreciates that if we are to maintain the standard of civilization as worked out by the free men of the world, and if posterity is to be guaranteed political and industrial freedom, the war must be won by the allied countries. Peace now would be the fulfillment of the Prussian dream, for they have within their grasp the very heart of Continental Europe and resources which would make sure further conquest upon the other nations of the world.

The American labor movement, in whose behalf my colleagues and myself have been authorized to speak, declare most emphatically that they will not agree to a peace conference with the enemies of civilization, irrespective of what cloak they wear, until Prussian militarism has withdrawn within its own boundaries, and then not until the Germans have, through proper representatives, proved to our satisfaction that they recognize the right of peoples and civilized nations to determine for themselves what shall be their standard.

Unless reconstruction shall soon come from the German workers within that country, it is now plain that the opportunity to uproot the agencies of force will only come when democracy has defeated autocracy in the military field and wins the right to reconstruct the relations between nations and men.

German freedom is ultimately the problem of the German people, but the defeat of Prussian autocracy in the field will bring the opportunity for German liberty at home.

BRITISH SEAMEN'S ATTITUDE

J. Havelock Wilson, President of the British Seamen's Union, conferred with the American Mission at London, April 30, and informed it of the decision of his union to transport no pacifists to any peace conference. He made the following statement:

On Sept. 21, 1917, we formed what we called a Merchant Seamen's League, and declared that if German terrorism on the sea continued we would enforce a boycott against Germany for two years after the war, and that for every new crime from that time on we would add one month to the length of the boycott. The length of the boycott now stands at five years seven months. We have reliable information that this action is making a very profound impression on German manufacturers and shippers.

The British seamen got their first intimation of German treachery when the international transport strike was first proposed by German delegates ostensibly to pledge support. But the British learned later that the German delegates had in their pockets as they talked contracts signed with employers.

After that we watched the German Social Democrats in the Socialists' international. But we never could get the Germans to face the issue. Always they had excuses and evasions. We never had confidence in them. When war came we felt it our duty to take care of the men on our ships who could no longer sail, and also to set a good example.

Here were Germans on our ships who had been in England so long that they had forgotten their language. On Aug. 20, 1914—you see we acted quickly—we bought an estate of thirty-nine acres and built the model internment camp of Great Britain. We asked the Government to give us charge of all interned German sailors, and, let it be known to the credit of Great Britain, that was done. The

Government allowed us all 10s. per week per man for upkeep. The camp became a great success. There were 1,000 German sailors interned in it.

Until May, 1915, all went well. On May 1 the interned men celebrated May Day, their international revolutionary holiday. They had their banners, "Workers of the World, Unite," "World Brotherhood," and so on. We had planned a great fête to be held later and I had secured the consent of several well-known persons to attend and help make it a success. On May 7 the Lusitania was sunk. I called the Germans in camp together and told them the terrible thing that had happened. I told them they were not to blame, but that the celebration could not be held. And they made no protest to me.

Now here were 1,000 Germans not under control of the Kaiser. Some of them had been among us twenty or thirty years. As soon as I had got out of the place they sang and cheered and rejoiced over the Lusitania disaster. They kept this up for four hours. They made me conclude that the camp must be handed over to the military as soon as possible, and this was done. Six months after that came the U-boat campaign, and, what made that worse, the fact that the U-boats always turned their guns on open boats.

I have got hundreds of cases of boys whose arms and legs have been blown off by U-boat guns while trying to get away from sinking ships in open boats. I wrote the Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Union protesting against these crimes. His reply attempted to justify every crime. That showed us that not only was the Kaiser responsible, but that the organized trade union movement of Germany was also responsible.

On June 1, 1917, a Socialist congress was convened at Leeds. It was advertised as the greatest conference ever held. We sent two men there to tell our story. Our men found that small bodies of only a handful of members had been delegated, who got the floor easily for the pacifist cause. Our men could not secure anything like a fair chance.

In this conference MacDonald, Fairchild, and Jowett were elected delegates to Stockholm. We at once resolved that no delegates should leave this country. And none did.

That is the history of the seamen's determination to bottle up such British pacifists as may desire to go abroad spreading their doctrine. Mingled with it is the grim, sad story of 12,000 members of the Seamen's Union who have lost their lives on merchant ships through Germany's criminal conduct on the seas.

And while there is here and there one in England who resembles a leader of labor who is a pacifist, the determination of the British seamen to go through with the war to the finish is scarcely more than a reflection of the rank-and-file spirit that is to be found throughout the whole of British labor.

NO PARLEYS WITH ENEMY LABOR

The American delegates met the representatives of labor in London and in Paris. In England they found the sentiment almost unanimous in approval of their decision to favor no conferences with German labor representatives until a victory had been achieved. In France, however, they encountered a group that favored contact with the German and Austrian Socialists. On May 6 there was a conference in Paris between the American labor delegates and the members of the Confederation Générale de Travail, the great French revolutionary labor organization. M. Jouhaux, General Secretary of the confederation, made the proposed international conference practically the sole note of his speech. France, he asserted, had no hatred for the German workers themselves, and he pointed out that if the conference took place it could have only one of two results. Either the workers in the enemy countries would refuse to join in the efforts of the workers of the allied countries for the liberation of the world's peoples, in which case the war must continue, or they would accept the allied view of what was right and would act with the allied peoples for the good of humanity.

The American reply was in these definite words:

"We don't hate the German workers any more than you do, but to give them our hand now would be looked upon by them only as a sign of weakness."

After reminding the congress of the hypocritical professions of the German Socialist Party before the war, the delegation declared itself in entire agreement with Samuel Gompers that American labor men would refuse to meet the German delegates under any circumstances so long as Germany was ruled by an Imperialistic Government. This declaration left Albert Thomas, former Cabinet officer and leader of the group, practically

without a word to say. M. Thomas urged the same arguments as Jouhaux, but all the satisfaction the French labor men got was a promise from James Wilson, President of the American delegation, to report the matter to the American workers when he returned home.

Chairman Wilson reaffirmed at a luncheon given at the Foreign Office May 10 that American labor would not discuss the war with representatives of German labor until victory was won, because German labor, which was permitting the war, must do something itself in its own country toward ending the conflict justly before it could debate with labor representatives of the allied countries on what ought to be.

The luncheon was given by Stephen Pichon, Foreign Minister, on behalf of the French Government. With the exception of Premier Clemenceau, all the members of the Cabinet were present as well as other men notable in French public life. Ambassador Sharp was also in attendance.

The mission visited the fighting front and returned to London May 11 to hold mass meetings at English industrial centres. The members were received by the King and dined by the London Chamber of Commerce May 15.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From April 18, 1918, Up to and Including May 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

The campaign for the Third Liberty Loan of $3,000,000,000 ended on May 4. The total subscription was $4,170,019,650, as announced by the Treasury Department on May 17.

On April 20 President Wilson issued a proclamation extending to women enemy aliens the restrictions imposed on men.

The Overman bill, giving the President power to consolidate and co-ordinate executive bureaus and agencies as a war emergency measure, was passed by the Senate on April 28 and by the House on May 14.

The War Trade Board announced on May 3 that a general commercial agreement with Norway had been signed. On May 12 it announced that in order to conserve materials and labor and to add tonnage to the fleet carrying men and munitions to Europe, arrangements had been made to have Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium pass upon the advisability of releasing proposed exports before granting licenses to shippers. On May 14 an agreement was reached between the United States and the allied nations providing that all imports to the United States should be forbidden unless sanctioned by the War Trade Board.

A conference report on the Sedition bill, giving the Government broad new powers to punish disloyal acts and utterances, was adopted by the Senate on May 4, and by the House of Representatives on May 7, and sent to the President for his signature.

As a result of charges of graft, inefficiency, and pro-German tendencies directed against the military aircraft administration by Gutzon Borglum, President Wilson, on May 15, asked Charles Evans Hughes to aid Attorney General Gregory in making a thorough investigation. Mr. Hughes accepted the invitation. The President also wrote a letter to Senator Martin denouncing the Chamberlain resolution for an investigation of the conduct of the war by the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, and on the same day the Senate Committee on Audit and Expenses, to which the resolution had been referred, ordered a favorable report on it, modifying it so as to provide for a limited inquiry.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamship Lake Moor was reported sunk on April 11.

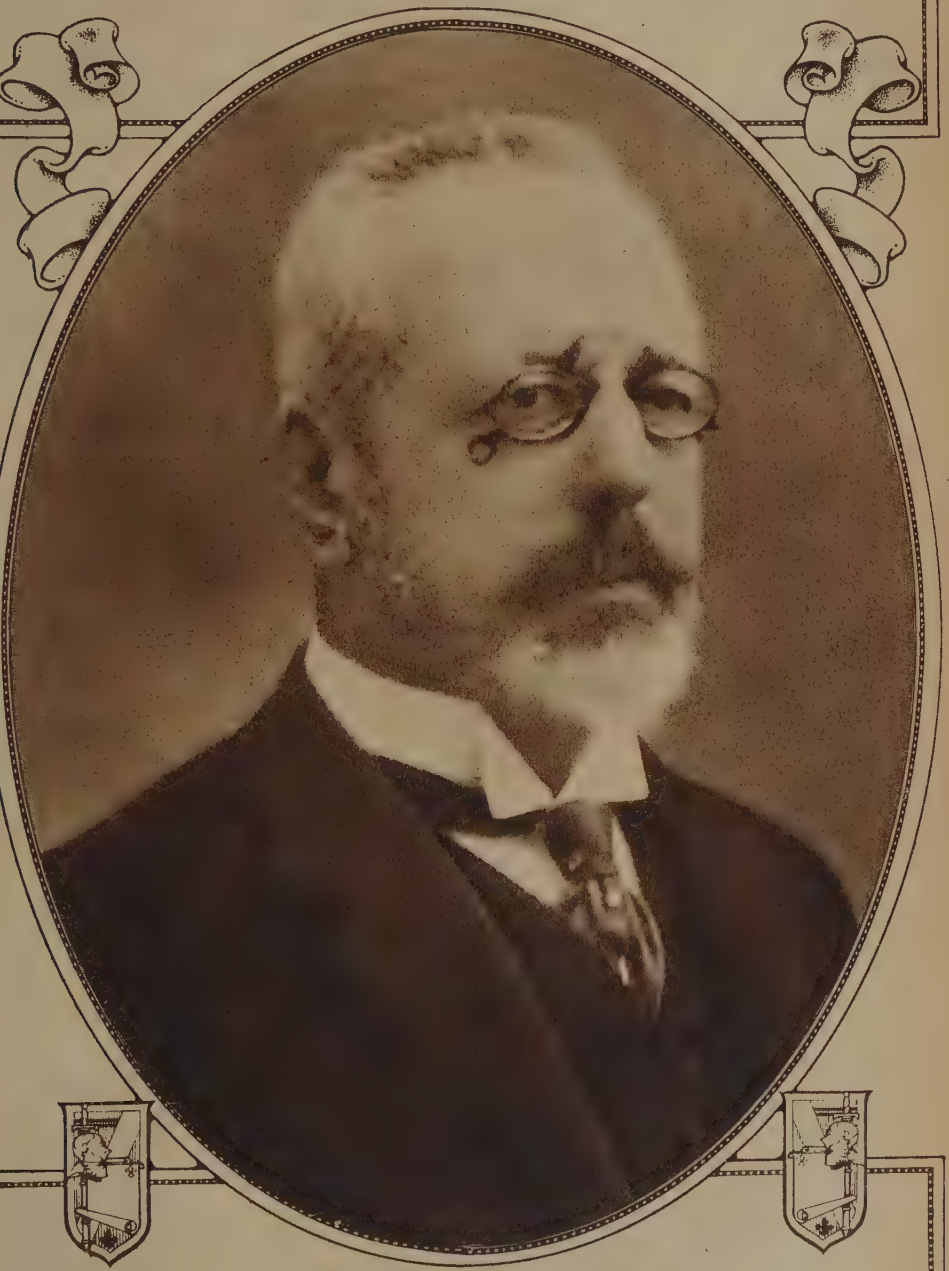
Forty-four Americans were killed when the Old Dominion liner Tyler was sunk off the French coast on May 2.

The British liner Oronsa was sunk on April 28. All on board except three members of the crew were saved. The British sloop Cowslip was torpedoed on April 25. Five officers and one man were missing.

The British Admiralty announced on April 24 the cessation of the weekly return of shipping losses and the substitution of a monthly report.

In a statement made in the Chamber of Deputies on May 11, Georges Leygues, the French Minister of Marine, declared that the total of allied tonnage sunk by Ger-

BARON STEPHAN BURIAN



Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister in succession to Czernin

John Dillon, M. P.,
Leader of the Nationalist Party
(Press Illustrating Service)

Sir Edward Carson, M. P.,
Leader of the Ulster Unionists
(Central News)

Joseph Devlin,
Nationalist M. P. for West Belfast
(Press Illustrating Service)

Sir Horace Plunkett,
Chairman of the Irish Convention
(Bain News Service)

man submarines in five months was 1,648,622, less than half the amount alleged by Germany to have been destroyed. He announced that the number of submarines sunk by the Allies was greater than Germany's output.

Twelve German submarines were officially reported captured or sunk in British waters by American or British destroyers during the month of April, and two others were known to have been destroyed.

Ten passengers were killed when the French steamship Atlantique was torpedoed in the Mediterranean early in May. The ship managed to reach port.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

April 18—French advance on both banks of the Avre River between Thanne and Mailly-Raineval; Germans deliver terrific assaults upon the British front from Givenchy to the neighborhood of St. Venant.

April 19—Italian troops reach France; British beat off assaults on Mont Kemmel and recover ground west of Robecq; bombardment of Paris resumed.

April 20—Germans hurl force against American and French troops at Seicheprey and get a grip on the town, but are driven out; Belgians give ground temporarily near the Passchendaele Canal, but regain it; British re-establish their positions in Givenchy-Festubert region.

April 21—British drive Germans from some of their advanced positions near Robecq; Americans retake Seicheprey outposts.

April 23—British gain ground east of Robecq and in the neighborhood of Meteren.

April 24—Germans take Villers-Bretonneux, but are repulsed at other places south of the Somme; Franco-American positions at Hangard shelled.

April 25—British recover Villers-Bretonneux; French and British lose ground in the Lys salient before terrific German assaults from Wytschaete to Bailleul, aiming at Mont Kemmel; Germans take Hangard.

April 26—Germans take Mont Kemmel and the villages of Kemmel and Dranoutre and push on to St. Eloi; French recover part of Hangard.

April 27—British and French troops recover some of the ground lost in the Bailleul-Wytschaete sector; Germans repulsed at Voormezeele after hard fight.

April 28—Germans take Voormezeele, but are driven out by counterattack; Locre changes hands five times.

April 29—Germans make heavy attacks upon the entire Franco-British front from Zillebeke Lake to Meteren; British hold their line intact; French yield some ground around Scherpenberg and Mont Rouge, but later regain it; Belgians repulse attacks north of Ypres; Americans take over a sector of the French line at the tip of the Somme salient.

April 30—French recover ground on the slope of Scherpenberg and advance their line astride the Dranoutre road; positions of the allied forces push forward between La Clytte and Kemmel.

May 1—Americans repulse attacks in the Villers-Bretonneux region; Béthune region bombarded.

May 3—French and British improve their positions along the Somme River southward to below the Avre; French take Hill 82, near Castel, and the wood near by.

May 4—Germans repulsed at Locon; French make progress near Locre, and British advance near Meteren; Americans in the Lorraine sector raid German positions south of Halloville and penetrate to third line; French shell disables last of German guns that have been bombarding Paris.

May 5—Franco-British forces, in operation between Locre and Dranoutre, advance their positions on a 1,000-yard front to an average depth of 500 yards; Germans foiled in attempt to occupy former American trenches in the Bois Brûlé.

May 6—Germans launch heavy gas attacks against American troops on the Picardy front.

May 8—Germans gain a foothold at several points midway between La Clytte and Voormezeele, but are repulsed at other points along the line; Austalians advance 500 yards near Sailly and 300 yards west of Morlancourt.

May 9—British re-establish their lines and drive Germans out of British trenches between La Clytte and Voormezeele; Germans occupy British advanced positions at Albert on a front of about 150 yards.

May 10—British restore their line at Albert; German artillery fire active in the Vimy and Robecq sectors of the British front, and south of Dickebusch.

May 11—Berlin reports heavy losses inflicted on American troops southwest of Apremont; Germans gain small portion of territory southwest of Mailly-Raineval, but are driven out by French; French gain ground in Mareuil Wood.

May 12—French troops north of Kemmel capture Hill 44 and an adjoining farm; Germans bombard Albert, Loos, and Ypres sectors, and lines southeast of Amiens, but are repulsed by the French near Orvillers-Sorel.

May 13—Americans blow up enemy ammunition dump and start fires in Cantigny, with explosions; Germans resume firing north of Kemmel.

May 14—Hill 44, north of Kemmel, changes hands several times; French advance in Hangard region; British carry out successful raid near Robecq.

May 15—Germans repulsed by the British southwest of Morlancourt and by the French north of Kemmel.

May 16—Heavy gunfire in the Lys and Avre areas.

May 17—Official announcement that American troops have taken their place in the British war zone in Northern France; German gunfire increases in the Lys and Hailles region.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

May 3—Heavy fighting reported along the entire front between the Adriatic and the Giudicaria Valley.

May 5—Increase in artillery fire, notably in the Lagarina and Astico Valleys.

May 11—Italians penetrate advanced Austrian positions on Monte Carno.

May 12—Italians wipe out a Coll dell' Orso garrison.

May 14—Austrian attempts to renew attacks on Monte Carno and to approach Italian lines at Dosso Casina and in the Balcino and Ornic Valleys fail.

May 16—Italians enter Austrian lines at two points on Monte Asolone; British make successful raid at Canove.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR.

April 21—Armenians retake Van.

April 27—British in Mesopotamia advance north of Bagdad and Kifra.

April 28—British cavalry forces a passage of the Aqsu at a point southwest of Tuzhurmatl.

April 29—British take Tuzhurmatl.

April 30—British advance as far as the Tauk River, and occupy Mezreh.

May 1—Es-Salt taken by the British.

May 7—British enter Kerkuk.

May 12—Arabs of Hedjaz raid Jadi Jerdun station and a post on the Hedjaz Railway, taking many prisoners and destroying tracks and bridges.

AERIAL RECORD.

Trent, Trieste, and Pola were raided by Italian scouts on May 10.

Carlshutte, Germany, was bombed by the British May 3. Saarbrucken was bombed on May 16, and five German machines were brought down.

British aviators raided the aviation grounds at Campo Maggiore on May 4 and brought down fourteen Austrian planes.

German airmen attacked Dutch fishing vessels in the North Sea May 5.

Ostend, Westende, and Zeebrugge were attacked by British seaplanes on May 6.

Many notable air battles occurred on the western front in connection with the fighting in Picardy and Flanders. In one day, May 15, fifty-five German airplanes were brought down by British and French aviators, and on May 16 forty-six German machines were brought down by the British.

NAVAL RECORD.

Early in the morning of April 23 British naval forces, in co-operation with French destroyers, carried out a raid against Zeebrugge and Ostend, with the object of bottling up German submarine bases. Five obsolete British cruisers, which had been filled with concrete, were run aground, blown up, and abandoned by their crews, and two old submarines were loaded with explosives for the destruction of the Zeebrugge mole. A German destroyer was sunk and other ships were shelled. Twenty yards of the Zeebrugge mole were blown up, and the harbor was blocked completely. On May 10 the obsolete cruiser Vindictive was sunk at the entrance to Ostend Harbor, practically completing the work.

An Austrian dreadnought of the Viribus Unitis type was torpedoed by Italian naval forces in Pola Harbor on the morning of May 14.

RUSSIA.

On April 20, Japan ordered reinforcements sent to Vladivostok, as the Bolsheviki had directed the removal of munitions westward. On the same day diplomatic representatives of the allied powers were formally informed by the Siberian Provincial Duma of the formation—by representatives of the Zemstvos and other public organizations—of the Government of Autonomous Siberia.

The Bolshevist Foreign Minister, George Tchitcherin, on April 26, addressed representatives in Moscow of the United States, England, and France, requesting the speedy recall of their Consuls from Vladivostok and the investigation of their alleged participation in negotiations said to have been conducted between their Peking embassies and the Siberian autonomous Government. He also asked them to explain their attitude toward the Soviet Government and the alleged attempts of their representatives to interfere with the internal life of Russia. Japan was asked to explain the participation of Japanese officials in the counter-revolutionary movement. An official report of the demand for the removal of John K. Caldwell, the American Consul at Vladivostok, was received by the American State Department on May 6, from Ambassador Francis. The State Department announced that Mr. Caldwell had done nothing wrong and that he would not be removed. On the same day a report was received that the Russian authorities at Irkutsk had arrested the Japanese Vice Consul and the President of the Japanese Association on the charge of being military spies.

At a meeting of several thousand peasants of the Ukraine, held on April 29, a resolution was passed calling for the overthrow of the Government, the closing of the Central Rada, the cancellation of the Constituent Assembly convoked for May 12, and the abandonment of land socialization. General Skoropauski was pro-

claimed Hetman and was recognized by Germany.

The German advance into the Ukraine continued, military rule was established in Kiev, and several members of the Government, including the Minister of War, were removed on the ground that the Government had proved too weak to maintain law and order. Vice Chancellor von Payer, speaking before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag on May 4, attempted to justify Germany's use of the iron hand by declaring that grain had been withheld and that prominent Ukrainians, members of the Committee of Safety, had been caught planning the assassination of German officers.

Rostov-on-the-Don was occupied by Germans on May 9, but was recaptured by the Russians the next day.

M. Tchitcherin, on May 12, sent a wireless message to Ambassador Joffe, at Berlin, instructing him to try to obtain from Berlin cessation of every kind of hostility, and declared that captures of Russian territory violated the terms of the treaty of peace. He also gave assurances that the Black Sea Fleet would not attack the port of Novorossysk, which the Germans threatened to capture. In an evasive reply the Commander in Chief of the German troops in the East said he could only agree to the cessation of naval operations against the Black Sea Fleet, provided that all ships returned to Sebastopol and were retained there, thus leaving the port of Novorossysk free for navigation.

A Swedish report of May 14 told of a German ultimatum to the Bolshevist Government demanding the occupation of Moscow and other Russian cities, the abolishment of armaments, and the effecting of certain financial measures which would practically make Russia a German colony.

Professor H. C. Emery, the American who was seized when the Germans landed in the Aland Islands, was freed from prison, but was still detained in Germany, according to a report received on May 5.

The British Foreign Minister, A. J. Balfour, announced in Commons on May 5 that Great Britain was ready to grant temporary recognition to the Esthonian National Council.

Transcaucasia proclaimed its independence on April 26, and a conservative Government was formed, headed by M. Chkemkeli.

Ciscaucasia proclaimed itself an independent State on May 14.

The Caucasus proposed peace negotiations with Turkey May 10.

Russian Bolshevist troops crossed the Caspian Sea in gunboats and recaptured Baku from the Mussulmans May 17.

Emperor William issued a proclamation, May 14, recognizing the independence of Lithuania, allied with the German Empire, and saying that it was assumed that Lithuania would participate in the war burdens of Germany.

FINLAND.

Hostilities between the Finnish White Guards and the Germans and the Red Guards continued. Germany protested to the Bolshevist Foreign Minister on April 23 against the landing of allied troops at Murmansk, declaring that such landing was a violation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. Germany also denied that Germans had participated in the raid of the Finnish White Guards upon Kem.

The White Guards, on April 26, demanded the surrender of a fort on the Finnish coast ceded to Russia by the Finnish Bolshevist Government, constituting part of the Kronstadt defenses. The Kronstadt Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates refused to comply with the demand, and organized resistance.

Viborg was taken by the White Guards on April 30. On May 3, the Germans in the southwest defeated the Red Guards after a five days' battle near Lakhti and Tevastus. The Finnish flag was raised on the fortress of Sveaborg on May 13. On May 15 the White Guards entered Helsingfors, and on May 17 they seized Boris-Gleb on the Norwegian border from the Russian troops, thus gaining access to the Arctic Ocean.

RUMANIA.

A peace treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed May 6, and supplementary legal, economic, and political treaties were later concluded.

The Rumanian Parliament was dissolved on May 10 by royal decree and new elections were ordered.

POLAND.

The Lausanne Gazette announced on May 12 that Poland was handed over to Germany economically, politically, and militarily, according to a secret treaty arranged at Brest-Litovsk between a Russian delegation, headed by Trotzky, and German representatives. At a conference between the Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary, Germany agreed to the solution of the Polish question desired by Austria, in return for certain concessions from Austria.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Guatemalan Assembly, on April 22, declared the country to be in the same position as the United States in the war, and the following day the Guatemalan Minister at Washington announced that the declaration was meant as a declaration of war against Germany and her allies.

In response to a request from Uruguay for a definition of the relations between the two countries, Germany replied, accord-

ing to an announcement made public May 16, that she did not consider that a state of war existed.

Nicaragua declared war on Germany and her allies on May 7.

Royal assent to the British man-power bill, providing for conscription in Ireland, was given on April 18. An Order in Council was issued on May 1 postponing the Conscription act.

Lord Wimborne, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Henry E. Duke, Chief Secretary, resigned on April 24. Edward Shortt was appointed Chief Secretary and Viscount French succeeded Lord Wimborne as Lord Lieutenant.

James Ian MacPherson announced in the House of Commons on May 9 that a German submarine had recently landed an associate of Sir Roger Casement on the Irish coast, where he was arrested by Government officials, and that he was now in the Tower of London and would be tried by court-martial. A dispatch dated May 15 revealed that two Germans accompanied him, and that all three were imprisoned.

All the Sinn Fein leaders, including De Valera and the Countess Markievicz, were arrested in Belfast, Dublin, and other cities, on May 17, as the result of the discovery of treasonable relations with Germany. Lord Lieutenant French issued a proclamation dealing with the situation, calling on all loyalists to aid in blocking the German plans and asking for volunteers to provide Ireland's share of the army.

Sir Arthur Roberts, financial adviser to the British Air Minister, resigned on April 24 as a result of a disagreement with Lord Rothermere. The next day Lord Rothermere resigned. He was succeeded by Sir William Weir. Baron Rhondda resigned as Food Controller and Lord Northcliffe resigned as Chairman of London headquarters of the British Mission to the United States and Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries.

Representatives of the allied nations met at Versailles on May 1 and May 2.

On May 6 Major Gen. Frederick Barton Maurice, formerly Director General of British Military Operations, addressed a letter to The London Daily Chronicle challenging the statements made in the House of Commons by Premier Lloyd George and Andrew Bonar Law with regard to the military situation and demanding a Parliamentary investigation. On May 7 ex-Premier Asquith moved for an inquiry in Commons. After a speech by Lloyd George in Commons in his own defense, May 9, the House, by a vote of 293 to 106, upheld him and the Government and rejected Mr. Asquith's motion.

The Austrian Premier was empowered by Emperor Charles, on May 4, to adjourn Parliament and to inaugurate measures to render impossible the resumption of its activities.

A growing resentment against the domination of Austria-Hungary by Germany was manifested by Austria's Slavic peoples. A dispatch from Switzerland dated May 8 told of serious disturbances in the fleet, caused by seamen of Slavic and Italian stock, which resulted in several changes in the high command. A new Hungarian Cabinet, headed by Dr. Wekerle, was formed on May 10. On May 13 Vienna papers published a declaration by the Czech members of the Austrian House of Lords in which an independent State was demanded.

As a result of a conference between Emperor William and Emperor Charles at German Headquarters on May 10, Austria-Hungary concluded a new convention with Germany.

M. Duval, manager of the Bonnet Rouge, and his associates, Leymarie and Marion, directors of the paper; Goldsky and Landau, journalists, and two minor men named Joucla and Vercasson, were placed on trial in Paris on charges of treason and espionage, on April 29. On May 15, Duval was sentenced to death for treason, and the six other defendants were sentenced to imprisonment for terms ranging from two to ten years.

The British Government replied to the note of the Netherlands Government concerning the taking over of Dutch ships on May 1, and asserted the full legality of the seizure.

A London dispatch, dated April 24, announced that Germany had sent an ultimatum to Holland demanding the right of transit for civilian supplies and sand and gravel. Holland yielded to these demands on April 28, with the stipulation that the sand and gravel should not be used for war purposes. On May 5, Foreign Minister Loudon announced in the Dutch Chamber that Germany had promised to transport no troops or military supplies and to limit the amount of sand and gravel.

Persia informed Holland, on May 3, that it regarded as null and void all treaties imposed upon Persia in recent years, and especially the Russo-British treaty of 1907 regarding the spheres of influence.

German Losses On All Fronts

One Estimate Reaches 5,600,000

KARL BLEIBTREU, the German military statistician, writing in Das Neue Europa of April 22, gives the German losses from Aug. 2, 1914, to Jan. 31, 1918, as 4,456,961 men. His figures deal exclusively with those killed in action or taken prisoner. They are official from Aug. 2, 1914, till July 31, 1917, and are then estimated to Jan. 31, 1918. His figures and comment read:

WESTERN FRONT

1914			
August	172,500	November	93,000
September	214,500	December	50,200
October	139,600		
Total			669,800

1915			
Jan. and Feb.	66,000	August	105,400
March	(?) 61	Sept. and Oct.	119,450
April	42,500	November	57,500
May	112,500	December	57,750
June and July	152,300		
Total			713,461

1916			
January	18,100	July	86,650
February	17,800	August	148,000
March	51,300	September	119,800
April	72,650	October	125,000
May	64,000	November	87,100
June	54,850	December	56,000
Total			901,250

1917			
January	48,000	April	59,000
February	39,000	May, June and	
March	39,600	July	134,850
Total, (7 months)			320,450

These figures give, on the western front, from Aug. 2, 1914, to July 31, 1917, an aggregate of 2,604,961 casualties.

EASTERN FRONT

1914	163,900	1916	359,800
1915	699,600	1917	261,250

This gives a total from Aug. 2, 1914, to July 31, 1917, of 1,484,550, and for the two fronts combined of 4,089,511.

From Aug. 1, 1917, to Jan. 31, 1918, Herr Bleibtreu estimates the total losses on both fronts at 367,450, making in all 4,456,961 men.

In adding those who died from illness or wounds, the losses resulting from the colonial and maritime fighting, as well as in the noncombatant and auxiliary services, not comprised in the preceding enumeration, the grand total considerably exceeds 5,000,000.

Estimates of German losses from Jan. 31, 1918, to May 20, 1918, range from 400,000 to 600,000. If the above figures are correct, the total German loss in the forty-six months of the war exceeds 5,600,000. The London Telegraph, in analyzing these figures, said:

> With regard to the figures given by Herr Bleibtreu, it may be remarked that they are enormously in excess over those compiled in well-informed quarters from the official casualty lists published by the German Government, and issued periodically. Down to July 31, 1918, these lists had contained a grand total of 4,624,256 names, but did not include naval or Colonial troop losses. Of the above figure the following are the permanent losses:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Killed and died of wounds | 1,056,975 |
> | Died of sickness | 75,988 |
> | Prisoners | 335,269 |
> | Missing | 267,237 |
> | Total | 1,735,469 |

These statistics are merely the names published down to July 31, 1917, and are not to be taken as the actual total casualties, as the lists are always at least several weeks behindhand. But even allowing for this fact, Bleibtreu's estimate for the killed in action and prisoners alone is considerably more than double those officially acknowledged by Berlin, and nearly equal to the total casualties admitted in the official lists from all causes. Of this remarkable discrepancy there can be only two possible explanations. Either the German Government has throughout the war systematically falsified its casualty lists—and there is good reason to believe that this is the case—or else Bleibtreu has been put up by the German Staff to publish a set of statistics intended deliberately to mislead the Allies.

Great Britain's Finances

Heavy War Taxes Levied

THE new British budget for 1918-19 was introduced in the House of Commons April 23. It included some sweeping changes in taxes and gave important data of expenses. The estimate for 1918 in round numbers is $15,000,000,000; the estimated revenue is $4,200,000,000, leaving a balance to be covered by loans of $10,800,000,000. The actual expenditures in 1917-18 were $13,481,105,000; the revenue was $3,536,175,000; the deficit met by loans was $9,944,930,000.

Under the new budget the tax on incomes is increased from $1.25 in $5 to $1.50 in $5. Under the new rate the increased tax begins at an income of $2,500 a year. On an income that is wholly earned—such as a salary—the tax is as follows:

Income.	Tax.
Income.	Tax
$2,000 a year	$157
2,500 a year	225
3,000 a year	375
4,000 a year	600
5,000 a year	750
10,000 a year	2,250

Where the income is wholly unearned the tax is as follows:

TAXES ON UNEARNED INCOME

Income.	Tax.
$2,000 a year	$210
2,500 a year	300
3,000 a year	455
5,000 a year	947
10,000 a year	2,635

The super tax in the new law begins at an income of $13,750, and the total taxes paid on the following incomes, including income tax and super tax, are as follows:

TOTAL INCOME AND SUPER TAX

Income.	Tax.
$15,000 a year	$4,802
20,000 a year	6,812
25,000 a year	8,937
30,000 a year	11,187
40,000 a year	15,937
50,000 a year	20,937
100,000 a year	47,187
500,000 a year	255,187

The tax on $500,000 incomes is a little over 50 per cent. In the case of a taxpayer whose total income does not exceed $4,000 an allowance of $125 is granted in respect of his wife and an allowance of a like amount in respect of any dependent relatives whom he maintains; also an allowance of $125 in respect of children under 16 years of age.

TAXES ON COMMODITIES

Checks require a stamp of 4 cents, also promissory notes. The excess-profit rate remains at 80 per cent. The tax on spirits is raised to $7.50 a gallon; on beer to $12.50 a barrel; on tobacco to $2.04 a pound, the effect of which will increase the price 4 cents an ounce, while the cheapest cigarette, now 6 cents for ten, will be 7 cents for ten. The tax on matches is increased so that they will be sold at 2 cents a box instead of 1½ cents. An additional duty of $3 a hundredweight is levied on sugar, so that sugar heretofore selling at 11½ cents a pound will now have to be sold at 14 cents a pound.

A tax of 16⅔ per cent. is levied on the sale of luxuries, including jewelry, and of articles above a certain price when they become articles of luxury; also on hotel and restaurant bills. This tax will be collected by means of stamps. The new postage rate is raised to 3 cents an ounce; on book packages exceeding one ounce an extra charge of 1 cent will be levied. Letters to the United States will cost 3 cents instead of 2 cents. Postcards in England will be 2 cents instead of 1 cent, and the parcel rate, under seven pounds, 18 cents, and between seven and eleven pounds, 25 cents.

LUXURIES HEAVILY TAXED

The tax on luxuries is a new tax in England, and is following the method adopted in France Dec. 31, 1917. The tax on luxuries in France is levied at the rate of 10 per cent. on the retail selling price of the scheduled articles.

All payments of less than 20 cents are exempted. The schedule consists of two lists, one comprising articles taxed irrespective of price at 10 per cent., and the other, articles taxed when the retail price exceeds certain specified amounts, as follows:

Taxed Irrespective of Price.—Photographic appliances, gold or platinum jewelry, billiard tables, silk hosiery and underwear, artistic bronze and iron work, horses and ponies for pleasure purposes, curiosities and antiques, sporting guns, books, servants' liveries, gold watches, perfumery, soaps and dentifrices, paintings and sculpture, pianos, (other than cottage pianos,) tapestry, truffles, pleasure boats, and yachts.

Taxed Above Specified Prices, (approximately shown in U. S. money.)—Pet dogs, $8; other pets, $2; smokers' requisites, $2; bicycles, $50; silver jewelry, $2; picture frames, $2; walking sticks, $2; chinaware table service, $40; single pieces, 39c to $3; men's headwear, $4; women's hats, $8; women's footwear, $8; men's footwear, $10; chocolates, 75c per pound; corsets, $10; men's suits, $35; women's costumes or mantles, $50; scissors, $2; lace and embroidery machine made, 35c per yard; handmade, $1.83 per yard; artificial flowers, $2; furs, $20; gloves, $1.58; furniture, $300 per suite; mirrors, $4; motor cycles, $400; watches, $10; handkerchiefs, $3.66 per dozen; umbrellas, $5; feathers, $5; clocks, $20; photographs, $8 per dozen; cottage pianos, $240; curtains, $20; carpets, $3.62 per yard; pajamas and dressing gowns, $16; horse carriages, $200; bird cages, $2.

Payments for goods bought before Jan. 1, 1918, are exempt from the tax.

AMERICA'S ASSISTANCE

In presenting the budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the expenditures in the past year exceeded the estimate by $2,030,000,000. He referred to America's assistance as follows:

The extent of the assistance of the United States and our advances to the Allies last year amounted to $2,525,000,000. In addition to this the United States have advanced to all the Allies no less a sum during the year than $4,750,000,000. Of this sum approximately $2,500,000,000 was advanced to us and $2,250,000,000 to the Allies.

The House will see, therefore, that, whereas this year we advanced to the Allies approximately the same amount as last year, $2,525,000,000 as against $2,700,000,000, the United States advanced in addition $2,250,000,000; that is to say, the total advances by us and by the Government of the United States are $4,775,000,000, as against $2,700,000,000 by us alone last year.

The House would notice that our advances to the Allies are approximately the same amount as the advances made to us by the Government of the United States. This is satisfactory. It means that it is only necessary for us to lean on the United States to the extent that the other Allies lean upon us, or that, in other words, after nearly four years of war we are self-supporting.

But it is almost absurd that we should be borrowing with one hand while we are lending with the other. The result is that our accounts are inflated apparently, and in fact to that extent our credit is weakened. I have therefore been in communication with Mr. McAdoo, the Financial Minister of America, and Mr. Crossley, the head of the United States Financial Mission, and I suggested as regards advances to the Allies a course which, if adopted, will have the effect of lessening to a considerable extent our burden, while in no way increasing the total obligations of the United States.

THE TOTAL BRITISH DEBT

In referring to the total debt the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the following statement:

The national debt, on the estimates which I have submitted to the House, will at the end of the present year, (March 31, 1919,) amount to $39,900,000,000. Previously, in counting our liabilities, I have deducted altogether advances to Allies and Dominions. I do not propose to adopt that course today. We cannot ignore what is happening in Russia; though, even yet, I do not admit—I do not believe—that we should regard the debt of Russia as a bad debt, because, sooner or later, in spite of what is happening now, there will be an ordered Government in that country.

By the end of this year the total amount due by the Allies to us will be $8,110,000,000, and I should hope that we should be able to deduct Dominion and obligation debts, making a total of $5,920,000,000. The amount of our national debt at the end of last year was $29,250,000,000. The amount of our liability on the basis I have stated is $34,280,000,000, and, taking 5 per cent. on this amount as the rate of interest, the total comes to $1,900,000,000. This, added to the normal expenditure, makes a total amount of $3,400,000,000.

Now, how is that to be met? Taking the Inland Revenue taxation alone, it amounts to $2,700,000,000. The Inland Revenue officials have assured me that they have made a very careful and a very conservative estimate. Taking this estimate, there

remains a deficit on the full year of $550,000,000.

To make good this $550,000,000 I shall impose new taxation which, on the full year, will bring in $570,000,000. The Inland Revenue, in their estimate of result of existing taxation, take no account whatever of the excess profits duty, but that duty, as I have pointed out, is expected to yield $1,500,000,000.

Assuming—an assumption that may last for half an hour [laughter]—that the income tax remains at 5s, that should reach $375,000,000. Of course, that must be supplemented. It depends upon the state of trade and credit, but I think I am quite safe in saying that this amount, which they have left out of their reckoning, is more than sufficient to counterbalance any error made with regard to existing taxation.

GERMANY'S WAR DEBT

He followed this with a statement contrasting the financial condition of Great Britain with that of Germany, as follows:

Up to June, 1916, according to the statement of the German Financial Minister, the monthly German expenditure was $500,000,000; it is now admitted to be $937,500,000, which means a daily expenditure of $31,250,000, which is almost the same as ours. But it does not include such matters as separation allowances. As to the war debt, the German votes of credit up to July amounted to $31,000,000,000. Up to 1916 they imposed no new taxation at all, and in that year they proposed a war increment levy. Assuming that their estimates were realized, the total amount of taxation levied by the German Government was $1,825,000,000, as against our own amount.

This amount is not enough to pay the interest of the war debt which Germany has accumulated up to the end of the year. The German balance sheet, reckoned on the same basis as ours, will, with interest, sinking fund, pensions, and pre-war expenditures, be a year hence $3,600,000,000; and with additional permanent imperial revenue of $600,000,000 they will make their total additional revenue $925,000,000 per annum, and this amount, added to the pre-war revenue, makes a total of $1,675,000,000, showing a deficit at the end of the year of $1,925,000,000.

If that were our position I should say that bankruptcy was not far from the British Nation.

The German taxes have been almost exclusively indirect, imposed on commodities paid for by the mass of the people and not upon the wealthier classes, who control the Governmert and on whom the Government is afraid to put extra taxation.

Trade After the War

Important Report by a Commission of British Experts and Economists

GREAT BRITAIN'S policy with reference to future trade is outlined in the final report of the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy After the War, of which Lord Balfour of Burleigh was Chairman, and which included in its membership Arthur Balfour, (ex-Master Cutler of Sheffield,) also the heads of the various Boards of Trade, the textile trades, with representatives of the shipping and shipbuilding industries, finance, engineering, metal trades, coal, electrical, iron and steel associations, national transport workers, and distinguished economists.

Shipping policy after the war is not dealt with in the report, but, in view of the world shortage of tonnage, the committee express the opinion that, while it may be desirable to impose for a limited period some restriction on the use of British ports by enemy vessels, any policy which might tend to check the use of English ports by foreign shipping generally would be inexpedient. They, however, urge that, in accordance with the Paris Conference resolutions, the exaction of reparation in kind from enemy countries should, in the interests of the reconstruction of industry and the mercantile marine, be carried out as fully as may be practicable.

In a general survey of the position of British industry and overseas trade in 1913, prior to the war, the committee found that the United Kingdom had taken only a limited share in the more

modern branches of industrial production, and that certain branches had come to be entirely, or very largely, under German control, and in numerous branches foreign manufacturers had secured a "strong, or even predominant, position." They found that British merchants and manufacturers had also been encountering successful competition in overseas trade. They believe that the knowledge gained during the war will be a valuable asset in the development of British industry.

As to the measures which should be adopted during the transitional period, the committee reaffirm the main recommendations of their interim report, namely:

Transition Period

(a) The prohibition of the importation of goods from enemy origin should be continued, subject to license in exceptional cases, for at least twelve months after the conclusion of the war, and subsequently for such further period as may be deemed expedient.

(b) The Paris resolutions relating to the supply of the Allies for the restoration of their industries can be carried into effect if a policy of joint control of certain important commodities can be agreed upon between the Brtish Empire and the Allies. Any measures should aim at securing to the British Empire and the allied countries priority for their requirements, and should be applied only to materials which are mainly derived from those countries and will be required by them. This policy should be applied as regards the United Kingdom by legislation empowering the Government to prohibit the export, except under license, of such articles as may be deemed expedient, and, as regards the British Empire and the allied countries, the Government should, without delay, enter into negotiations with the various Governments concerned, with a view to the adoption of suitable joint measures in the case of selected commodities of importance.

The Government should consider, in consultation with the Allies, the expediency of establishing after the war a joint organization on the lines of Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement for dealing with the orders of the allied Governments for reconstruction purposes, and with such private orders as they may find it expedient to centralize.

It is pointed out that the prolongation of the war and the entry into it of the United States have increased the importance of a considered policy directed toward assuring to the British Empire and the Allies adequate supplies of essential raw materials during the period immediately following the conclusion of peace, and that the extent to which the Paris resolutions which bear upon this vital question can be carried into effect depends upon the co-operation of the Governments concerned.

PROBLEM OF RAW MATERIALS

The committee reports that it will be necessary to continue for a considerable period after the war some portion of the control of home and foreign trade in order to secure adequate supplies of foodstuffs and raw material. It does not regard it as practical to attempt to make the empire self-supporting in respect of numerous raw materials. It notes that the Board of Trade already has set up a committee to investigate the question of the supply of cotton and it recommends special inquiries as regards each commodity. "The object to "be kept in view should be that the em- "pire may be capable in an emergency "of being independent in respect of the "supply of every essential commodity of "any single foreign country."

The committee advises against the exclusion of foreign (other than present enemy) capital from sharing in the development of the empire's resources, but recommends:

(a) Complete disclosure, as far as is practicable, of the extent of foreign holdings in any particular case.

(b) That mineral and other properties are not secured by foreign concerns in order to prevent the development of those properties, and to check competition in supply; and

(c) That in the case of commodities of great imperial importance, the local Government concerned should have some measure of control over the working of the properties.

These principles, if accepted, should be brought to the notice of the Governments of other parts of the empire, with a view to the adoption of a uniform policy.

ALIENS IN BUSINESS

The committee expresses the opinion that it would not be desirable to impose special restrictions against the participation of aliens in commercial and in-

dustrial occupations. It recommends, however, that such occupations as pilot and patent agent should be confined to British-born subjects, and suggests that foreign commercial travelers operating in the United Kingdom should be registered and hold licenses, that the registration of title to property should be compulsory, and that such registration should involve a declaration of the nationality of the owner.

The committee deems it unwise to restrain the establishment or the continuance of agencies or branches of foreign banks or insurance companies in the United Kingdom, but foreign insurance companies should be required to make a deposit proportionate to the business done. Foreign banks should be required to pay the income tax.

The committee considers it necessary to impose special restrictions on the subjects of enemy countries, and that this can best be done by means of stringent permit and police regulations, but it does not believe that attempts should be made to prevent enemy subjects from establishing agencies or holding interests in commercial or industrial undertakings.

A plan for the maintenance and development of industries essential to national safety, called "Key Industries," is proposed, as follows:

> Synthetic dyes, spelter, tungsten, magnetos, optical and chemical glass, hosiery needles, thorium nitrate, limit and screw gauges, and certain drugs.

SPECIAL INDUSTRIES BOARD

The committee recommends the creation of a permanent special industries board, charged with the duty of watching the course of industrial development and recommending plans for the promotion and assistance of the industries enumerated above. With reference to industries generally the committee thinks that the individualist methods hitherto adopted should be supplemented by co-operation and co-ordination of effort in respect of

1. The securing of supplies of materials.
2. Production, in which we include standardization and scientific and industrial research; and
3. Marketing.

The report recommends the formation of combinations of manufacturers, strong, well organized associations and combinations, to secure supplies of materials, especially the control of mineral deposits in foreign countries. In order to facilitate increased production it recommends:

> That an authority should be set up which should have the right, after inquiry, to grant compulsory powers for the acquisition of land for industrial purposes and the diversion or abolition of roads or footpaths.
>
> That there should be a judicial body with compulsory powers to deal with the question of wayleaves required for the development of mineral royalties and the economical working of collieries and mines.

The committee believes in the formation of organizations for marketing the manufactured products of the country and deems it inexpedient for the Government to enter into any policy aiming at positive control of combinations (trusts) in the United Kingdom. It recommends that combinations be legalized, so as to be enforceable between members. It welcomes the establishment of the British Trade Corporation to coordinate and supplement existing financial facilities for trading purposes. As a general rule the members think it would be undesirable that the State should attempt to provide capital for industrial purposes, but as the re-establishment of industry on a peace basis will be profoundly affected by taxation, currency, and foreign exchanges, they recommend that these matters be taken up by the Treasury, in consultation with the banking and commercial interests.

TARIFF REGULATIONS

With reference to tariff the committee recommends a protective tariff only on industries "which can show that, in spite of the adoption of the most efficient technical methods and business organization, they cannot maintain themselves against foreign competition, or that they are hindered from adopting these methods by such competition."

The general fiscal policy as finally adopted by the committee is as follows:

> 1. The producers of this country are entitled to require from the Government that they should be protected in their

home market against "dumping" and against the introduction of "sweated" goods, by which term we understand goods produced by labor which is not paid at trade union rates of wages, where such rates exist in the country of origin of the goods, or the current rates of that country where there are no trade union rates. We recommend that action be taken in regard to "dumping" on the lines (though not necessarily in the precise form) adopted in Canada.

2. Those industries which we have described as "key" or "pivotal" should be maintained in this country at all hazards and at any expense.

3. As regards other industries, protection by means of customs duties or Government assistance in other forms should be afforded only to carefully selected branches of industry, which must be maintained either for reasons of national safety or on the general ground that it is undesirable that any industry of real importance to our economic strength and well-being should be allowed to be weakened by foreign competition or brought to any serious extent under alien domination or control.

4. Preferential treatment should be accorded to the British oversea dominions and possessions in respect of any customs duties now or hereafter to be imposed in the United Kingdom, and consideration should be given to other forms of imperial preference.

5. As regards our commercial relations with our present allies and neutrals, the denunciation of existing commercial treaties is unnecessary and inexpedient, but the present opportunity should be taken to endeavor to promote our trade with our allies, and consideration should be given to the possibility of utilizing for purposes of negotiation with them and present neutrals any duties which may be imposed in accordance with the principles laid down above.

LIMITING PROTECTIVE PRINCIPLES

In view of the danger that the admission of the principle of protection, even to a limited extent, may give rise to a widespread demand for similar assistance from other industries, and consequently to an amount of political pressure which it may be very difficult to resist, the committee further recommends:

> That a strong and competent board, with an independent status, should be established to examine into all applications from industries for State assistance, to advise his Majesty's Government upon such applications, and, where a case is made out, to frame proposals as to the precise nature and extent of the assistance to be given.

> Before recommending tariff protection for any particular industry it should be the duty of the board to consider forms of State assistance other than, or concurrent with, protective duties, such as bounties on production, preferential treatment (subject to an adequate standard of quality and security against price rings) in respect of Government and other public authority contracts, State financial assistance, and also whether the position of the industry could not be improved by internal reorganization.

> The board should also have constantly in mind the safeguarding of the interests of consumers and of labor, and should make recommendations as to the conditions which for these purposes should be attached to any form of Government assistance, whether by means of a tariff or otherwise.

The committee reports adversely on the changing of weights, measures, and coinage to the metric system.

BANK OF FINLAND, AT HELSINGFORS, WHERE THE RED GUARDS, ATTEMPTING TO BREAK INTO THE BUILDING, WERE REPULSED BY THE WHITE GUARDS

Finland Under German Control

Events of the Period of Chaos and Foreign Invasion Preceding the Fall of Viborg

CIVIL war, later complicated by the German invasion, has been the central fact in the history of Finland since the declaration of its independence in December, 1917. The internecine strife was precipitated by the coup d'état which the Finnish Socialists effected in January, 1918. It so happened that the representatives of the propertied classes had the majority in the Diet which severed the century-old connection between Finland and Russia. As for the Government which this Diet has set up to rule the independent republic, all its members belong to middle-class parties. Headed by Mr. Svinhufud, a Young-Finn leader, it includes one Svekoman, two Agrarians, three Old-Finns, and six Young-Finns.

The dissatisfaction of the Socialist elements, which are very strong in Finland, with this régime soon grew so intense that they decided to overthrow it by armed force. The Red Guard, that is, detachments of armed workmen organized by the Finnish Labor Party, seized Helsingfors, dissolved the "bourgeois" Government, and formed a Socialist Cabinet under the leadership of Senator Kullervo Manner. The revolutionists did not, however, succeed in capturing Mr. Svinhufud and his associates. These fled north and established their headquarters at Vasa, (Nikolaystadt,) on the Gulf of Bothnia. Since then the half-starved country has been the arena of bloody clashes between the Red troops and the forces supporting the Vasa Government, which consist largely of middle-class elements and are known as the White Guards.

It is an open secret that Russia rendered substantial assistance to the Finnish revolutionists. Most of the weapons in their possession are from Russian arsenals, and Russian soldiers who lingered on in Finland even after the Bolsheviki had agreed to withdraw the Russian troops stationed there have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Finnish Red Guards. It is reported that

on several occasions the Finnish Red Guards were reinforced by Red Guards from Petrograd. Moreover, in its organization the Finnish Socialist Workmen's Republic is a copy of the Russian Soviet Republic. The Red Finns have the same hierarchy of Soviets, and they affect the administrative terminology of the Bolsheviki.

RED FINLAND

The Finnish Socialists should not, however, be treated as identical with the Russian Bolsheviki. The difference between them is probably due to a difference of civilization, for culturally the dissimilarity between a Russian and a Finn is as great as it is linguistically and ethnically. It is noteworthy that unlike the Bolsheviki they regard their own rule as a transitional, provisional régime. Speaking on Feb. 14, 1918, at the first meeting of the Finnish Central Soviet, Kullervo Manner, President of the Commissariat of the People of Finland, said among other things:

> One of the foremost aims of the great revolution of Finland's workers is to build the proud edifice of a political democracy on the ruins of the fallen power of the Junkers. * * * As soon as the enemy of the people has been defeated throughout the country shall the people of Finland be given an opportunity through referendum to accept a new Constitution. The People's Commissariat intends shortly to put before the Central Soviet a proposal for a fundamental law through which will be laid the ground for a real representation by the people and a firm foundation for the future of the working class.

Although the Finnish Socialists are united with Russia by co-operation and common aspirations, they do not desire to join the Russian Federation. Finnish socialism identifies itself with the cause of Finnish nationalism. It was the Socialists that were the stanchest advocates of Finland's secession from Russia, and it was they that, by calling a general strike, forced the Diet to adopt immediately the Independence bill in November, 1917.

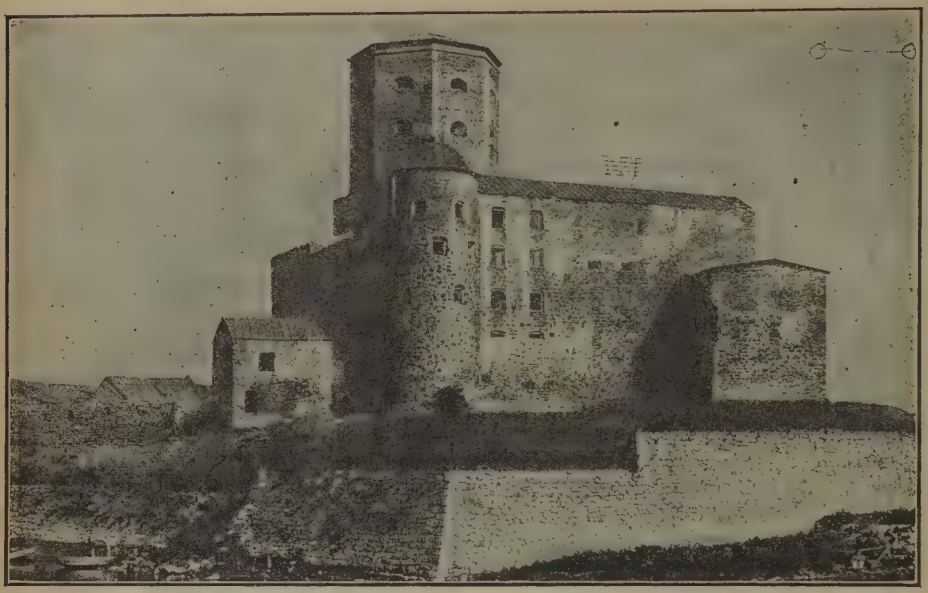
The notion of Finland's complete sovereignty forms the basis of the peace concluded early in March, 1918, between the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Finnish Socialist Workmen's Republic, "in order to strengthen the friendship and fraternity between the above-mentioned free republics." According to this pact, published on March 10, Russia hands over to the Independent Finnish Socialist Republic all its possessions in Finland, including real estate, telegraphs, railways, fortresses, lighthouses, and also Finnish ships which

SKETCH MAP SHOWING FINLAND'S RELATION TO SWEDEN, NORWAY, AND RUSSIA

had been requisitioned by the Russian Government before or during the war. Article IX. provides for "free and unimpeded access for the merchant ships of the Russian and Finnish Socialist Republics to all seas, lakes and rivers, harbors, anchoring places, and channels" within their territories. The next article establishes uninterrupted communication, without trans-shipment, between the Russian and Finnish railways. Article XIII. contains the provision that "Finnish citizens in Russia as well as Russian citizens in Finland shall enjoy the same rights as the citizens of the respective countries."

GERMAN HAND IN FINLAND

If "Red" Finland has had the support of the Russian Bolsheviki, "White" Finland has found a most enterprising ally in Germany. The Vasa Government has



THE OLD CASTLE OF VIBORG, FINLAND, WHICH THE WHITE GUARDS USED AS A FORT

been working in direct and now open contact with Berlin. It is overwhelmingly pro-German. The relation between the two Governments early assumed the character of vassalage on the part of the Finns. This is evidenced by the peace agreement which official Finland concluded with Germany on March 7. Its full text will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Since the beginning of the war the Germans have been conducting in Finland an active campaign of espionage and propaganda through a host of agents and sympathizers. The propaganda found a favorable soil among the propertied classes, and especially among the landed gentry of Swedish extraction. On the other hand, the persecutions which the Czar's bureaucracy inflicted upon the nation, and against which neither the French nor the British press uttered any adequate protest, drove some of the patriotic Finns into the arms of Russia's enemies. A number of Finnish youths escaped to Germany and entered the ranks of the German Army. The University of Helsingfors played a prominent part in this movement. In 1915 an entire battalion made up exclusively of Finns fought under the German colors, while no Finns served in the Russian Army, exemption from military service being one of the ancient Finnish privileges respected by the Imperial Russian Government.

After the March revolution, and especially after the fall of Riga, the efforts of the German agents, with whom Finland now fairly swarmed, were directed toward fomenting Finnish separatism. In fact, the Swedish press asserted that from the very beginning of the war the Germans had spent large sums of money in trying to fan the Finns' smoldering discontent with Russia. At the same time Germany endeavored to enlist the sympathies of the White Guards, (skudshär,) which the middle classes were hastily organizing, ostensibly for the purpose of assisting the militia and protecting the population from robbers. Berlin was so successful in its task that as early as October, 1917, the head of the Russian Bureau of Counterespionage in Finland spoke of the skudskär as "the vanguard of the German Army." The Finns who served in Wilhelm's army and were thor-

oughly indoctrinated with German military science and German ideals were returned to their native country, and it was they that took upon themselves to officer the White Guards. Some of the weapons and munitions used by the latter were secured from Sweden, but most of them came from Germany and were probably a part of the Russian booty. The abovementioned Russian official declared, in an interview published in a Petrograd daily in October, 1917, that German submarines appeared regularly off the Finnish coast and delivered arms and ammunition to Finnish vessels.

ATROCITIES ON BOTH SIDES

The White Guards, commanded by General Mannerheim, fought the revolutionists with varying success but without achieving a decisive victory. Several towns in the south were the scene of prolonged battles in which many lives were lost, notably Tammerfors, the important industrial centre, where fierce fighting raged throughout the second half of March. The factory districts in the north were also the scene of stubborn fighting. A number of women were seen in the ranks of the Red Guards.

The two warring factions created a reign of "Red" and "White" terror in the country. Both committed frightful atrocities. On April 17, Oskari Tokoi, the Commissionary for Foreign Affairs in the Socialist Cabinet, protested to all the powers against the manner in which General Mannerheim treated his Red Guard prisoners. He pointed out that, while the Red Guards regarded the captured White Guards as prisoners of war, the Government troops, having taken a number of prisoners, shot all the officers and every fifteenth man of the rank and file. On the other hand, the corpses of many White Guards were found unspeakably mutilated.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Socialist rebellion, the official Government conceived the idea of appealing for foreign military aid against the revolutionists. On Jan. 30 such an appeal was reported to have been sent to Sweden. The cause of White Finland had many sympathizers in that country. The Finnish White Guards had a recruiting office in Stockholm, and a number of Swedish volunteers fought in their ranks. A considerable portion (12 per cent.) of the Finnish population are Swedes, mostly members of the higher classes. In addition, the two countries have common historical memories, for Finland was a Swedish province for six centuries, from the time of Erik VIII., King of Sweden, till the Russian annexation in 1809.

The Swedish Government did not, however, elect to intervene. It is not certain whether Stockholm refused its assistance because Finland refused to cede the Aland Islands to the Swedes as a compensation for their services, or because, as Mr. Branting asserts, Sweden was to intervene "as the creature and ally of Germany." The only step the Swedes took was to send a military expedition to the Aland Islands, in response to several appeals from their population, which is mostly Swedish. This measure was decided upon by the Swedish Parliament on Feb. 16 and was effected two or three days later.

The Aland Archipelago, consisting of about ninety inhabited islets and situated between Abo on the Finnish coast and Stockholm, belongs to Finland. Its strategic importance for Sweden is aptly characterized by an old phrase which describes it as "a revolver aimed at the heart of Sweden." The mission of Sweden's troops was to clear the islands, by moral suasion if possible, from the bands of Russian soldiers and Finnish White and Red Guards which for some time had been terrorizing the population. The Bolshevist garrison offered stubborn resistance to the landing of the Swedish forces.

THE GERMAN INVASION

At noon on March 2 a German detachment occupied the Aland Islands. The next day the German Minister at Stockholm informed the Swedish Government that Germany intended to use these islands as a halting place for the German military expedition into Finland, undertaken at the request of the Finnish Government for the purpose of suppressing

VIEW OF ULEABORG, WHERE THE WHITE GUARDS FOUGHT A SANGUINARY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE BOLSHEVIST RED GUARDS

the revolution. He gave assurances that Germany sought no territorial gains in effecting the occupation and would not hinder the humanitarian work of the Swedish Supervision Corps in the islands. On March 22 the Main Committee of the Reichstag rejected, by 12 votes against 10, the motion of the Independent Social Democrats to evacuate the Aland Islands and cease interfering with the internal affairs of Finland.

Mr. Branting, the Swedish political leader, denounced the talk that Finland, deserted by Sweden, turned to Germany in despair, as "gross hypocrisy." He is convinced that a secret agreement existed between Finland and Germany long before the outbreak of the civil war, and that Finland wants to be a dependency under Germany rather than a member of a Scandinavian federation of States. Some members of the Diplomatic Corps in Washington were also reported to believe that the civil war was merely a specious pretext for inviting Germany to restore order in the country, and that the negotiations which brought about the German intervention had been going on secretly for months.

March passed in preparations for the expedition. On the morning of April 3 the Russian icebreaker Volinetz, which had been captured by the White Guards, piloted a German naval squadron, consisting of thirty-six ships, into the Finnish waters of Hangö, which is the extreme southwestern point of the Finnish coast, within a few hours of Helsingfors. During the afternoon the Germans landed on the peninsula of Hangö a force which, according to an official German statement, comprised 40,000 men under General Sasnitz, 300 guns, and 2,000 machine guns. The next day the Berlin War Office issued the following statement: "Eastern Theatre—In agreement with the Finnish Government, German troops have landed on the Finnish mainland." Later more German detachments were landed at Abo.

According to one report, the Germans, upon their landing, opened negotiations with the Finnish Socialists, but their overtures were apparently rejected. The Russian Government immediately protested to Germany against the landing in Finland. The German Government replied by demanding that the Russian war vessels in Finnish territorial waters should either leave for Russian ports or disarm, according to Article 5 of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, on or before midday, April 12. The Bolsheviki ordered the commander of the Baltic fleet to

VIEW OF FINNISH LAKE REGION NEAR FAVASTELLIUS

carry out this demand. Four Russian submarines were fired upon and sunk by the Germans at Hangö during the landing and several other Russian warships were blown up by their own crews for fear of being captured by the Germans.

On April 13 the Finnish Official News Bureau gave out a statement to the effect that all German troops landed in Finland had been dispatched at the request of the Finnish Government. On April 17 the Germans landed 40,000 men at Helsingfors. Their naval squadron stationed in the harbor of the Finnish capital consisted of twelve vessels.

FALL OF VIBORG

The Red Guards offered a stubborn resistance to the invaders, but it soon became apparent that their cause was lost. Upon the landing of the Germans, the Socialist Government escaped from Helsingfors and established itself at Viborg, seventy-five miles northwest of Petrograd. On April 13 the German troops, aided by naval detachments, entered Helsingfors, "after a vigorous encounter with armed bands," as the German official announcements read. According to a Reuter dispatch, a three days' battle preceded the capture of the Finnish capital. It was taken by storm after fierce fighting in the streets. About the same time the City of Abo was taken by the White Guards. The Germans then proceeded to move on Viborg. On April 23 the Finnish Socialist Government protested to the allied representatives, including the American Ambassador to Russia, against the German interference. It declared that the Finnish Socialists would continue for the cause of freedom, with "a profound hatred and contempt for the executioners of nations and of the labor movement."

Viborg fell into the hands of the White Guards on April 30, after nearly all its defenders, 6,000 in all, were slaughtered. Among the prisoners taken was Kullerwo Manner, the President of the Socialist Government. On May 4 Berlin was able to announce complete victory in Finland. The official report follows:

> Finland has been cleared of the enemy. German troops, in co-operation with Finnish battalions, attacked the enemy between Lakhti and Tevasthus in an encircling movement, and in a five days' battle, in spite of a bitter defense and desperate attempts to break through, we have overwhelmingly defeated him. The Finnish forces cut off his retreat in a northerly direction. The enemy is closed in on every side, and, after the heaviest losses, is laying down his arms. We took 20,000 prisoners. Thousands of vehicles and horses were captured.

A dispatch dated May 8 reported, however, that the country was far from pacified, and that the Red Guards continued to offer resistance at many points.

Speaking before the Main Committee of the Reichstag, on May 8, Friedrich von Payer, the German Imperial Vice Chancellor, defended Germany's intervention in Finland. The fundamental

aim of this step was "to create in North Finland a final condition of peace, both military and political." He stated that the entire staff of the 43d Russian Army Corps was recently captured in Finland. He denied that Germany intended further to interfere in the inner affairs of Finland, and added that Germany had concluded economic and political treaties with Finland whereby both parties would profit.

UNDER GERMAN DOMINATION

While these military operations were being carried on, Finland was becoming a German province. Late in March an American and an English officer, visiting General Mannerheim at Vasa upon orders from their legations, were threatened by Finnish White Guard officers with personal violence and turned out of the dining room of the chief hotel. This incident was described as characteristic of the feeling existing among the majority of Finns. On April 1 Vasabladet, the chief Vasa newspaper, wrote: "No military "or other similar persons from any of "the countries at war with Germany "ought to be allowed to stay within the "borders of our country so long as we, "with the help of God and Germany, are "fighting our hard fight for liberty, "order, and justice against the barbarous "ally of the western powers." It appears from a case reported on April 26 that the viséing of foreign passports by Finnish officials depends now upon the consent of the Berlin authorities.

Finland was proclaimed a republic in December, 1917. It has always been one of the most democratic countries in Europe. It is asserted, nevertheless, that the experiences through which the former grand duchy has passed in the last six months have converted many classes of the population to monarchism. A Stockholm dispatch dated May 8 declared that a monarchy would probably be proclaimed in Finland, and that Duke Adolph Frederick of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, uncle of the Crown Princess of Germany, would be appointed King.

GREATER FINLAND

In the middle of April it became known that the Finnish statesmen had an ambitious plan for the territorial aggrandizement and political expansion of their country at the expense of Russia, and possibly also of Norway. A Stockholm paper published a statement that Germany had agreed to the establishment of a Greater Finland, to include the territory of the Petrograd-Murman railway to the arctic. The newspaper added that the Finnish railway system was to be enlarged with a view to establishing direct connection from North Cape to Budapest and Constantinople. Thus Finland would become the cornerstone of a "Mitteleuropa" stretching from the arctic coast to Asia Minor and beyond. A well-known Finnish painter stated in an interview that the Finnish troops, cooperating with the Germans, would take Petrograd as well as the south coast of the Gulf of Finland, which is ethnically Finnish. An announcement was made on May 8, before the Main Committee of the Reichstag, that no Germans were participating or would participate in the advance of Finnish troops on Petrograd.

A movement has been set afoot among Karelians, presumably by Finns, in favor of the Finnish annexation of Russian Karelia, on the basis of the principle of self-determination. Karelia includes parts of the Governments of Petrograd, Olonetz, and Archangel; its aboriginal population belongs to the Finnish race.

Peace Treaty Between Finland and Germany

Full Text of the Document

THE Imperial Government of Berlin announced on March 7, 1918, that a treaty of peace between Germany and Finland had been signed. Two days later the full text was transmitted from Berlin to London through the wireless stations of the German Government. This treaty with Germany was made by the element in the Republic of Finland represented in a military way by the White Guards, who were pro-German and co-operated with the German army sent immediately afterward to make war in Finland against the Red Guards, who represented the Bolshevist element of the Finnish population. During April an armed conflict between the Reds and the Germans raged around Helsingfors, where the Bolshevist forces fought to annul this treaty, though with steadily diminishing prospects of success.

The full text of the treaty follows:

The Royal German Government and the Finnish Government, inspired by the wish, after the declaration of the independence of Finland and its recognition through Germany, to bring about a condition of peace and friendship between both countries on a lasting basis, have resolved to conclude a peace, and for this purpose they have appointed the following plenipotentiaries: For the Royal German Government, the Chancellor of the German Empire, Dr. Count von Hertling; for the Finnish Government, Dr. Phil Edvard Immanuel Hjelt, State Adviser, Vice Councilor of the University of Helsingfors, and Rafael Waldemar Erich, LL. D., Professor of State Law and of the Law of Nations at the University of Helsingfors, who, after the mutual setting forth in good order and form of their plenipotentiary powers, have come to an agreement on the following provisions:

CHAPTER I.—Friendship Between Germany and Finland and the Assuring of the Independence of Finland

Article 1. The contracting parties declare that between Germany and Finland no state of war exists and that they are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with each other. Germany will do what she can to bring about the recognition of the independence of Finland by all the powers. On the other hand, Finland will not cede any part of her possessions to any foreign power nor constitute a charge on her sovereign territory to any such power before first having come to an understanding with Germany on the matter.

Article 2. Diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after the confirmation of the peace treaty. The freest possible admission of Consuls on both sides is to be provided for by arrangements in special treaties.

Article 3. Each of the contracting parties will replace the damage which has been caused in its own territory by the war, or which the States or populations have brought about by actions contrary to international law, or which has been caused by the consular officials of the other party either to life, liberty, health, or property.

CHAPTER II.—War Indemnities

Article 4. The contracting parties renounce mutually the making good of war costs; that is to say, State expenses for the carrying on of the war as well as the payment of war indemnities; that is to say, of those prejudices which have arisen for them and their subjects in the war zones by reason of the military measures connected with all the requisitions undertaken in enemy country.

CHAPTER III.—The Re-entry Into Force of State Treaties

Article 5. The treaties which lapsed as a consequence of the war between Germany and Russia shall be replaced as soon as possible by new treaties for relations between the contracting parties, and they shall be made to correspond to the new outlook and conditions which have now arisen. Especially the contracting parties shall at once enter into negotiations in order to draw up a treaty for the settlement of trade and shipping relations between the two countries, to be signed at the same time as the peace treaty.

Article 6. Treaties in which, apart from Germany and Russia, also a third power takes part, and in which Finland appears together with Russia or in the place of the latter, come into force between the contracting parties on the ratification of peace treaty or, in case the entry takes place later, at that moment. In connection with collective treaties of political contents, in which other belligerent powers are also involved, the two parties reserve their attitude until after the conclusion of a general peace.

CHAPTER IV.—Re-establishment of Private Rights

Article 7. All stipulations existing in the territory of either of the contracting parties, according to which, in view of the state of war, subjects of the other party are subjected to any special regulation whatever in the observation of their private rights, cease to be of force on the confirmation of this treaty. Subjects of either of the contracting parties are such legal persons and societies as have their domicile in the respective territories. Furthermore, subjects of either of the parties, legal persons and societies which do not have their domicile in the territory, must be regarded as on the same level in so far as in the territory of the other party they were submitted to the stipulations applying to such subjects.

Article 8. With regard to the civil debt conditions which have been influenced by war laws, the following has been agreed:

1. The debt conditions will be re-established in so far as the stipulations in Articles 8 to 12 do not decide otherwise.

2. The stipulation in Paragraph 1 does not prejudice the question as to what extent the conditions created by the war (especially the impossibility of settlement of debt owing to the obstacles in traffic or commercial prohibitions in the territory of either of the contracting parties) shall be taken into account in the determination of claims of subjects of either party in accordance with the laws applying thereto in the respective territories. In this connection subjects of the other party who have been prevented by the measures of that party, are not to be dealt with more unfavorably than the subjects of their own State, who have been prevented by the measures of that State.

A person who by the war has been prevented from carrying out in good time a payment shall not be obliged to make good the damage which has occurred owing thereto.

3. Demands of money, whose payment could be refused during the war on the strength of war laws, need not be paid until after the expiration of three months after the confirmation of the peace treaty. In so far as nothing else has been stipulated in the supplementary treaty, an interest of 5 per cent. per annum must be paid on such debts from the original date on which they were due, for the duration of the war and the further three months, regardless of moratoriums. Up to the day on which they were originally due, the interests agreed upon, if any, must be paid. In the case of bills or checks submission for payment as well as protests against nonpayment must take place within the fourth month after the confirmation of this treaty.

4. For the settlement of outstanding affairs and other civil obligations, officially recognized unions for the protection of debtors and for the examination of claims of lay and legal persons belonging to the union, as well as their plenipotentiaries, are to be mutually recognized and permitted.

Article 9. Each contracting party will immediately after the confirmation of the peace treaty resume payment of its obligations, especially the public debt duties to subjects of the other party. The obligations which became due before the confirmation of the treaty will be paid within three months after the confirmation.

Article 10. Copyrights, trade protective rights, concessions and privileges, as well as similar claims on public legal foundations, which have been influenced by war laws, shall be re-established, in so far as nothing else has been stipulated in Article 12.

Each contracting party will grant subjects of the other party who on account of the war have neglected the legal period in which to undertake an action necessary for the establishment or maintenance of a trade protective right, without prejudice to the justly obtained rights of third parties, a period of at least one year in which to recover the action. Trade protective rights of subjects of one party which were in force on the outbreak of war, shall not expire in the territory of the other party, owing to their non-application, till after the termination of four years from the confirmation of this treaty. If in the territory of one of the contracting parties a trade protective right, which in accordance with the war laws could not be applied for, is applied for by an agent who during the war has taken protective measures in the territory of the other party in accordance with the rules, such right, if claimed within six months after the confirmation of the treaty, shall, with the reservation of the rights of third parties, have priority over all applications submitted in the meantime, and cannot be made ineffective by facts which have arisen in the meantime.

Article 11. Periods for the superannuation of rights shall, in the territory of each of the contracting parties, toward subjects of the other party, expire at the earliest one year after the confirmation of the peace treaty in so far as they had not expired at the time of the outbreak of war. The same applies to periods for the submission of dividend-warrants or warrants for shares in profit, as well as to bills which have become redeemable or have become otherwise payable.

Article 12. The activities of authorities who on the strength of war laws have become occupied with the supervision, custody, administration, or liquidation of property or with the receiving of payments, are without prejudice to the stipula-

tions of Article 13, to be wound up in accordance with the following principles:

1. Properties under supervision, in custody or under administration, are to be set free immediately on the demand of the parties entitled to them. Until the moment of transfer to the entitled party care must be taken for the safeguarding of his interests.

2. The provisions of Paragraph 1 shall not modify the properly acquired right of a third party. Payments and other obligations of a debtor which, as mentioned at the beginning of the article, have been received or caused to be received at the places mentioned, shall, in the territories of the contracting parties, have the same effect as if the creditor himself had received them.

Civil dispositions which have been made at the places mentioned at the instigation of the parties or by them will have full effect and are to be maintained by the parties.

3. Regarding the operations of the places mentioned at the beginning of this article, especially those for receipts and payments, details shall at once be given to the authorized parties immediately upon demand. Claims which have been lodged to be dealt with at these places can only be dealt with in accordance with the stipulations of Article 14.

Article 13. Land or rights in land or in mines as well as rights in the use or exploitation of lands, or undertakings, or claims for participation in an undertaking, especially those represented by shares, which have been forcibly alienated from the persons entitled to them by reason of war laws, shall be transferred to the former owner within a period of one year after the confirmation of the peace treaty, and there shall be returned to him any profits which have accrued on such property during the alienation or deprivation, and this shall be done free from all rights of third parties which may have arisen in the meantime.

CHAPTER VI.—Indemnity for Civil Damages

Article 14. Subjects of one of the contracting parties resident in the territory of the other contracting party who, by reason of war laws, have suffered damage either by the temporary or lasting privation of concessions, privileges, and similar claims, or by the supervision, trusteeship, administration or alienation of property, are to be appropriately indemnified so far as the damage by the war cannot be replaced by the actual re-establishment of their former conditions. This also applies to shareholders who, on account of their character as foreign enemies, are excluded from certain rights.

Article 15. Each of the contracting parties will indemnify the civilian subjects of the other party for damages which have been caused to them in its territory during the war by the State officials or the population there through breaches of international law and acts of violence against life, health, or property.

Article 16. Each of the contracting parties will at once pay to the subjects of the other party their just claims so far as this has not already been done.

Article 17. For the fixing of the damages, according to Articles 14 and 15, there shall meet in Berlin a commission immediately after the confirmation of this treaty which shall consist of one-third of each of the contracting parties and one-third of neutrals. The President of the Swiss Bundesrat shall be asked to nominate the neutral members, from whom the Chairman shall be chosen. The commission shall fix the principles, on which it is to work, and it shall decide as to what procedure it shall follow. Its decisions shall be carried out by sub-commissions, which shall consist of one representative from each of the contracting parties and a neutral umpire. The amounts fixed by the sub-commissions are to be paid within one month of the decision being made.

CHAPTER VII.—The Exchange of Prisoners of War and Interned Civilians

Article 18. Finnish prisoners of war in Germany and German prisoners of war in Finland shall, as soon as practicable, be exchanged within the times fixed by a German-Finnish Commission, and subject to the payment of the costs entailed in such exchange in so far as those prisoners do not wish to stay in the country where they happen to be, with its consent, or to go to another country. The commission will also have to settle the further details of such exchange and to supervise their execution.

Article 19. The deported or interned civilians on both sides will be sent home as soon as practicable free of charge so far as, subject to the consent of the country on whose territory they are staying, they do not wish to remain there or wish to go to another country. The settlement of the details and the supervision of their execution shall be carried out by the commission mentioned in Article 18. The Finnish Government will endeavor to obtain from the Russian Government the release of those Germans who were captured in Finnish territory and who at the present time are outside Finnish on Russian territory.

Article 20. Subjects of one party who at the outbreak of war had their domicile or commercial establishments in the territory of the other party and who did not remain in that territory may return there as soon as the other party is not in a state of war. Their return can only be refused on the ground of the endangering of the internal or foreign safety of the

State. It would suffice that a pass be made out by the authorities of the home Government in which it is to be stated that the bearer is one of those persons as stipulated in Item 1. No visé is to be necessary on these passes.

Article 21. Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes to respect and to tend the several burial places of subjects of the other party who fell in the war as well as those who died during internment or deportation and the persons intrusted by each party with care and proper decoration of the burial places may attend to these duties in accord with the authorities of each country. Questions connected with the care of such burial places are reserved for further agreements.

CHAPTER VIII.—Amnesty.

Article 22. Each of the contracting parties concedes amnesty from penalties to the subjects of the other party who are prisoners of war for all criminal acts committed by them and further to all civilian interned or deported subjects of the other party for all punishable acts committed by them during their internment or deportation period, and lastly to all subjects of the other party for crimes against all exceptional laws made to the disadvantage of enemy foreigners. The amnesty will not apply to actions committed after the confirmation of the peace treaty.

Article 23. Each party concedes complete amnesty to all its own subjects in view of the work which they have done in the territory of the other party as prisoners of war, interned civilians, or deported civilians.

Article 24. The contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to make further agreements according to which each party may grant an amnesty of penalties decreed on account of actions committed to its disadvantage.

CHAPTER IX.—The Treatment of Mercantile Vessels and Cargoes Which Have Fallen Into the Hands of the Enemy.

Article 25. Mercantile ships of one contracting party which lay in the ports of the other contracting party on the outbreak of the war, as well as their cargoes, are to be given back to their owners, or in so far as this is not possible they are to be paid for in money. For the use of such embargoed vessels during the war the usual daily freight is to be paid.

Article 26. German mercantile ships and their cargoes which are in the power of Finland, except in cases foreseen in Article 25 at the signing of this treaty or which may arrive there later, are to be given back if on the outbreak of war they were in an enemy port or were interned in neutral waters by enemy forces.

Article 27. The mercantile vessels of either of the contracting parties captured as prizes in the zone of power of the other party shall be regarded as definitely confiscated if they have been legally condemned as prizes, and if they do not come under the provisions of Articles 25 and 26. Otherwise they are to be given back, or, in so far as they are no longer available, they are to be paid for. The provisions of Paragraph 1 are to apply also to ships' cargoes taken as prizes belonging to subjects of the contracting parties, but goods belonging to subjects of one of the contracting parties on board ships flying enemy flags which have fallen into the hands of the other contracting party are in all cases to be handed over to their rightful owners, or, so far as this is not possible, they are to be paid for.

Article 28. The carrying out of the provisions contained in Articles 25 to 27, especially the fixing of the damages to be paid, shall be decided by a mixed commission, which shall consist of one representative from each of the contracting parties with a neutral umpire, and shall sit in Stettin within three months after the date of confirmation of the peace treaty. The President of the Swiss Bundesrat shall be requested to nominate the umpire.

Article 29. The contracting parties will do all in their power to facilitate the free return of the mercantile ships and their cargoes to their homes as set forth in Articles 25 to 27. The contracting parties will also give their support to each other in the re-establishment of the mutual commercial intercourse, after the assuring of safe shipping routes, which had been disturbed by the war.

CHAPTER X.—Adjustment of the Aland Question.

Article 30. The contracting parties are agreed that the Forts put upon the Aland Islands are to be removed as soon as possible, and that the lasting non-fortified character of these Islands and also their treatment in a military and technical sense for purposes of shipping, shall be settled by agreement between Germany, Finland, Russia and Sweden; and to these agreements, at the wish of Germany, the other States lying in the Baltic Sea shall be invited to assent.

CHAPTER XI.—Final Provisions.

Article 31. The Peace Treaty shall be confirmed. The confirmatory documents shall be exchanged as soon as practicable in Berlin.

Article 32. The Peace Treaty, so far as is not otherwise stipulated, shall come into force with its confirmation. For the making of supplementary additions to the Treaty the representatives of the contracting parties shall meet in Berlin within four months of its confirmation.

German Aggression in Russia

Record of Events Placing Finland and the Ukraine More Fully Under Teutonic Control

DURING the month ended May 15, 1918, the German advance in the territory of the former Russian Empire continued uninterruptedly. While minor military operations were conducted in the Province of Kursk, in Russia proper, the main body of the invading army occupied the Crimea and penetrated into the Donetz coal basin. On April 24 the German troops, under General Kosch, reached the City of Simferopol, in the Crimea. A week later they occupied Sebastopol, the great military and commercial seaport, famous in Russian history. A portion of the Russian Black Sea fleet fell into the hands of the Germans. On May 3 the invaders seized Taganrog, on the Sea of Azov. On May 9 they took Rostov, at the mouth of the River Don, but two days later the city was again in Russian hands. The Germans are apparently intent on occupying the seacoast from Bessarabia, on the west, to the Caucasus, on the east.

The Bolshevist régime gave signs of undergoing a process of reorganization. It sought to enlist the services of officials who had served under the Provisional Government and of Generals of the old army. A new War Department was formed. Trotzky, the Minister of War and Marine, advocated universal conscription of labor. The Central Executive Committee, at his suggestion, decreed compulsory military service. Workmen and peasants from 18 to 40 years old were to be trained for eight consecutive weeks, for a weekly minimum of eight hours. Women were accepted into the army as volunteers.

The Bolshevist authorities made several attempts to suppress rioting and street looting. Early in May the Red Guards fought a pitched battle with the Moscow anarchists, who refused to surrender their munitions, and stamped out their organization. The Soviets passed resolutions and took measures against the anti-Jewish massacres which occurred in numerous cities. Disorder and mob rule, however, continued to prevail in Russia, while hunger and unemployment were daily increasing.

INDUSTRY CRIPPLED

On April 16 M. Gukovsky, the Commissary for Finance, reported to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on Russia's financial and industrial condition. He said that the semi-yearly expenditure would amount to 4,000,000,000 rubles, while the income expected was only 3,300,000,000 rubles. The railroads had lost 70 per cent. of their freight capacity, and the cost of operation had increased ten times, (120,000 against 11,600 rubles per versta.) The Central Government, he stated, derived no revenue from taxes, as the local Soviets used the sums they collected for their own purposes. To illustrate the industrial conditions the Commissary cited the example of the Sormov locomotive works, whose daily output is two locomotives, instead of eighteen as formerly. M. Gukovsky recommended strict economy in expenditures and urged the necessity of securing the services of financial and industrial experts for the purpose of organizing an efficient State machinery.

Among the recent legislative measures of the Moscow Government must be mentioned the nationalization of foreign trade, which is a part of the general Bolshevist scheme of Socialist reforms. A special board has been created to regulate the prices of all exports and imports.

In the middle of April hostilities were reopened between the newly collected troops of General Korniloff, former Russian Commander in Chief, and the Bolshevist forces. It was reported that the Bolsheviki heavily defeated the anti-Soviet troops, capturing Novocherkask and

wounding the Cossack General. It was also stated that General Dutoff, another anti-Bolshevist leader, was captured by the Soviet troops, and that General Semyonov, the leader of the Cossack movement against the Bolsheviki in Siberia, was killed.

The incident of the Japanese landing at Vladivostok was near closing, when further interest in the Far Eastern situation was aroused in Russia by a number of documents seized on the person of a member of the anti-Soviet "Siberian Government." According to a note addressed on April 26 by M. Chicherin to diplomatic representatives in Moscow, these documents proved that the Consuls of Great Britain, France, and America—and the diplomatic representatives of these powers in Peking—sought to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia by participating in the counter-revolutionary movement for an autonomous Government in Siberia. A similar charge was laid to the Japanese officials. The Russian Government, therefore, demanded the recall of the allied Consular officers at Vladivostok, also asking the Allies to define their attitude toward the Soviet Government. Neither Ambassador Francis nor the French Ambassador, M. Noulens, made any official reply to the Russian charges. M. Noulens had previously drawn upon himself the wrath of the Bolsheviki by declaring that the armed intervention of the Allies in Russia would be an act of friendly assistance. Mr. Francis informally notified the Moscow Government that, in his opinion, the documents failed to involve the American officials. On May 9 Secretary Lansing instructed him to present informally to the Russian Foreign Office a denial of its charge against the American Consul at Vladivostok.

ENEMY PROPAGANDA

In a speech on April 27 Baron Shimpei Goto, the new Japanese Foreign Minister, referred to the malevolent propaganda which is being conducted in Russia with a view to creating an estrangement between Japan and Russia. He expressed the view that "Russia is a power endeavoring to reorganize a machine temporarily out of order," adding: "Japan "must give encouragement, assistance, "and support to the work of reorganiza- "tion in Russia. We trust the sound "sense of the Russian people will not be "misled by reports calculated to keep the "two neighbors apart."

Shortly after the capture of Sebastopol the Russian Government protested to Germany against the seizure of the Black Sea fleet and the invasion of the Crimea. The Russian note pointed out that these acts were in contravention of the Brest treaty and that they might endanger the peaceful relations between the two countries. The Germans did not seem to be concerned to maintain these relations. They treated the population of the occupied territories with harshness. Starving refugees were not admitted into the regions under their domination. It was eported that in the Government of Minsk able-bodied persons were seized in the streets and sent to Germany in locked cars. Constant food requisitioning was another feature of the German rule in Russia.

RUSSIA'S PROTEST

On April 15 M. Chicherin, Russian Commissary for Foreign Affairs, protested to Berlin against the outrages committed by the German troops in Russia. The text of the note follows:

> The Central Soviet institutions receive many complaints with regard to German troops burning Russian villages and using violence against Russian inhabitants. An eyewitness well known to us and absolutely trustworthy states that at Lepel, northwest of Mogileff, German soldiers killed a whole family, not sparing women and children, on the plea that one of the family belonged to a partisan detachment. The local military authorities state that at the village of Novoselki, Mogileff, on April 5, there appeared an officer and soldiers of the 346th Regiment and took oats from the inhabitants by force. The officer was killed by the peasants, and the soldiers fled. After this the village was surrounded by the soldiers, fired on by machine guns, and burned.
>
> The following day the German commander sent a notice to the Russian military authorities at Orsha saying that the inhabitants of Novoselki had been ejected, and the village burned owing to a German officer's being killed.

Observers of Russian life agree that

MAP OF THE UKRAINE AND OTHER REGIONS OF RUSSIA NOW UNDER GERMAN DOMINATION

feelings of resentment and animosity on the part of the Russian population for the German oppressor are steadily growing throughout the country. At the same time good feeling between the Russians and the Allies, especially the Americans, is on the increase. British and French troops are co-operating with Bolshevist forces in defending against Finns and Germans the Murman seacoast and the railway from the interior of Russia to the arctic ports of Alexandrovsk and Archangel, where large supplies of valuable war materials are stored up. The War Council attached to the Murman local Soviet consists of one Russian, one Englishman, and one Frenchman. The landing of the allied troops at Alexandrovsk the Germans regarded as a violation of the Brest treaty, which provides for peace with Finland, and protested to the Moscow Government against the act.

The constant exchange of protests between Berlin and Moscow is partly caused by the ambiguous wording of the Brest treaty. On April 24 Adolf Joffe, the Bolshevist Ambassador in Berlin, telegraphed to Moscow that the Russian translation of the treaty was considered by the German authorities incorrect, and that the publication of the final draft of the document was postponed until the receipt of an authentic version.

DISMEMBERING RUSSIA

It appears that Germany has been making further attempts to encourage the separatist tendency in Russia, in con-

travention of the Brest treaty. The German Government is reported to have inquired of the local Crimean authorities concerning the nationalization of their flag. The Bolsheviki interpreted this step as indicative of the German desire to separate the Taurida Republic from the Russian Federation.

According to a communication issued by the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires, the National Assembly of Bessarabia voted, on April 9, the union of the province to Rumania by 86 against 3. Thereupon, the Rumanian Premier, amid enthusiastic acclamation, proclaimed the union to be "definitive and indissoluble," and a delegation was sent to Jassy to present the homage of the people of Bessarabia to the King. Rumania seems to have acted at the suggestion of Germany. It is known that the latter proposed to Rumania to annex a part of Bessarabia and thus compensate herself for Rumanian territory taken by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. It is also known that (on March 22 ?) Russia signed a treaty with Rumania regarding Bessarabia. The province was to be evacuated by the Rumanian troops, which had occupied it at the request of the population, and the guarding of Bessarabia was to pass into the hands of local militia, while all evacuated places were to be immediately occupied by Russian troops. Russia undertook to leave Rumania the surplus of Bessarabian grain remaining after the local population and Russian troops had been provided for. The Ukrainian Government refused to recognize the step taken by Bessarabia.

According to the terms of the Brest treaty the Baltic Provinces Esthonia and Livonia were to remain under Russian sovereignty, but three weeks later Germany began intriguing for a union of these countries with the Kingdom of Russia. The falsity of the assertion that the people of Esthonia favored a Baltic monarchy was exposed by the following protest of the Esthonian Provisional Government, published April 22:

> Regarding the communication from Berlin that the joint Landtag of Esthonia, Livonia, Riga, and Oesel has decided upon the separation of Baltic provinces from Russia and the creation of a Baltic monarchy in personal union with Prussia, I declare, as representative of the Esthonian Republic, that this resolution does not constitute an expression of opinion of the Esthonian people, but only that of a German nobility minority and its adherents.

On May 5 the British Government informally recognized the Esthonian Provisional Government and, in the words of Mr. Balfour's communication, reaffirmed "their readiness to grant provisional "recognition to the Esthonian National "Council as a de facto independent body "until the peace conference, when the "future status of Esthonia ought to be "settled as far as possible in accordance "with the wishes of the population."

On April 26 Transcaucasia declared its independence under a conservative Government, headed by M. Chkhemkeli.

Count von Mirbach, the Royal German Ambassador to Russia, accompanied by a Turkish representative, arrived in Moscow on April 23. He was welcomed by the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee as "a representative of a "power with which a peace treaty has "been concluded at Brest-Litovsk, as a "result of which peace, so needed by the "people, was established between the two "States." Pravda, the official Bolshevist daily, greeted the Royal German Ambassador as "the plenipotentiary of an "armed band which with limitless au"dacity oppresses and robs wherever it "is able to thrust in with a bloody im"perialistic bayonet."

ULTIMATUM ON PRISONERS

Germany has shown eagerness to obtain the release and the use of the able-bodied German prisoners who are now in Russia. It is believed that there are at present upward of 1,000,000 German prisoners of war in European Russia and Siberia. It was reported on April 27 that a special German commission had arrived in Moscow to take charge of the exchange of prisoners with Russia, and that exchanges of invalids had already begun. The number of Russians in German hands is estimated at 3,000,000. An earlier official German communication explained the delay in repatriating Russians by the lack of transportation facili-

ties. On April 29 the State Department at Washington gave out the following statement:

> The Department of State has learned that there will shortly leave for Russia a German commission, consisting of 115 members, which will take up the question of the exchange of Russian and German prisoners. It is reported that it is the purpose of the commission merely to present to the Russian authorities an ultimatum from Germany requiring, first, the immediate release of all German prisoners who are in good health; second, that those who are ill will remain in Russia under the care of neutral physicians, and, third, that the Germans on their side will release only those Russian prisoners in Germany who are invalids or who are incapacitated. In the event of a refusal on the part of Russia, Germany will order that Petrograd be taken.

Upon the heels of this ultimatum came another one, served on the Council of the People's Commissaries by the German Ambassador, Count von Mirbach. According to a dispatch, the new ultimatum, too, dated May 10, had a bearing on the prisoner question, but in addition demanded complete cessation of arming troops and the disbandment of units already formed. This demand produced an unusual stir in Russia. The Commissaries held an extraordinary session at which the situation created by the ultimatum was discussed. The Bolsheviki showed no intention of complying with the German ultimatum.

On May 12 Foreign Minister Chicherin instructed the Russian Ambassador, M. Joffe, at Berlin to "try to obtain from Berlin cessation of every kind of hostility." The Germans had announced their intention to capture Novorossiysk, on the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea, under the pretext that the Russian warships, which had escaped seizure at Sebastopol and which are stationed at Novorossiysk, constituted a danger for the German vessels. The instruction added that the German invasion of Russian territory was causing much unrest in the country.

COUP IN THE UKRAINE

On April 18 the State Department at Washington announced that, according to an authentic report, the Teutons intended to dissolve the Ukrainian Rada and set up a Government of their own. On April 24 a Ukrainian financier prominent in aiding the Germans was arrested in the name of "the Committee of Ukrainian Safety." The German Vice Chancellor, Friedrich von Payer, in his speech before the Main Committee of the Reichstag, said that this secret organization aimed at driving the Germans out of the country and was even planning the assassination of all German officers. It included a number of prominent Ukrainians, several Ministers of State among them, and held its meetings at the house of the Minister of War. An investigation was demanded by the German Ambassador, but the Rada took no action.

Two days later General von Eichhorn, Commander of the German Army in the Ukraine, proclaimed "a state of enhanced protection," making all offenders of order subject to the jurisdiction of German court-martial. He had previously issued a field-sowing decree, necessitated, as the Germans explained, by the fact that the Rada had taken no measures concerning the field sowing, without which the country could not meet its treaty obligations relative to the delivery of grain to Germany. On April 28, while the Rada was in session, German troops entered the hall and arrested a number of its members, the Minister of War among them. The next day a number of landowners and rich peasants who were holding a convention in Kiev declared its sessions permanent, voted the dissolution of the Rada as well as the cancellation of the order convoking the Constituent Assembly on May 12, and proclaimed General Skoropadsky Hetman (Supreme Military Chief) of the Ukraine.

The Rada ceased to exist. It had but scant support in the country. A creature of the Teutons, it was supported by their armed forces. It proved unable to secure the delivery of the promised foodstuffs to the Central Powers. Owing to the resistance of the population only 3,000,000 poods (pood, 36 pounds) were delivered to the Teutons, instead of 30,000,000 poods, which the Rada undertook to supply. The Germans then withdrew their support. According to va-

rious reports, the German agents took an active part in the overthrowing of the Rada

Speaking of the fall of the Rada, the German Vice Chancellor said that "stubborn adherence to communistic theories that have gained no sympathy among the peasant population, which is attached to the soil, seems to have been principally responsible for bringing about its end." One of the first acts of the new Government was the restoration of private ownership of land. The new régime has many features of an autocratic rule. The following information regarding the extent of the Hetman's powers is furnished by the German Service of Propaganda:

> The Government power in its entire capacity belongs to the Hetman for all the territory of the State. The Hetman ratifies the laws, he appoints the President of the Council of Ministers, he is chief director of the relations of foreign affairs of the Ukrainian State, he is Generalissimo of the army and of the navy, he declares war, proclaims martial law and exceptional laws. In the administration of justice he has the right of pardon and commutation of sentence.

It has been pointed out that, while the reconstructed Ukrainian Government is emphatically and avowedly pro-German, some of its leading spirits are Russian patriots and advocates of a union with Russia. Grand Duke Dmitry Pavlovich is said to have taken an active part in the coup d'état. A dispatch, dated May 10, announced the beginning of peace negotiations between Russia and the Ukraine.

GERMAN PENETRATION

United States Minister Morris at Stockholm cabled to the State Department on May 14:

> Swedish press reports from Moscow state that Count von Mirbach recently transmitted to the Commissariat of the People a note formulated as an ultimatum and demanding the immediate effecting of certain financial measures which would practically make Russia a German colony. The chief points of the note were the immediate solution of the question regarding the exchange of prisoners, the complete abolishment of armaments, and the dissolution of units formed recently; also the occupation of Moscow and some other large Russian cities.

On the same date it was reported from Moscow that the Germans had captured Rostov-on-Don, thus gaining control of the Caucasus, the grain districts in the Donnetz Basin, and the coal, iron, and oil fields. Northern Russia was thus cut off from the Caucasus, excepting for a single railroad running through Tsaritsin, in the southern part of the Government of Saratov, which the Germans were threatening.

The dispatch continued as follows:

> The Governmental power in its entire Government, with which it had made peace, is regarded by North Russia as a step toward its occupation. Within a few weeks the future of Petrograd and Moscow probably will be determined, as it is considered that the Soviet Government either must submit to German domination or retreat eastward and prepare for a defense against the invaders. Effective resistance will be difficult without outside assistance, because of the lack of technical experts and supplies. The bitter feeling against Germany is intensified by the ruthless seizures in Ukraine, and a growing disposition to accept allied aid if the Entente Allies will recognize the Bolshevist Government is evident.

RUSSIA'S LOSSES

The Commissariat of Commerce on April 10 gave the following summary of what Russia lost by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:

Inhabitants	56,000,000
	(About one-third total European Russia.)
Territory	300,000 square miles
	(About one-sixth total European area.)
Railways	13,000 miles
	(About one-third total mileage.)
Coal	89 per cent.
Iron	73 "
Machinery	1,073 factories.
Textiles	918 "
Paper	615 "
Chemicals	244 "
Tobacco	133 "
Spirits	1,685 distilleries.
Beer	574 breweries.
Sugar	268 refineries.

The lost territories used to yield an annual revenue of nearly $425,000,000 and boasted 1,800 savings banks.

More Bolshevist Legislation

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

SPEAKING on Dec. 5, 1917, before the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on the subject of the right of constituents to recall their representatives, Nikolai Lenine, the head of the proletarian Government of Russia, made the following remark: "The "State is an institution for coercion. "Formerly it was a handful of money-"bags that outraged the whole nation. "We, on the contrary, wish to transform "the State into an institution of coer-"cion which must do the will of the "people. We desire to organize violence "in the name of the interests of the "toilers." The April issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contained a general outline of the manner in which the makers of the social revolution applied this principle of Statehood to the solution of various problems of home government. The present article will deal more in detail with some of the acts of the Bolshevist legislators. There is no better way of gaining an insight into the views and intentions of the present rulers of Russia than to study the abundant output of their legislative machinery.

CONTROLLING PRODUCTION

Lenine's Government has worked out an elaborate scheme of State control over national production and distribution as a preliminary step toward the complete socialization of the country's industry and commerce. The semi-legislative, semi-executive organs created for that purpose form an intricate hierarchy of affiliated elective bodies and corporations of a large and ill-defined jurisdiction.

In the first place, there have been instituted so-called Soviets of Workmen's Control, (decree of Nov. 27, 1917.) These are made up of representatives of trade unions, factory committees, and productive co-operatives, and aim at regulating the economic life of industrial plants using hired labor, the control in each enterprise being effected through the elective bodies of the workmen, together with the representatives of the salaried employes. The executive organs of the Soviets of Workmen's Control have the right to fix the miniumum output of a given firm, to determine the cost of the articles produced, to inspect the books and accounts, and, in general, to supervise the production and the various business transactions. Commercial secrecy, like diplomatic secrecy, is abolished. The owners and controlling agencies are responsible to the State for the safety of the property and for the strictest order and discipline within the precincts of the establishments. The local Soviets are subordinated to provincial Soviets of Workmen's Control, which issue local regulations, take up the complaints of the owners against the controlling agencies, and settle the conflicts between the latter.

The Central All-Russian Soviet of Workmen's Control issues general instructions and co-ordinates the activities of this controlling system with the efforts of the other administrative organs regulating the economic life of the country.

The members of this central institution of control, together with representatives from each Commissariat (Ministry of State) and also expert advisers, form the Supreme Soviet (Council) of National Economy, instituted by the decree of Dec. 18, 1917. This body directs and unifies the work of regulating the national economy and the State finances. It is empowered to confiscate, requisition, sequestrate, and syndicate various establishments in the field of production, distribution, and State finances. The Supreme Council is divided into several sections, each of which deals with a separate economic phase. Among other tasks devolving upon these sections is the drafting of the law projects for the respective Commissariats. Bills affecting national economy in its entirety are brought before the Council of the People's Commissaries

through the Supreme Council of National Economy.

ECONOMIC REGULATION

On Jan. 5, 1918, the Institute of Local Soviets of National Economy was created, "for the purpose of organizing and regulating the economic life of each industrial section in accordance with the national and local interests." Affiliated with the local Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, they are subject to the authority of the Supreme Council of National Economy. They are made up of representatives from trade unions, factory committees, workmen's co-operatives, land committees, and the technical personnel of industrial and commercial establishments. The inner organization of these bodies is elaborate. There are sections, divisions, (of organization, supply and distribution, labor, and statistics,) and business offices.

Here are some of the functions of these Soviets. They must:

1. Manage the private enterprises confiscated by the State and given over to the workmen, such as, for instance, a number of factories in the Ural mining district.
2. Determine the amount of fuel, raw materials, machinery, means of transportation, labor, &c., needed by the given industrial section, and the amount available in it.
3. Provide for the economic needs of the section.
4. Distribute the orders for goods among the individual enterprises and work out the basis for the distribution of labor, raw material, machinery, &c.
5. Regulate transportation in the section.
6. See to it that all the productive forces should be fully utilized both in industry and agriculture.
7. Improve the sanitary conditions of labor.

LAND COMMITTEES

The activity of the Soviets of National Economy is restricted to the field of industry. Their counterpart in agriculture are the so-called land committees.

The decree relating to agrarian socialization, voted by the Bolsheviki at 2 A. M., Nov. 8, 1917, recommends the use of a certain *nakaz*, (mandate,) based on 242 resolutions passed by village communities, as a guide in putting the land reform into practice. Article 8 of this *nakaz*, which is a paraphrase of the agrarian program of the Social Revolutionists, reads thus: "All the land, upon "confiscation, forms a national agrarian "fund. The distribution of the land "among the toilers is taken care of by "local and central self-governing bodies. "* * * The land is periodically redis-"tributed, with the growth of population "and the rise of the productivity of agri-"cultural labor."

For the purpose of putting this program into operation and regulating the economic life of the village generally there have been instituted land committees, (decree of Nov. 16,) one for each volost, (rural district including several villages.) They are to be elected by the population of the district and exist as separate institutions, or function as an organ of the volost zemstvo, wherever this is found. The duties of a land committee are many and complex. It takes inventory of all the land in the district and allots to each village its share of plow land, meadows, and pastures, seeing to it that the land should be equitably distributed among the individual toilers and correctly tilled. It grants lease of lands and waters, not subject to distribution, receives the rent and turns it over to the national fund. It regulates the supply and demand of agricultural labor, takes charge of the forests, fixes prices of timber, receives and fills orders for fuel from the State, and takes the necessary measures to preserve the large, scientifically conducted agricultural establishments.

The delegates of a number of volost land committees, together with representatives of the local zemstvo and the Soviet of Workmen's and Soldier's Delegates, form a county committee. The latter, in its turn, sends a delegate to the Provincial Land Committee. The Main Land Committee, which heads the whole system, is an independent institution on a par with the central State organizations. It is a large group of people, consisting of the Commissariat of Agriculture, together with representatives from the following bodies: The Commissariats of Finance, Justice, and Internal Affairs, the provincial Land

Committees, the All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies, the All-Russian Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and the political parties.

NO MORE LANDLORDS

The Bolsheviki have been careful to extend the abolition of private land ownership to city real estate. By a special decree they abrogated the property rights in city land and in those of the city buildings whose value, together with that of the ground they occupy, exceeds a certain minimum, fixed in each municipality by the local authorities, or which are regularly let for rent, although their value does not exceed the minimum. The land and the buildings are declared public property. The dispossessed owners retain the right to use the apartment they occupy in their former property, provided the apartment is worth no more than 800 rubles of rent per annum. In case the value of the apartment exceeds this maximum the former owner pays the difference to the local Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. All the rent which formerly went to the landlord is now paid to that institution or to the Municipal Council. Not more than one-third of the sum thus collected is to be used to meet the various needs of the community; 10 per cent. of it goes to the national housing fund; the rest forms the local housing fund for erecting new buildings, laying out streets, and making other improvements.

COMPULSORY INSURANCE

Municipal socialization of land values, while manifestly intended to benefit the poorer classes, directly affects all the elements of the city population. Other measures enacted by the Bolsheviki are restricted to the proletariat, and properly belong to the field of specific labor legislation. Thus, a law has been passed limiting the working day in both industrial and commercial establishments to eight hours, and further regulating the work of women and children. Furthermore, a minimum wage of the hired workers has been fixed in each section of the country. But by far the most radical and characteristic innovations launched by the Bolshevist Government in this line of legislation are those relating to compulsory insurance of workmen.

On Dec. 29 there was created the Institute of Insurance Soviets, with an executive organ in the form of a Chamber of Insurance. It is the intention of the Government to introduce compulsory insurance for laborers against sickness, unemployment, invalidism, and accidents. The regulations published so far relate only to the first two forms of insurance. The respective decrees rule that throughout the territory of the Russian Republic all hired workers, without distinction of sex, age, religion, nationality, race, and allegiance, are to be insured against sickness and unemployment, irrespective of the character and duration of their work. Salaried employes and members of liberal professions are not subject to this regulation.

At the moment the workman is hired by the employer he automatically becomes a member of two fraternities. In the event of his illness, one furnishes him free medical aid and a weekly allowance equal to his wages; the other assures him the equivalent of his wages if he loses his employment and becomes an unemployed workman. The latter term the law defines as "any able-bodied person depending for subsistence chiefly upon the wages of his (or her) labor, who is unable to find work at the normal rate of remuneration fixed by the proper trade union, and who is registered in a local labor exchange or trade union." The workmen contribute no dues to the fraternities. The income of the latter consists mainly of the payments made by the employers. The owner of an establishment using hired labor must contribute each week to the health insurance fraternity 10 per cent. of the sum he pays out as wages, and at least 3 per cent. of the same sum to the unemployment insurance fraternity. The administrative machinery of this novel form of insurance is worked out with much detail.

It is natural to ask how the various institutions described above are working, if they are functioning at all. It is

clear that the smooth working of a great number of cumbersome and wholly novel administrative agencies in a body politic torn by an unprecedented social upheaval amid the horrors of a twofold war would be little short of a miracle. Moreover, it appears that the Bolsheviki have already grown disappointed in some of their political dogmas, notably in the unrestrained and ubiquitous application of the elective principle. Nevertheless, the query, in its entirety, can hardly be adequately answered at present. The time is not far off, however, when it will be possible to say whether the measures decreed in the name of the dictatorial will of the Russian proletariat have taken root or—and this alternative is more probable—whether they have remained merely codified day-dreams.

Lithuania's Efforts Toward Autonomy

By A. M. Martus

IN the press of the United States on May 4, 1918, there appeared a notice that President Wilson had given audience to the Lithuanian delegation, recognizing the Lithuanians as a distinctively separate race having rights of self-determination.

At the time of the upheavals in Russia, during the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, Lithuanians, irrespective of political affiliations, held a convention in their capital, Vilna, over 2,000 delegates participating, where they unanimously asserted their right of self-government; also expressing a strong desire to form one political body with their half-brothers, the Letts.

Again in October, 1917, a convention was held in Vilna with about 250 delegates from those parts of Lithuania occupied by German forces, to press their claim of independence for Lithuania. In January, 1918, representative Lithuanians assembled in the same city proclaimed independent Lithuania. Another convention of Lithuanian representatives from Russia and from Lithuanian communities in the United States, England, and Argentina, held in the same month in Stockholm, Sweden, approved the act of their countrymen under German domination. On March 13 and 14 American Lithuanians held a convention in New York City, giving their unanimous approval to the proclaiming of an Independent Lithuanian Republic; here a unanimous resolution was passed protesting against any Polish aspirations or claims to Lithuania, and demanding the inclusion of the Lithuanian part of East Prussia, with the old Lithuanian city of Karaliauchus (Königsberg,) in the Lithuanian Republic.

Lithuanians claim those parts of the neighboring provinces where their language is spoken and where the inhabitants consider themselves Lithuanians. They claim the eastern part of East Prussia—about 13,500 square miles, with 700,000 or 800,000 inhabitants—and parts of the provinces of Minsk and Vitebsk; thus the Lithuanian-Lettish Republic would stretch over 131,000 square miles and have a population of over 11,500,000, inhabiting five centres—Karaliauchus, (Königsberg,) Klaipeda, (Memel,) Libau, Windau, and Riga.

The country is very rich for agriculture, though it contains much undeveloped land, with many rivers, lakes, and large forests. Along the River Nieman in Druskeniki, Government of Goodns, and in Birchtany, Government of Vilna, there are salt springs of high healing qualities, but on account of a corrupt Russian Government they remain undeveloped and unexploited. The seabeach around Palanga, a little distance above Germany's border on the Baltic, could be turned into another Atlantic City, according to the opinion of experts, but the place remains neglected. Lithuania's soil is very rich in aluminium and in material for manufacturing glass. During my last visit to Lithuania, in 1914, the discovery of radium was reported in

Gen. F. B. Maurice,
Formerly Director of Operations at the British War Office, now holding a high position abroad
(Press Illustrating Service)

Maj. Gen. S. C. Mewburn,
Canadian Minister of Militia and Defense
(Press Illustrating Service)

Vice Admiral Roger Keyes,
Who directed the British attack on Zeebrugge
(Central News)

Brig. Gen. Sandeman Carey,
Who stopped the gap in the British line before Amiens
(© Underwood)

A new type of tank made for the French Army
(© *Underwood*)

First American tank just completed at Boston
(*Paul Thompson*)

the vicinity of the mineral springs at Birchtany, but the war came on very soon and nothing further was heard of it.

In March, 1918, Lithuanians demanded that Germany recognize their Provisional Government. The Tevyne of New York, official organ of the Lithuanian Alliance of America, received the following from its correspondent in Russia, relayed from Yokohama, March 26:

> In Lithuania there has been formed a Provisional Government consisting of the following: A. Smetona, Premier; P. Dovydailis, Minister of Education; J. Shaulys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Smilgevichus, Minister of Finances; M. Birzhishka, Minister of Justice; J. Vileishis, Minister of Public Works; D. Malinauskas, Minister of Public Safety. Dr. J. Shlupas, well known among American Lithuanians, has been appointed Envoy Plenipotentiary to the United States; J. Aukshtuolis, President of the Lithuanian Committee in Stockholm, is made Ambassador to the Scandinavian countries; M. Ychas, member of the last Russian Duma, Ambassador to England and France; J. Gabrys, manager of the Lithuanian Information Bureau in Switzerland, Ambassador to the Central Powers. A national army is being organized. Lithuania's absolute neutrality was proclaimed. Drafted a political and economic treaty with Sweden.

Lithuanians fought in the Russian Army against the Germans, and now large numbers of them are joining the military and naval forces of the United States to fight the common foe; some are already in the English Army. Lithuania has suffered not for her own faults, but because she was situated between two belligerents. In the Government of Suvalki the German and Russian Armies chased each other nine times backward and forward; one may imagine how much is left there. Nothing but excavations, trenches, heaps of ruins, crumbling chimneys indicate where previously were large and prosperous villages. The world is yet to hear more about German requisitions, German devastations, and German rapine in Lithuania. Not only forests were denuded, but even fruit trees on the farms were cut down and shipped to Germany. The remaining inhabitants are forced to raise crops for the invaders, and for their various products they must accept, under penalty, specially printed money for local use—money that Germans themselves would not accept.

Notwithstanding reports to the contrary, the Lithuanians were with the Allies all the time, and will stand by them to the end. They have faith that the Allies, when the proper time comes, will recognize their just claims.

Germany to Impose "War Burdens" on Lithuania

Emperor William on May 12, 1918, issued the following proclamation regarding Lithuania:

> We, Wilhelm, by God's grace German Emperor, King of Prussia, &c., hereby make known that, whereas the Lithuanian Landsrat, as the recognized representative of the Lithuanian people, on Dec. 12 announced the restoration of Lithuania as an independent State allied to the German Empire by an eternal, steadfast alliance, and by conventions chiefly regarding military matters, traffic, customs, and coinage, and solicited the help of the German Empire; and,
>
> Whereas, further, Previous political connections in Lithuania are dissolved, we command our Imperial Chancellor to declare Lithuania on the basis of the aforementioned declarations of the Lithuanian Landsrat, in the name of the German Empire, as a free and independent State, and we are prepared to accord the Lithuanian State the solicited help and assistance in its restoration.
>
> We assume that the conventions to be concluded will take the interests of the German Empire into account equally with those of Lithuania, and that Lithuania will participate in the war burdens of Germany, which secured her liberation.

The Lithuanian National Council, with headquarters at Washington, replied to the foregoing proclamation on May 14 as follows:

> The assumption that Lithuania "will participate in the war burdens of Germany" means a contribution of three things: Money, munitions, and men. The first we have not, as Germany has already impoverished us; the second, we have no means of supplying, because we lack the first. Therefore, Germany can have reference only to men. Men from a self-declared democracy to fight in the ranks of autocracy? Unthinkable. Lithuania would not consent. Are her citizens to be dragooned into the ranks of the Kaiser? This would be an abridgment

of the sovereignty which Germany has already recognized, for Chancellor von Hertling's reply stated, "We hereby recognize Lithuania as free and independent."

Germany knows that ultimate defeat is unavoidable, but she would compensate losses in the west with gains in the east, among which Lithuania is gambled on as an asset. No recognition of Lithuanian independence can be sincere when coupled with the von Hertling terms, but if this sop will add to Prussian man power it may postpone somewhat the inevitable day of reckoning and give her more time to Germanize in the east with a view of confederating the new republics under Junker rule.

THE BRITISH CRUISER VINDICTIVE AS IT LOOKED AFTER THE FIGHT AT ZEEBRUGGE; LATER IT WAS SUNK IN THE HARBOR AT OSTEND TO BLOCK THE CHANNEL

The Raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend

British Naval Exploit That Damaged Two German U-Boat Bases on the North Sea Coast

THE little Belgian port of Zeebrugge fell into German hands in the Autumn of 1914, and, with the neighboring port of Ostend, became a thorn in the side of the Entente by reason of its increasing use as a base for enemy destroyers, submarines, and aircraft. The Germans, having seized the shipbuilding plants at Antwerp, began building submarines and small war craft, which could be sent by way of Bruges down the canals that connect the latter city with Zeebrugge and Ostend. Especially useful to them was the maritime canal whose mouth at Zeebrugge was protected by a crescent-shaped mole, thirty feet high, inclosing the harbor.

On the night of April 22-23, 1918, a British naval expedition under Vice Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, commanding at Dover, aided by French destroyers, undertook to wreck the stone mole at Zeebrugge and to block the entrances to the canals both at Zeebrugge and at Ostend by sinking the hulks of old ships in the channels. The episode, marked as it was by heroic fighting, proved to be one of the most thrilling and picturesque in the naval operations of the war. To Americans it recalled Hobson's exploit with the Merrimac at Santiago, while to Englishmen it brought back memories of Sir Francis Drake and his fireships in the Harbor of Cadiz.

Though the fighting at Zeebrugge last-

ed only an hour, the British lost 588 men, officially reported as follows: Officers—Killed, 16; died of wounds, 3; missing, 2; wounded, 29. Men—Killed, 144; died of wounds, 25; missing, 14; wounded, 355.

Six obsolete British cruisers took part in the attack. They were the Brilliant, Iphigenia, Sirius, Intrepid, Thetis, and Vindictive. The first five of these were filled with concrete and were to be sunk in the entrances of the two ports. The Vindictive, working with the two Mersey ferryboats Daffodil and Iris, carried storming and demolition parties to the Zeebrugge mole. The object was to attack the enemy forces and guns on the mole, along with the destroyer and submarine depots and the large seaplane base upon it, and thus to divert the enemy's attention from the work of the block ships. As the attack on the mole accomplished this, the main object of the operation was successful.

The attacking forces were composed of bluejackets and Royal Marines picked from the Grand Fleet and from naval and marine depots. Sir Eric Geddes stated in Parliament the next morning that light forces belonging to the Dover command and Harwich forces under Admiral Tyrwhitte covered the operation from the south. A large force of monitors, together with many motor launches and small, fast craft took part. One of the essentials of success was the creation of a heavy veil of artificial fog or smoke. The officer who developed this phase of the attack was killed in action. The general plan was to attack the guns and works on the Zeebrugge mole with storming parties, while the concrete-laden cruisers were being sunk in the channel. Two old and valueless submarines filled with explosives were to be blown up against the viaduct connecting the mole with the shore.

STORY OF THE FIGHTING

A detailed narrative of the affair was issued by the British Admiralty on the 25th, the essential passages of which are as follows:

The night was overcast and there was a drifting haze. Down the coast a great searchlight swung its beam to and fro in the small wind and short sea. From the Vindictive's bridge, as she headed in toward the mole, with the faithful ferryboats at her heels, there was scarcely a glimmer of light to be seen shoreward. Ahead, as she drove through the water, rolled the smoke screen, her cloak of invisibility, wrapped about her by small craft. This was the device of Wing Commander Brock, without which, acknowledges the Admiral in command, the operation could not have been conducted.

A northeast wind moved the volume of it shoreward ahead of the ships. Beyond it was the distant town, its defenders unsuspicious. It was not until the Vindictive, with bluejackets and marines standing ready for landing, was close upon the mole that the wind lulled and came away again from the southeast, sweeping back the smoke screen and laying her bare to eyes that looked seaward.

There was a moment immediately afterward when it seemed to those on the ships as if the dim, coast-hidden harbor exploded into light. A star shell soared aloft, then a score of star shells. The wavering beams of the searchlights swung around and settled into a glare. A wild fire of gun flashes leaped against the sky, strings of luminous green beads shot aloft, hung and sank. The darkness of the night was supplemented by a nightmare daylight of battle-fired guns and machine guns along the mole. The batteries ashore awoke to life.

Landing on the Mole

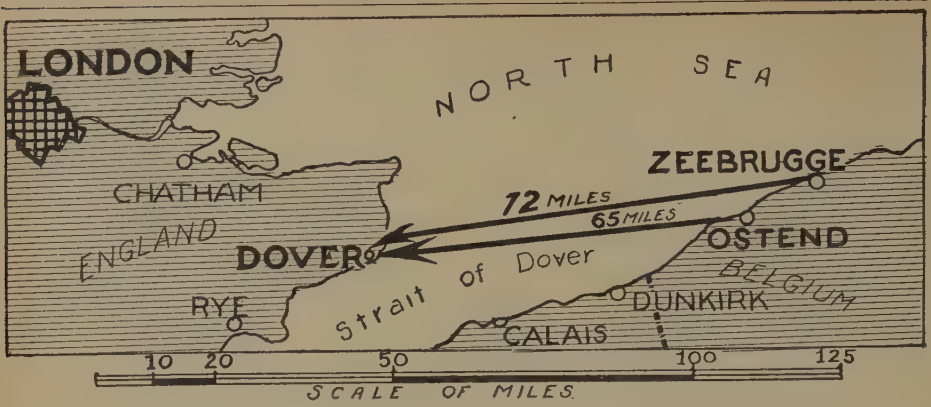
It was in a gale of shelling that the Vindictive laid her nose against the thirty-foot high concrete side of the mole, let go her anchor and signaled to the Daffodil to shove her stern in.

The Iris went ahead and endeavored to get alongside likewise. The fire was intense, while the ships plunged and rolled beside the mole in the seas, the Vindictive with her greater draught jarring against the foundations of the mole with every lunge. They were swept diagonally by machine-gun fire from both ends of the mole and by the heavy batteries on shore.

Commander (now Captain) Carpenter conned the Vindictive from the open bridge until her stern was laid in, when he took up his position in the flame thrower hut on the port side. It is marvelous that any occupant should have survived a minute in this hut, so riddled and shattered is it.

The officers of the Iris, which was in trouble ahead of the Vindictive, describe Captain Carpenter as handling her like a picket boat. The Vindictive was fitted along her port side with a high false deck, from which ran eighteen brows or gangways by which the storming and demolition parties were to land.

The men gathered in readiness on the



MAP SHOWING RELATION OF ZEEBRUGGE AND OSTEND TO THE ENGLISH COAST

main lower decks, while Colonel Elliott, who was to lead the marines, waited on the false deck just abaft the bridge. Captain Halahan, who commanded the bluejackets, was amidships. The gangways were lowered, and they scraped and rebounded upon the high parapet of the mole as the Vindictive rolled in the seaway.

The word for the assault had not yet been given when both leaders were killed, Colonel Elliott by a shell and Captain Halahan by machine-gun fire which swept the decks. The same shell that killed Colonel Elliott also did fearful execution in the forward Stokes mortar battery. The men were magnificent; every officer bears the same testimony.

The mere landing on the mole was a perilous business. It involved a passage across the crashing and splintering gangways, a drop over the parapet into the field of fire of the German machine guns which swept its length, and a further drop of some sixteen feet to the surface of the mole itself. Many were killed and more wounded as they crowded up the gangways, but nothing hindered the orderly and speedy landing by every gangway.

Lieutenant H. T. C. Walker had his arm shot away by shell on the upper deck, and lay in darkness while the storming parties trod him under. He was recognized and dragged aside by the commander. He raised his remaining arm in greetings. "Good luck to you," he called as the rest of the stormers hastened by. "Good luck."

The lower deck was a shambles as the commander made the rounds of the ship, yet those wounded and dying raised themselves to cheer as he made his tour. * * *

Heroic Work on the Iris

The Iris had troubles of her own. Her first attempts to make fast to the mole ahead of the Vindictive failed, as her grapnels were not large enough to span the parapet. Two officers, Lieut. Commander Bradford and Lieutenant Hawkins, climbed ashore and sat astride the parapet trying to make the grapnels fast till each was killed and fell down between the ship and the wall. Commander Valentine Gibbs had both legs shot away and died next morning. Lieutenant Spencer, though wounded, took command and refused to be relieved.

The Iris was obliged at last to change her position and fall in astern of the Vindictive, and suffered very heavily from fire. A single big shell plunged through the upper deck and burst below at a point where fifty-six marines were waiting for the order to go to the gangways. Forty-nine were killed. The remaining seven were wounded. Another shell in the wardroom, which was serving as a sick bay, killed four officers and twenty-six men. Her total casualties were eight officers and sixty-nine men killed and three officers and 103 men wounded.

Storming and demolition parties upon the mole met with no resistance from the Germans other than intense and unremitting fire. One after another buildings burst into flame or split and crumbled as dynamite went off. A bombing party working up toward the mole extension in search of the enemy destroyed several machine-gun emplacements, but not a single prisoner rewarded them. It appears that upon the approach of the ships and with the opening of fire the enemy simply retired and contented themselves with bringing machine guns to the short end of the mole.

BLOCKING THE CANAL

Describing operations of the three block ships, the official narrative says:

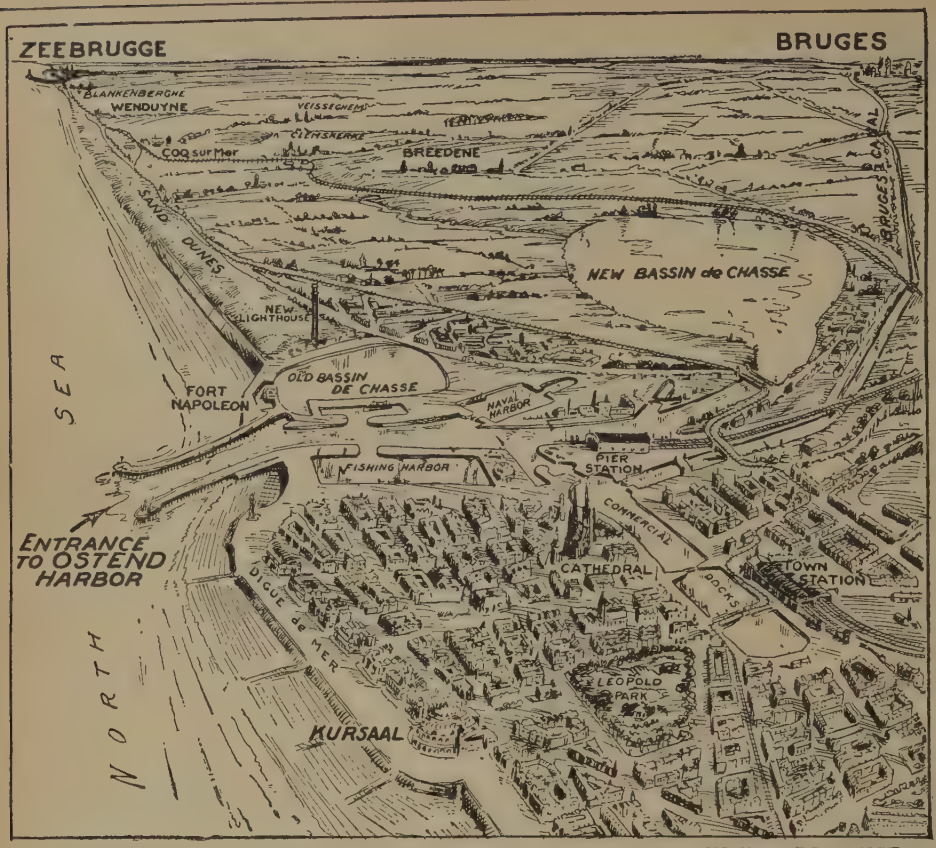
The Thetis came first, steaming into a tornado of shells from great batteries ashore. All her crew, save a remnant

PLAN ILLUSTRATING THE FIGHT AT THE ZEEBRUGGE MOLE, THE BLOCKING OF THE BRUGES CANAL, AND THE LOCATION OF SUNKEN SHIPS

who remained to steam her in and sink her, already had been taken off her by a ubiquitous motor launch, but the remnant spared hands enough to keep her four guns going. It was hers to show the road to the Intrepid and the Iphigenia, which followed. She cleared a string of armed barges which defends the channel from the tip of the mole, but had the ill-fortune to foul one of her propellers upon a net defense which flanks it on the shore side.

The propeller gathered in the net, and it rendered her practically unmanageable. Shore batteries found her and pounded her unremittingly. She bumped into the bank, edged off, and found herself in the channel again still some hundreds of yards from the mouth of the canal in practically a sinking condition. As she lay she signaled invaluable directions to others, and her commander, R. S. Sneyd, also accordingly blew charges and sank her. Motor launches under Lieutenant H. Littleton raced alongside and took off her crew. Her losses were five killed and five wounded.

The Intrepid, smoking like a volcano and with all her guns blazing, followed. Her motor launch had failed to get along-



PERSPECTIVE MAP OF OSTEND HARBOR, WITH ZEEBRUGGE IN THE DISTANCE

side outside the harbor, and she had men enough for anything. Straight into the canal she steered, her smoke blowing back from her into the Iphigenia's eyes, so that the latter was blinded, and, going a little wild, rammed a dredger, with her barge moored beside it, which lay at the western arm of the canal. She was not clear, though, and entered the canal pushing the barge before her. It was then that a shell hit the steam connections of her whistle, and the escape of steam which followed drove off some of the smoke and let her see what she was doing.

Main Object Attained

Lieutenant Stuart Bonham Carter, commanding the Intrepid, placed the nose of his ship neatly on the mud of the western bank, ordered his crew away, and blew up his ship by switches in the chart room. Four dull bumps were all that could be heard, and immediately afterward there arrived on deck the engineer, who had been in the engine room during the explosion, and reported that all was as it should be.

Lieutenant E. W. Bullyard Leake, commanding the Iphigenia, beached her according to arrangement on the eastern side, blew her up, saw her drop nicely across the canal, and left her with her engines still going, to hold her in position till she should have bedded well down on the bottom. According to the latest reports from air observation, two old ships, with their holds full of concrete, are lying across the canal in a V position, and it is probable that the work they set out to do has been accomplished and that the canal is effectively blocked. A motor launch, under Lieutenant P. T. Deane, had followed them in to bring away the crews and waited further up the canal toward the mouth against the western bank.

Lieutenant Bonham Carter, having sent away his boats, was reduced to a Carley float, an apparatus like an exaggerated lifebuoy with the floor of a grating. Upon contact with the water it ignited a calcium flare and he was adrift in the uncanny illumination with a German machine gun a few hundred yards away giving him its undivided attention. What

saved him was possibly the fact that the defunct Intrepid still was emitting huge clouds of smoke which it had been worth nobody's while to turn. He managed to catch a rope, as the motor launch started, and was towed for awhile till he was observed and taken on board.

THE VINDICTIVE'S STORY

Commander Alfred F. B. Carpenter, who commanded the Vindictive and who was made Captain for his successful work, gave an Associated Press correspondent an interesting description of the episode. During the attack he was at the end of the bridge in a small steel box or cabin which had been specially constructed to house a flame thrower. The Captain, with his arm in a sling, standing on the shell-battered deck of the Vindictive, said:

Exactly according to plan we ran alongside the mole, approached it on the port side, where we were equipped with specially built buffers of wood two feet wide. As there was nothing for us to tie up to, we merely dropped anchor there, while the Daffodil kept us against the mole with her nose against the opposite side of our ship. In the fairly heavy sea two of our three gangways were smashed, but the third held, and 500 men swarmed up this on to the mole. This gangway was two feet wide and thirty feet long. The men who went up it included 300 marines and 150 storming seamen from the Vindictive, and fifty or so from the Daffodil. They swarmed up the steel gangway, carrying hand grenades and Lewis guns. No Germans succeeded in approaching the gangway, but a hard hand-to-hand fight took place about 200 yards up the mole toward the shore.

The Vindictive's bow was pointed toward the shore, so the bridge got the full effect of enemy fire from the shore batteries. One shell exploded against the pilot house, killing nearly all its ten occupants. Another burst in the fighting top, killing a Lieutenant and eight men, who were doing excellent work with two pompoms and four machine guns.

The battery of eleven-inch guns at the end of the mole was only 300 yards away, and it kept trying to reach us. The shore batteries also were diligent. Only a few German shells hit our hull, because it was well protected by the wall of the mole, but the upper structure, mast, stacks, and ventilators showed above the wall and were riddled. A considerable proportion of our casualties were caused by splinters from these upper works.

Meanwhile the Daffodil continued to push us against the wall as if no battle was on, and if she had failed to do this none of the members of the landing party would have been able to return to the ship.

Twenty-five minutes after the Vindictive had reached the wall the first block ship passed in and headed for the canal. Two others followed in leisurely fashion while we kept up the fight on the mole. One of the block ships stranded outside of the canal, but the two others got two or three hundred yards inside, where they were successfully sunk across the entrance.

Fifteen minutes after the Vindictive arrived alongside the mole our submarine exploded under the viaduct connecting the mole with the mainland. The Germans had sent a considerable force to this viaduct as soon as the submarine arrived, and these men were gathered on the viaduct, attacking our submersible with machine guns. When the explosion occurred the viaduct and Germans were blown up together. The crew of the submarine, consisting of six men, escaped on board a dinghy to a motor launch.

Early in the fighting a German shell knocked out our howitzer, which had been getting in some good shots on a big German seaplane station on the mole half a mile away. This is the largest seaplane station in Belgium. Unfortunately, our other guns could not be brought to bear effectively upon it. The shell which disabled the howitzer killed all the members of the gun crew. Many men were also killed by a German shell which hit the mole close to our ship and scattered fragments of steel and stone among the marines assembling on the deck around the gangway.

Half an hour after the block ships went in, we received the signal to withdraw. The Vindictive's siren was blown, and the men returned from all parts of the mole and thronged down the gangway. We put off after having lain alongside just about an hour. The Germans made no effort to interfere with our getaway other than to continue their heavy firing.

RESCUE FROM BLOCK SHIPS

One of the most thrilling incidents was the rescue by two American-built motor launches of nearly 200 members of the crews of two block ships sunk at the entrance to the Bruges Canal. The feat was accomplished under a heavy fire and the actual transfer was made in less than five minutes. One launch delivered ninety-nine men to the destroyer.

The dead and wounded could not all be brought away, but the loss of personnel in this way was declared to be remarkably small.

Stoker Bendall of the submarine which blew up the Zeebrugge mole said:

> It was silent and heavy business. We were going full tilt when we hit the viaduct. It was a good jolt, and we ran right into the middle of the viaduct and stuck there, as we intended to do. I don't think anybody said anything except, "Well, we are here all right."
>
> We lowered a skiff and stood by while the commander touched off the fuse and then tumbled into the skiff and pushed off. By bad luck the propeller fouled the exhaust pipe and left us with only two oars and two minutes to get away. The enemy lights were on us, and the machine guns were firing from the shore.
>
> Before we made 200 yards the submarine went up, and there was a tremendous flash and roar, and lots of concrete from the mole fell around us. Luckily, we were not struck.

Photographs taken from an airplane a few days later showed that the effort to block the canal entrance had been successful. The Intrepid and Iphigenia had reached the precise positions in which they were intended to be sunk, while the exploded submarine had blown a gap of sixty to a hundred feet in the shore end of the mole. The Frankfurter Zeitung, in commenting on the affair, said: "It would be foolish to deny that the British fleet scored a great success through a fantastically audacious stroke in penetrating into one of the most important strongholds over which the German flag floats."

ATTACKS AT OSTEND

At Ostend the operations on the same night were unsuccessful, largely owing to a shift of wind. Small craft with smoke apparatus ran in according to program, set up a screen, and lit two large flares to mark the entrance to the harbor for the two concrete-laden cruisers that were to be sunk in the channel. Before the cruisers could arrive, however, the wind shifted and blew away the smoke screen, after which the German gunfire quickly destroyed the flares. The cruisers tried to proceed by guesswork under heavy fire, but their efforts were in vain. One of the block ships was sunk, but not in a position to obstruct the channel.

A second attempt to close the Ostend harbor was made on the night of May 9-10, when the battered old Vindictive, which had borne the brunt of the shellfire at the Zeebrugge mole, was sunk in the channel with her inside full of concrete. A member of the expedition gave this account:

> As the Vindictive neared Ostend it became apparent that the Germans had got wind of our presence, for suddenly there was a regular pyrotechnic display of star shells. The effect was brilliant, but quite undesirable from our point of view. Immediately guns of all sizes opened fire on us, and there was a terrific din.
>
> The Vindictive and one or two other vessels received hits, and a few casualties were caused by this gunfire. The firing was heavily returned by our ships. Most of the crew of the Vindictive were taken off when the ship was at a little distance from the Ostend piers, only a few officers and men being left to navigate her between the piers and sink her there. A motor launch which was assisting in picking up the crew was hit several times by shellfire, and was in a sinking condition when it came alongside the Admiral's vessel, the destroyer Warwick, to which they were transferred. The motor launch had extensive damage in the fore part, and by order of the Admiral was sunk, as it was apparent that it could not get back to Dover. There was a heavy explosion when the Vindictive sank between the piers.

The casualties in the second Ostend raid were forty-seven, of whom eighteen were killed or missing, the rest wounded.

The British Admiralty, in its official report of the second Ostend action, issued May 14, stated that the Vindictive was "lying at an angle of about 40 degrees to the pier, and seemed to be hard fast." Commander Godsal, who was on deck during the critical moments, was missing and was believed to have been killed; Lieutenant Crutchley blew up the auxiliary charges in the forward 6-inch magazine from the conning tower. Lieut. Commander William A. Bury, who blew up the main charges by a switch installed aft, was severely wounded. The Admiralty reported that the sunken ship would make the harbor impracticable for any but small craft and difficult for dredging operations.

German U-Boat Claims

Address by Admiral von Capelle

German Naval Secretary

ADMIRAL VON CAPELLE, the German Secretary of the Navy, delivered an address before the Reichstag, April 17, 1918, in which he asserted that the submarine warfare of Germany was a success. In the course of his speech he said:

"The main question is, What do the western powers need for the carrying on of the war and the supply of their homelands, and what amount of tonnage is still at their disposal for that purpose? All statistical calculations regarding tonnage are today almost superfluous, as the visible successes of the U-boat war speak clearly enough. The robbery of Dutch tonnage, by which the Anglo-Saxons have incurred odium of the worst kind for decades to come, is the best proof of how far the shipping shortage has already been felt by our opponents. In addition to the sinkings there must be added a great amount of wear and tear of ships and an enormous increase of marine accidents, which Sir J. Ellerman, speaking in the Chamber of Shipping recently, calculated at three times the peace losses. Will the position of the western powers improve or deteriorate? That depends upon their military achievements and the replacing of sunken ships by new construction."

Dealing briefly with Sir Eric Geddes's recent speech on the occasion of the debate on the naval estimates, Admiral von Capelle declared:

"The assertion of the First Lord of the Admiralty that an unwillingness to put to sea prevailed among the German U-boat crews is a base calumny."

LOSSES AND CONSTRUCTION

As regards the assertions of British statesmen concerning the extraordinarily great losses of U-boats, Admiral von Capelle said:

"The statements in the foreign press are very greatly exaggerated. Now, as before, our new construction surpasses our losses. The number of U-boats, both from the point of view of quality and quantity, is constantly rising. We can also continue absolutely to reckon on our military achievements hitherto attained. Whether Lloyd George can continue the naval war with prospects of success depends, not upon his will but upon the position of the U-boats as against shipbuilding. According to Lloyd's Register, something over 22,000,000 gross register tons were built in the last ten years before the war in the whole world—that is, inclusive of the construction of ourselves, our allies, and foreign countries. The entire output today can in no case be more, for difficulties of all kinds and the shortage of workmen and material have grown during the war. In the last ten years—that is, in peace time—800,000 gross register tons of the world's shipping was destroyed annually by natural causes. Now in wartime the losses, as already mentioned, are considerably greater. Thus, 1,400,000 gross register tons was the annual net increase for the entire world. That gives, at any rate, a standard for the present position. America's and Japan's new construction is to a certain extent destined for the necessities of these countries.

"In the main, therefore, only the figures of British shipbuilding come into question. About the middle of 1917 there was talk of 3,000,000 tons in official quarters in Great Britain. Then Lloyd George dropped to 2,000,000, and now, according to Bonar Law's statement, the output is 1,160,000 tons. As against, therefore, about 100,000 tons monthly put into service there are sinkings amounting to 600,000 tons, or six times as much. In brief, if the figures given are regarded as too favorable and new construction at the rate of 150,000 tons monthly—that is, 50 per cent. higher—be assumed, and the sinkings be reduced to 450,000 tons, then the sinkings

are still three times as large as the amount of new construction.

THE COMING MONTHS

"One other thing must especially be taken into consideration for the coming months. Today every ship sunk strikes at the vital nerve of our opponents. Today, when only the absolutely necessary cargoes of foodstuffs and war necessities can still be transported, the sinking of even one small ship has quite a different significance as compared with the beginning of the U-boat war. Moreover, the loss of one ship means a falling out of four to five cargoes. In these circumstances even the greatest pessimist must say that the position of our opponents is deteriorating in a considerably increasing extent and with rapid strides, and that any doubt regarding the final success of the U-boat war is unjustified."

Replying to a question of the reporter, Admiral von Capelle said:

"Our opponents have been busily endeavoring to strengthen their anti-submarine measures by all the means at their disposal, and, naturally, they have attained a certain success. But they have at no time had any decisive influence on the U-boat war, and, according to human reckoning, they will not do so in the future. The American submarine destroyers which have been so much talked about have failed. The convoy system, which, it is true, offers ships a certain measure of protection, has, on the other hand, also the great disadvantage of reducing their transport capabilities. The statements oscillate from 25 to 60 per cent.

"For the rest, our commanders are specially trained for attacks on convoys, and no day goes by when one or more ships are not struck out of convoys. Experienced commanders manage to sink three to four ships in succession belonging to the same convoy."

THE STEEL QUESTION

Admiral von Capelle then dealt with the steel question as regards shipbuilding, which, he said, "is practically the determinative factor for shipbuilding." He continued:

"Great Britain's steel imports in 1916 amounted to 763,000 tons, and in 1917 only amounted to 497,000 tons. That means that already a reduction of 37 per cent. has been effected, a reduction which will presumably be further considerably increased during 1918. Restriction of imports of ore from other countries, such as America, caused by the U-boat war will also have a hampering effect on shipbuilding in Great Britain. It is true that Sir Eric Geddes denied that there was a lack of material, but expert circles in England give the scarcity of steel as the main reason for the small shipbuilding output.

"American help in men and airplanes and American participation in the war are comparatively small. If later on America wants to maintain 500,000 troops in France, shipping to the amount of about 2,000,000 tons would be permanently needed. This shipping would have to be withdrawn from the supply service of the Allies.

"Moreover, according to statements made in the United States and Great Britain, the intervention in the present campaign of such a big army no longer comes into consideration. After America's entry into the war material help for the Entente has not only not increased, but has even decreased cinsiderably. President Wilson's gigantic armament rogram has brought about such economic difficulties that America, the export country, must now begin to ration instead of, as it was hoped, increasingly to help the Entente. To sum up, it can be stated that the economic difficulties of our enemies have been increased by America's entry into the war."

"ENGLAND'S DANGER POINT"

Later in the debate Admiral von Capelle said: "The salient point of the discussion is the economic internal and political results of the U-boat war during the coming months. The danger point for England has already been reached, and the situation of the western powers grows worse from day to day."

Admiral von Capelle then briefly dealt with that calculation of the world tonnage made by a Deputy which received

some attention in the Summer of last year. "This calculation," he said, "shows a difference of 9,000,000 tons from the calculation of the Admiralty Staff. In my opinion, the calculation of the Admiralty Staff is correct. Whence otherwise comes the Entente's lack of tonnage, which, in view of the facts, cannot be argued away? The Admiralty Staff in its calculation adapted itself to the fluctuating situation of the world shipping. At first each of the enemy States looked after itself. Later, under Great Britain's leadership, common control of tonnage was established."

Admiral von Capelle quoted the calculation of the American Shipping Department, according to which the world tonnage in the Autumn of 1917 amounted to 32,000,000, of which 21,000,000 were given as transoceanic. He insisted, however, that so much attention must not be paid to all these calculations, but exhorted the people rather to dwell on the joyful fact that the danger point for the western powers had been reached.

At the close of the sitting Admiral von Capelle stated that all orders for the construction of U-boats had been given independently by the Naval Department and that the Naval Administration had never been instructed to give orders for more U-boats by the Chancellor or the Supreme Army Command. Every possible means, he said, for the development of U-boat warfare had been done by the Naval Department.

Admiral von Capelle in a supplemental statement before the Reichstag, May 11, in discussing the naval estimates, said:

> The reports for April are favorable. Naturally, losses occur, but the main thing is that the increase in submarines exceeds the losses. Our naval offensive is stronger today than at the beginning of unrestricted submarine warfare. That gives us an assured prospect of final success.
>
> The submarine war is developing more and more into a struggle between U-boat action and new construction of ships. Thus far the monthly figures of destruction have continued to be several times as large as those of new construction. Even the British Ministry and the entire British press admit that.
>
> The latest appeal to British shipyard workers appears to be especially significant. For the present the appeal does not appear to have had great success. According to the latest statements British shipbuilding fell from 192,000 tons in March to 112,000 in April; or, reckoned in ships, from 32 to 22. That means a decline of 80,000 tons, or about 40 per cent. [The British Admiralty stated that the April new tonnage was reduced on account of the vast amount of repairing to merchantmen.—Editor.]
>
> America thus far has built little, and has fallen far below expectations. Even if an increase is to be reckoned with in the future, it will be used up completely by America herself.
>
> In addition to the sinkings by U-boats, there is a large decline in cargo space owing to marine losses and to ships becoming unserviceable. One of the best-known big British ship owners declared at a meeting of shipping men that the losses of the British merchant fleet through marine accidents, owing to conditions created by the war, were three times as large as in peace.

The Admiral's Statements Attacked

The British authorities asserted that Admiral von Capelle's figures were misleading and untrue. The losses published in the White Paper include marine risk and all losses by enemy action. They include all losses, and not merely the losses of food ships, as suggested in the German wireless message dated April 16. Even in the figures of the world's output of shipbuilding von Capelle seems to have been misled. He states that "something over 2,000,000 gross tons were built annually in the last ten years, including allied and enemy countries." The actual figures are 2,530,351 gross tons. He further states that the entire output today can in no case be more, owing to difficulties in regard to labor and material. The actual world's output, as shown in the Parliamentary White Paper, excluding enemy countries, amounted to 2,703,000 gross tons, and the output is rapidly rising. Von Capelle tried to raise confusion with regard to the figures 3,000,000 and 2,000,000 tons and the actual output for 1917.

The Admiralty says no forecast was ever given that 3,000,000 tons, or even 2,000,000 tons, would be completed in that year. Three million tons is the ultimate rate of production, which, as the First Lord stated in the House of Commons, is well within the present and prospective capacity of United Kingdom shipyards and marine engineering works. The exaggerated figures of losses are still relied on by the enemy. The average loss per month of British ships during 1917, including marine risk, was 333,000 gross tons, whereas Secretary von Capelle in his statement bases his argument on an average loss from submarine attacks alone of 600,000 tons per month. The figures for the quarter ended March 31, 1918, showed British losses to be 687,576 tons, and for the month of March 216,003 tons, the lowest during any month, with one exception, since January, 1917. With regard to steel, the First Lord has already assured the House of Commons that arrangements have been made for the supply of steel to give the output aimed at, and at the present time the shipyards are in every case fully supplied with the material.

The American production of new tonnage reached its stride in May, and the estimate of over 4,000,000 tons per annum was regarded as conservative. It was estimated that the total British and American new tonnage in the year ending May, 1919, would exceed 6,000,000, as against total U-boat sinkings, based on the record of the first quarter of 1918, of 4,500,000.

OFFICIAL RETURNS OF LOSSES

The following was the official report of losses of British, allied, and neutral merchant tonnage due to enemy action and marine risk:

Period.	British.	Allied and Neutral.	Total.
1917.	Month.	Month.	Month.
January	193,045	216,787	409,832
February	343,486	231,370	574,856
March	375,309	259,376	634,685
Quarter....	911,840	707,533	1,619,373
April	555,056	338,821	893,877
May	374,419	255,917	630,336
June	432,395	280,326	712,721
Quarter....	1,361,870	875,064	2,236,934
July	383,430	192,519	575,949
August	360,296	189,067	519,363
September	209,212	159,949	369,161
Quarter....	952,938	541,535	1,494,473
October	289,973	197,364	487,337
November	196,560	136,883	333,443
December	296,356	155,707	452,063
Quarter....	782,889	489,954	1,272,843
1918.			
January	217,270	136,187	353,457
February	254,303	134,119	388,422
March	216,003	165,628	381,631
Quarter....	687,576	435,934	1,123,510

The Secretary of the Ministry of Shipping stated that the tonnage of steamships of 500 gross tons and over entering and clearing United Kingdom ports from and to ports overseas was as under:

Period. 1917.	Gross Tons.	Period. 1918.	Gross Tons.
October.....	6,908,189	January.....	6,336,663
November....	6,818,564	February.....	6,326,965
December....	6,665,413	March.....	7,295,620

This statement embraces all United Kingdom seaborne traffic other than coastwise and cross Channel.

The Month's Submarine Record

The British Admiralty, in April, 1918, discontinued its weekly report of merchant ships destroyed by submarines or mines, and announced that it would publish a monthly report in terms of tonnage. These figures are shown in the table above. The last weekly report was for the period ended April 14, and showed that eleven merchantmen over 1,600 tons, four under 1,600 tons, and one fishing vessel had been sunk.

In regard to the sinkings in April, French official figures showed that the total losses of allied and neutral ships, including those from accidents at sea dur- the month, aggregated 381,631 tons.

Norway's losses from the beginning of the war to the end of April, 1918, amounted to 755 vessels, aggregating 1,115,519 tons, and the lives of 1,006 seamen, in addition to about 700 men on fifty-three vessels missing, two-thirds of which were declared to be war losses.

The American steamship Lake Moor,

manned by naval reserves, was sunk by a German submarine in European waters about midnight on April 11, with a loss of five officers and thirty-nine men. Five officers and twelve enlisted men were landed at an English port. Eleven men, including five navy gunners, were lost when the Old Dominion liner Tyler was sunk off the French coast on May 3. The Canadian Pacific Company's steamer Medora also was sunk off the French coast. The Florence H. was wrecked in a French port by an internal explosion on the night of April 17. Out of the crew of fifty-six men, twenty-nine were listed as dead or missing, twelve were sent to hospital badly burned, two were slightly injured, and only thirteen escaped injury. Of the twenty-three men of the naval guard only six were reported as survivors.

Six officers and thirteen men were reported missing as the result of two naval disasters reported on May 1 by the British Admiralty. They formed part of the crews of the sloop Cowslip, which was torpedoed and sunk on April 25, and of Torpedo Boat 90, which foundered.

According to Archibald Hurd, a British authority on naval matters, the area in the North Sea which was proclaimed by the British Government as dangerous to shipping and therefore prohibited after May 15 is the greatest mine field ever laid for the special purpose of foiling submarines. It embraces 121,782 square miles, the base forming a line between Norway and Scotland, and the peak extending northward into the Arctic Circle.

A Secret Chapter of U-Boat History

How Ruthless Policy Was Adopted

The causes that led to Germany's adoption of the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1, 1917, *were revealed a year later by the Handelsblad, an Amsterdam newspaper, whose correspondent had secured secret access to "a number of highly interesting and important documents" long enough to read them and make notes of their contents. The Dutch paper vouched for the accuracy of the following information:*

AT the close of the year 1915 the German Admiralty Staff prepared a semi-official memorandum to prove that an unrestricted submarine campaign would compel Great Britain to sue for peace "in six months at the most." The character of the argument conveys the impression that the chiefs of the German Admiralty Staff had already made up their minds to adopt the most drastic measures in regard to submarine warfare, but that they wished to convince the Kaiser, the Imperial Chancellor, and the German diplomatists of the certainty of good results on economic and general, rather than merely military, grounds. To this end the memorandum based its arguments on statistics of food prices, freight, and insurance rates in Great Britain. It pointed out that the effects on the prices of essential commodities, on the balance of trade, and, above all, on the morale of the chief enemy, had been such, even with the restricted submarine campaign of 1915, that, if an unrestricted submarine war were decided upon, England could not possibly hold out for more than a short period.

The memorandum was submitted to the Imperial Chancellor, who passed it on to Dr. Helfferich, the Secretary of State for Finance. He, however, rejected the document on the ground that, in the absence of authentic estimates of stocks, it was impossible to set a time-limit to England's staying power, and also that he was exceedingly doubtful as to what line would be taken by neutrals, especially the United States. Dr. Helfferich maintained that so desperate a remedy should only be employed as a

last resource. The authors of the memorandum then sent a reply, in which they developed their former arguments, and pointed to the gravity of the internal situation in Germany. They emphasized the importance of using the nearest and sharpest weapons of offense if a national collapse was to be avoided. They reinforced their argument by adducing the evidence of ten experts, representing finance, commerce, the mining industry, and agriculture. They were Herr Waldemar Müller, the President of the Dresdner Bank; Dr. Salomonsohn of the Disconto Gesellschaft; Dr. Paul Reusch of Oberhausen, Royal Prussian Councilor of Commerce; Dr. Springorum of Dortmund, Chancellor of Commerce, member of the Prussian Upper House, (Herren Haus,) General Director of Railways and Tramways at Hoesch, an ironmaster, and a great expert in railways; Herr Max Schinkel of Hamburg, President of the Norddeutsche Bank in Hamburg and of the Disconto Gesellschaft in Berlin; Herr Zuckschwerdt of Madgeburg, Councilor of Commerce, late member of the Prussian Upper House; Herr Wilhelm von Finck of Munich, Privy Councilor, chief of the banking house of Merck, Finck & Co., Munich; Councilor of Economics R. Schmidt of Platzhof, member of the Württemberg Upper Chamber and of the German Agricultural Council; Herr Engelhard of Mannheim, Councilor of Commerce, President of the Chamber of Commerce and member of the Baden Upper Chamber.

These experts were invited to send answers in writing to the three following questions: (1) What would be the effect on England of unrestricted submarine warfare? (2) What would be its effect on Germany's relations with the United States and other neutrals? (3) To what extent does the internal situation in Germany demand the use of this drastic weapon?

The reader will do well to remember that the replies were written in February, 1916—nearly two years ago. All agreed on the first point—the effect on Great Britain. The effect of unrestricted submarine warfare on England would be that she would have to sue for peace in six months at the most. Herr Müller, who seemed to be in a position to confirm the statistics given in the memorandum, pointed out that the supply of indispensable foodstuffs was, at the time of writing, less than the normal supply in peace time. He held that the submarine war, if relentlessly and vigorously pursued, would accomplish its purpose in less time than calculated in the memorandum—in fact, three months should do it. Dr. Salomonsohn also thought that six months was an excessive estimate, and that less time would suffice.

On the question of the effect on neutrals the experts were divided. Dr. Reusch suggested that the neutrals despised the restricted submarine warfare of 1915, and held that every ship in British waters, whether enemy or neutral, should be torpedoed without warning. According to him, the world only respects those who, in a great crisis, know how to make the most unscrupulous use of their power.

Herr Müller predicted that ruthless submarine war would cause a wholesale flight of neutrals from the war zone. Their newspapers might abuse Germany at first, but they would soon get tired. The danger was from the United States, but that would become less in proportion as Germany operated more decisively and ruthlessly. Dr. Salomonsohn adopted the same attitude. He recognized the possibility of war with the United States, but was loath to throw away so desirable a weapon on that account.

As to the third point, all the experts agreed that the internal situation in Germany demanded that the most drastic methods of submarine warfare should be employed. Herr Zuckschwerdt urged the advisability of the most drastic measures owing to the feeling of the nation. The nation would stand by the Government, but not if it yielded to threats from America. Such weakness would lead to serious consequences. Herr Schmidt admitted the possibility of Germany not being able to hold out, and emphasized the importance of taking drastic steps before disorder and unrest arose in the agricultural districts.

Sea-Raider Wolf and Its Victims

Story of Its Operations

A third chapter of sea-raider history similar to those of the Möwe and Seeadler was revealed when the Spanish steamship Igotz Mendi, navigated by a German prize crew, ran aground on the Danish coast, Feb. 24, 1918, while trying to reach the Kiel Canal with a cargo of prisoners and booty. The next day the German Government announced that the sea-raider Wolf, which had captured the Igotz Mendi and ten other merchant vessels, with 400 prisoners, had successfully returned after fifteen months in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. The story of the Wolf's operations, as gleaned by Danish and English correspondents from the narratives of released prisoners, is told below. Some of the most interesting passages were furnished by Australian medical officers who had been captured on the British steamer Matunga.

THE Wolf, a vessel of about 6,000 gross tonnage, armed with several guns and torpedo tubes, carried a seaplane, known as the Wolfchen, which was frequently used in the operations of the sea raider. On some days the seaplane made as many as three flights. The Wolf, apparently, proceeded from Germany to the Indian Ocean, laying minefields off the Cape, Bombay, and Colombo. Early in February, 1917, she captured the British steamship Turritella, taking off all the officers and putting on board a prize crew which worked the vessel with her own men. In every case of capture, when the vessel was not sunk at once, this procedure was adopted.

The Wolf transferred a number of mines to the Turritella, with instructions that they should be laid off Aden. A few days later the Turritella encountered a British warship, whereupon the prize crew, numbering twenty-seven, sank the Turritella, and were themselves taken prisoner.

Three weeks later the Wolf overhauled the British steamer Jumna. The Wolf thought that the British vessel was about to ram her, and the port after-gun was fired before it was properly trained, killing five of the raider's crew and wounding about twenty-three others. The Jumna remained with the Wolf for several days, after which her coal and stores were transferred to the raider, and she was sunk with bombs. The next vessels to be captured and sunk were the British steamships Wordsworth and Dee.

Early in June the Wolf, while at anchor under the lee of an island in the Pacific, sighted the British steamship Wairuna, bound from Auckland, N. Z., to San Francisco with coal, Kauri gum, pelts, and copra. The Wolf sent over the seaplane which, flying low, dropped a canvas bag on the Wairuna's deck, containing the message, "Stop immediately; take orders from German cruiser. Do not use your wireless or I will bomb you." The Wairuna eased down, but did not stop until the seaplane dropped a bomb just ahead of her. By this time the Wolf had weighed anchor and proceeded to head off the Wairuna. A prize crew was put on board with orders to bring the ship under the lee of the island and anchor. All the officers, except the master, were sent on board the Wolf. The following day possibly a thousand tons of cargo were transferred.

CAPTURE OF THE MATUNGA

While the two vessels were anchored, the chief officer and second engineer of the Turritella let themselves over the side of the Wolf with the intention of swimming ashore. Later, the Wairuna was taken out and sunk by gunfire, the bombs which had been placed on board having failed to accomplish their purpose. The next captures were the American vessels, Winslow, Beluga, and Encore, which were either burned or sunk.

For nearly a week following this the Wolf hove to, sending the seaplane up several times each day for scouting purposes. Apparently she had picked up some information by her wireless apparatus and was on the lookout for a vessel. On the third day the Wolfchen went up three times, and, on returning from its last flight, dropped lights. Early the next morning none of the prisoners was allowed on deck. A gun was fired by the Wolf, and it was afterward found that it was to stop the British steamer Matunga, with general cargo and passengers, including a number of military officers and men.

BETRAYED BY WIRELESS

It was on the morning of Aug. 5, when the Matunga was nearing the coast of the territory formerly known as German New Guinea, that she fell in with the Wolf, which was mistaken for an ordinary tramp steamer, as the two vessels ran parallel to each other for about two miles. Then the Wolf suddenly revealed her true character by running up the German flag, dropping a portion of her forward bulwarks, exposing the muzzles of her guns, and firing a shot across the bows of the Matunga. At the same time the Wolf sent a seaplane to circle over the Matunga at a low altitude for the obvious purpose of ascertaining whether the latter was armed. Apparently satisfied with the seaplane's report, the German Captain sent a prize crew, armed with bayonets and pistols, to take possession of the British ship. Before their arrival, however, all the Matunga's code books, log books, and other papers were thrown overboard. During the time the prize crew, all of whom spoke English well, were overhauling the Matunga, it was learned that the Germans had been lying in wait for her for five days, as they had somehow learned that she was carrying 500 tons of coal, which they needed badly, and that the German wireless operator had been following her course from the time of her departure from Sydney toward the end of July.

The two ships, now both under German command, proceeded together to a very secluded natural harbor on the north coast of Dutch New Guinea, the entrance to which was watched by two German guard boats, while a wireless plant was set up on a neighboring hill and the Wolf's seaplane patrolled the sea around for about 100 miles on the lookout for any threatened danger. The two ships remained in the Dutch harbor for nearly a fortnight, during which time the Wolf was careened and her hull scraped of barnacles and weeds in the most thorough and methodical manner, after which the coal was transferred from the Matunga's bunkers. The latter vessel was then taken ten miles out to sea, where everything lying loose was thrown into the hold and the hatches battened down to obviate the possibility of any floating wreckage remaining after she was sunk. Bombs were then placed on board and exploded, and the Matunga went down in five or six minutes without leaving a trace.

Before the Matunga was sunk all her crew and passengers were transferred to the Wolf, which then pursued a zigzag course across the Pacific Ocean and through the China Sea to the vicinity of Singapore, where she sowed her last remaining mines. According to stories told by the crew, they had sown most of their mines off Cape Town, Bombay, Colombo, the Australian coast, and in the Tasman Sea, between Australia and New Zealand. They also boasted that on one occasion, when off the coast of New South Wales, their seaplane made an early morning expedition over Sydney Harbor (the headquarters of the British Navy in the Pacific) and noted the disposition of the shipping in that port. They also claimed that the seaplane was the means of saving the Wolf from capture off the Australian coast on one occasion, when she was successful in sighting a warship in sufficient time to enable the Wolf to make good her escape.

A week or more was spent by the Wolf in the China Sea and off Singapore, whence she worked her way to the Indian Ocean for the supposed purpose of picking up wireless instructions from Berlin and Constantinople.

On Sept. 26, while still dodging about

An American regiment marching through a French village
(American Official Photograph)

American troops, with full equipment, on parade in London
(© Western Newspaper Union)

A French château shelled by the Germans after they had been driven from the village by Canadians.

(© *Western Newspaper Union*)

in the Indian Ocean, the Wolf met and captured a Japanese ship, the Hitachi-maru, with thirty passengers, a crew of about 100, and a valuable cargo of silk, copper, rubber, and other goods, for Colombo. During the previous day the Germans had been boasting that they were about to take a big prize, and it afterward transpired that they based their anticipations on the terms of a wireless message which they had intercepted on that day. When first called upon by signal to stop, the Japanese commander took no notice of the order, and held on his way even after a shot had been fired across his ship's bow. Thereupon the Wolf deliberately shelled her, destroying the wireless apparatus, which had been sending out S O S signals, and killing several members of the crew. While the shelling was going on, a rush was made by the Japanese to lower the boats, and a number of both crew and passengers jumped into the sea to escape the gunfire. The Germans afterward admitted to the slaughter of fifteen, but the Matunga people assert that the death roll must have been much heavier. The steamer's funnels were shot away, the poop was riddled with shot, and the decks were like a shambles. All this time the Wolf's seaplane hovered over the Japanese ship ready to drop bombs upon her and sink her in the event of any hostile ship coming in sight.

After transferring the passengers and crew and as much of the cargo as they could conveniently remove from the Hitachi-maru to the Wolf, her decks were cleared of the wreckage their gunfire had caused, and a prize crew was put in charge of her with a view of taking her to Germany. Some weeks later, however, that intention was abandoned for reasons known only to the Germans themselves, and on Nov. 5 the Hitachi-maru was sunk.

IGOTZ MENDI TAKEN

The Wolf then proceeded on her voyage, and on Nov. 10 captured the Spanish steamship Igotz Mendi, with a cargo of 5,500 tons of coal, of which the Wolf was in sore need. The raider returned with this steamer to the island off which the Hitchi-maru had been sunk, and one evening all the married people, a few neutrals and others, and some sick men were transferred from the Wolf to the Igotz Mendi. The raider took aboard a large quantity of coal, and, after the Spanish vessel had been painted gray, the two vessels parted company. The Wolf reappeared on several occasions and reported that she had captured and sunk the American sailing vessel John H. Kirby and the French sailing vessel Maréchal Davout. On Boxing Day the Wolf attempted to coal from the Igotz Mendi in mid-Atlantic, but, owing to a heavy swell, the vessels bumped badly. It was afterward stated that the Wolf had been so badly damaged that she was making water.

A few days later two large steamships were sighted, and both the Wolf and the Igotz Mendi hastily made preparations to escape. The officers and crew changed their clothes to ordinary seamen's attire, packed up their kitbags, and sent all the prisoners below.

Among the latter was the first officer of the Spanish ship, who saw a German lay a number of bombs between the decks of the Igotz Mendi ready to be exploded if it became necessary to sink that ship with all her prisoners while the Wolf looked after her own safety. These bombs were temporarily left in the charge of the German wireless operator to whom the Spanish officer found an opportunity of communicating a message to the effect that he was wanted immediately on the bridge. The ruse was successful, for the operator promptly obeyed the instruction, and in his temporary absence all the bombs were thrown overboard. The German commander, Lieutenant Rose, was furious. He held an investigation next day and asked each prisoner if he knew anything about the bombs. When the Spanish Chief Officer's turn came he answered:

"Yes; I threw them overboard. I'll tell you why. It was not for me, Captain Rose, but for the women and little children. I am not afraid of you. You can shoot me if you want to, but you can't drown the little children."

Rose confined him to his room, and the next time the Igotz Mendi met the Wolf, Commander Nerger sentenced him to three years in a German military prison.

Coaling having finished, the vessels proceeded north in company. During the first week of January the Wolf sank the Norwegian bark Storkbror, on the ground that the vessel had been British-owned before the war. This was the Wolf's last prize. The last time the two raiders were together was on Feb. 6, when the Wolf was supplied with coal and other requirements from the Igotz Mendi. Thereafter, each pursued her own course to Germany.

RAIDER MEETS DISASTER

About Feb. 7 the Igotz Mendi crossed the Arctic Circle, and, encountering much ice, was forced back. Two attempts were made at the Northern Passage, but as the ship was bumping badly against the ice floes a course was shaped between Iceland and the Faroes for the Norwegian coast. On the night of the 18th a wireless from Berlin announced that the Wolf had arrived safely. At 3:30 P. M. on Feb. 24 the Igotz Mendi ran aground near the Skaw, having mistaken the lighthouse for the lightship in the foggy weather. Three hours later a boat came off from the shore. The Igotz Mendi was boarded at 8 o'clock by the commander of a Danish gunboat, who discovered the true character of the ship, which the Germans were endeavoring to conceal.

Next day twenty-two persons, including nine women, two children, and two Americans, were landed in lifeboats and were cared for by the British Consul. Many of them had suffered from inadequate nourishment in the last five weeks. There had been an epidemic of beri-beri and scurvy on board the vessel.

The Danish authorities interned the German commander of the Igotz Mendi. The German prize crew refused to leave the ship.

The Berlin authorities on Feb. 25, 1918, issued an official announcement containing these statements:

> The auxiliary cruiser Wolf has returned home after fifteen months in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. The Kaiser has telegraphed his welcome to the commander and conferred the Order Pour le Mérite, together with a number of iron crosses, on the officers and crew. The Wolf was commanded by Frigate Captain Nerger and inflicted the greatest damage on the enemy's shipping by the destruction of cargo space and cargo. She brought home more than four hundred members of crews of sunken ships of various nationalities, especially numerous colored and white British soldiers, besides several guns captured from armed steamers and great quantities of valuable raw materials, including rubber, copper, brass, zinc, cocoa beans, copra, &c., to the value of many million marks.

Career and Fate of the Raider Seeadler

A German Adventure in the Pacific

Fitted out as a motor schooner under command of Count von Luckner, with a crew of sixty-eight men, half of whom spoke Norwegian, the German commerce raider Seeadler (Sea Eagle) slipped out from Bremerhaven in December, 1916, encountered a British cruiser, passed inspection, and later proceeded, with the aid of two four-inch guns that had been hidden under a cargo of lumber, to capture and destroy thirteen merchant vessels in the Atlantic before rounding the Horn into the Pacific and there sinking three American schooners before meeting a picturesque fate in the South Sea Islands. The narrative of the Seeadler's career as here told by CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *is believed to be the most complete yet published.*

ON Christmas Day, 1916, the British patrol vessel Highland Scot met and hailed a sailing vessel which declared itself without ceremony to be the three-masted Norwegian schooner Irma, bound from Christiania to Sydney with a cargo of lumber. As nothing was more natural, the vessel was allowed to pass, and soon disappeared on the horizon.

A few days later, in the Atlantic, running before a northerly gale, this neat-

looking, long-distance freighter threw its deck load of planks and beams into the ocean, brought from their hiding places two four-inch guns, six machine guns, two gasoline launches, and a motor powerful enough to propel the vessel without the use of sails on occasion. Then a wireless dispatch sent in cipher from aerials concealed in the rigging announced that the German raider Seeadler was ready for business. On the bow the legend, "Irma, Christiania," and at the masthead the flag of Norway remained to lure the raider's victims to destruction.

The Seeadler had formerly been the American ship Pass of Balmaha, 2,800 tons, belonging to the Boston Lumber Company. In August, 1915, while on its way from New York to Archangel, it was captured by a German submarine and sent to Bremen, where it was fitted out as a raider. Under the name of the Seeadler it left Bremerhaven on Dec. 21, 1916, in company with the Möwe, ran the British blockade by the ruse indicated above, and began its career of destruction on two oceans. While the Möwe waylaid its twenty-two victims along the African coast, the Seeadler turned southwest and preyed on South American trade.

One by one the Seeadler sent to the bottom the British ships Gladis Royle, Lady Island, British Yeoman, Pinmore, Perse, Horngarth; the French vessels Dupleix, Antonin, La Rochefoucauld, Charles Gounod, and the Italian ship Buenos Aires. On March 7, 1917, it encountered the French bark Cambronne two-thirds of the way between Rio de Janeiro and the African coast and forced it to take on board 277 men from the crews of the eleven vessels previously captured. The Cambronne was compelled to carry these to Rio de Janeiro, where it landed them on March 20, thus first revealing the work of the Seeadler to the world. On March 22 the German Government announced the safe completion of the second voyage of the Möwe. (See CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for May, 1917, p. 298.)

Having thus ended its operations in the Atlantic, the Seeadler rounded Cape Horn with the intention of scouring the Pacific. In June it sank two American schooners in that ocean, the A. B. Johnson and R. C. Slade, adding another, the Manila, on July 8, and making prisoners of all the crews. Captain Smith of the Slade afterward told the story of his experiences. His ship had been attacked on June 17, and he had at first tried to escape by outsailing the raider; but after the ninth shell dropped near his ship he surrendered. He continued:

> They took all our men aboard the raider except the cook. Next morning I went back on board with all my men and packed up. We left the ship with our belongings June 18. We were put on board the raider again. Shortly after I saw from the raider that they cut holes in the masts and placed dynamite bombs in each mast, and put fire to both ends of the ship and left her. I saw the masts go over the side and the ship was burning from end to end, and the raider steamed away.

After six months of hard life at sea the raider was in need of repairs and the crew longed for a rest on solid land. Casting about for an island sufficiently isolated for his purpose, the Captain, Count von Luckner, decided upon the French atoll of Mopeha, 265 miles west of Tahiti; he believed the little island to be uninhabited. The Seeadler dropped anchor near its jagged coral reefs July 31, 1917. On Aug. 1 Captain von Luckner took possession of the islet and raised the German flag over what he called the Kaiser's last colony. But the next day, during a picnic which he had organized "to entertain his crew and prisoners," leaving only a few men on board the Seeadler, a heavy swell dropped the ship across an uncharted blade of the reef, breaking the vessel's back. The Germans were prisoners themselves on their own conquered islet!

Von Luckner had been incorrect in believing the island entirely uninhabited. Three Tahitians lived there to make copra (dried cocoanut) and to raise pigs and chickens for the firm of Grand, Miller & Co. of Papeete; this firm was shortly to send a vessel to take away its employes, a fact which the Germans learned with mixed emotions.

They brought ashore everything they could from their wrecked ship, including planks and beams, of which they con-

structed barracks; also provisions, machine guns, and wireless apparatus. The heavy guns were put out of commission —likewise the ship's motor. The wireless plant, a very powerful one, was set up between two cocoanut trees. It was equipped with sending and receiving apparatus, and without difficulty its operator could hear Pago-Pago, Tahiti, and Honolulu.

On Aug. 23 Count von Luckner and five men set out in an armed motor sloop for the Cook Islands, which they reached in seven days. There they succeeded in deceiving the local authorities, but a few days later they and their boat were captured in the Fiji Islands by the local constabulary and handed over to the British authorities. Thus ended the Captain's hope of seizing an American ship and returning to Mopeha for his crew.

On Sept. 5 the French schooner Lutece from Papeete arrived at Mopeha to get the three Tahitians and their crops. First Lieutenant Kling took a motor boat and a machine gun and captured the schooner, which had a large cargo of flour, salmon, and beef, with a supply of fresh water. Kling and the rest of the Germans, after dismantling the wireless, left the island that night, abandoning forty-eight prisoners, including the Americans, the crew of the Lutece, and four natives. Before going they destroyed what they could not take with them, cut down many trees to get the cocoanuts more easily, and left to the prisoners very scant provisions, and bad at that. The few cocoanuts that remained were largely destroyed by the great number of rats on the island. There was plenty of fish and turtles.

After the flight of the Germans the French flag was hoisted on the island and the twentieth-century Robinson Crusoes organized themselves under Captain Southard of the Manila and M. Fain, one of the owners of the Lutece. The camp was rebuilt, the supplies rationed out, the catching of fish and turtles arranged, and the question of going in search of help discussed. On Sept. 8 Pedro Miller, one of the owners of the Lutece, set sail in an open boat with Captains Southard and Porutu, a mate, Captain Williams, and three sailors, hoping to reach the Island of Maupiti, eighty-five miles to the east; but after struggling eight days against head winds and a high sea he returned to Mopeha with his exhausted companions. Two days later, Sept. 19, Captain Smith of the Slade, with two mates and a sailor, left the island in a leaky whaleboat dubbed the Deliverer of Mopeha and shaped their course toward the west; in ten days they covered 1,080 miles and landed at Tutuila, one of the Samoan Islands, where the American authorities informed Tahiti by wireless of the serious plight of the men marooned on Mopeha. The British Governor at Apia—Robert Louis Stevenson's last home—also offered to send a relief ship; but the Governor of the French Establishments of Oceania, declining this offer with thanks, dispatched the French schooner Tiare-Taporo from Papeete on Oct. 4.

Two days later the relief expedition sighted Mopeha by means of a column of smoke that rose from the island, for the Robinson Crusoes had organized a permanent signal system to attract the attention of passing vessels. The arrival of the rescuers was greeted with frantic acclamations. By evening the last boatload of refugees was aboard the Tiare-Taporo, and on the morning of Oct. 10 the schooner reached Papeete, where the prisoners at last were free.

The fate of the Lutece with the main body of the Seeadler's crew was indicated, though not fully explained, by a cable dispatch from Valparaiso, Chile, March 5, 1918, stating that the Chilean schooner Falcon had arrived there from the Easter Islands with fifty-eight sailors formerly belonging to the crew of the Seeadler. The sailors were interned by the Chilean Government. Count Felix von Luckner, commander of the Seeadler, who, with five of his men, had been captured by the local constabulary of the Fiji Islands, was interned by the British in a camp near Auckland, New Zealand. In December he and other interned Germans escaped to sea in an open boat and traveled nearly 500 miles, suffering from lack of food and water, but were recaptured after a two weeks' chase.

Treatment of British Prisoners

Shocking Brutalities in German War Prisons Revealed in an Official Report

A REPORT issued by an official British Investigating Committee, known as the Justice Younger Committee, appointed to investigate the treatment of British soldiers by their German captors, made public in April, 1918, presents a shocking record of barbarities. The commission reported as follows:

There is now no doubt in the minds of the committee that as early, at the latest, as the month of August, 1916, the German Command were systematically employing their British as well as other prisoners in forced labor close behind the western firing line, thereby deliberately exposing them to the fire of the guns of their own and allied armies. This fact has never been acknowledged by the German Government. On the contrary, it has always been studiously concealed. But that the Germans are chargeable, even from that early date, with inflicting the physical cruelty and the mental torture inherent in such a practice can no longer be doubted.

Characteristically the excuse put forward was that this treatment, not apparently suggested to be otherwise defensible, was forced upon the German Command as a reprisal for what was asserted to be the fact, namely, that German prisoners in British hands had at some time or other been kept less than thirty kilometers (how much less does not appear) behind the British firing line in France. This statement was quite unfounded.

Furthermore, at the end of April, 1917, an agreement was definitely concluded between the British and German Governments that prisoners of war should not on either side be employed within thirty kilometers of the firing line. Nevertheless, the German Command continued without intermission so to employ their British prisoners, under the inhuman conditions stated in the report. And that certainly until the end of 1917—it may be even until now—although it has never even been suggested by the German authorities, so far as the committee are aware, that the thirty kilometers limit agreed upon has not been scrupulously observed by the British Command in the letter as well as in the spirit.

"Prisoners of Respite"

The German excuse is embodied in different official documents, some of which enter into detailed descriptions of the reprisals alleged to be in contemplation because of it. These descriptions are in substantial accord with treatment which the committee, from the information in their possession, now know to have been in regular operation for months before either the threat or the so-called excuse for it, and to have continued in regular operation after the solemn promise of April that it should cease. These documents definitely commit the German Command to at least a threatened course of conduct for which the committee would have been slow to fix them with conscious responsibility. Incidentally they corroborate in advance the accuracy, in its incidents, of the information, appalling as it is, which has independently reached the committee from so many sides.

As a typical example, the committee set forth a transcript in German-English of one of these pronouncements, of which extensive use was made. It is a notice, entitled, "Conditions of Respite to German Prisoners." As here given, it was handed to a British noncommissioned officer to read out, and it was read out to his fellow-prisoners at Lille on April 15, 1917:

> Upon the German request to withdraw the German prisoners of war to a distance of not less than thirty kilometers from the front line, the British Government has not replied; therefore it has been decided that all prisoners of war who are captured in future will be kept as prisoners of respite. Very short of food, bad lighting, bad lodgings, no beds, and hard work beside the German guns, under heavy shellfire. No pay, no soap for washing or shaving, no towels or boots, &c. The English prisoners of respite are all to write to their relations or persons of influence in England how badly they are treated, and that no alteration in the ill-treatment will occur until the English Government has consented to the German request; it is therefore in the interest of all English prisoners of respite to do their best to enable the German Government to remove all English prisoners of respite to camps in Germany, where they will be properly treated, with good food, good clothing, and you will succeed by writing as mentioned above, and then surely the English Government will consent to Germany's request, for the sake of their own countrymen. You will be supplied with postcard, note paper, and envelope, and all this correspondence in which you will explain your hardships will be sent as express mail to England.

Starved to Death

It seems that the prisoners, from as early as August, 1916, were kept in large numbers

at certain places in the west—Cambrai and Lille are frequently referred to in the evidence—but in smaller numbers they were placed all along the line. Their normal work was making roads, repairing railways, constructing light railways, digging trenches, erecting wire entanglements, making gun-pits, loading ammunition, filling munition wagons, carrying trench mortars, and doing general fatigue work, which under the pain of death the noncommissioned officers were compelled to supervise.

This work was not only forbidden by the laws of war, it was also excessively hard. In many cases it lasted from eight to nine hours a day, with long walks to and fro, sometimes of ten kilometers in each direction, and for long periods was carried on within range of the shellfire of the allied armies. One witness was for nine months kept at work within the range of British guns; another for many months; others for shorter periods. Many were killed by these guns; more were wounded; deaths from starvation and overwork were constant. One instance of the allied shellfire may be given. In May, 1917, a British or French shell burst among a number of British and French prisoners working behind the lines in Belgium. Seven were killed; four were wounded.

But there is much more to tell. The men were half starved. Two instances are given in the evidence of men who weighed 180 pounds when captured. One was sent back from the firing line too weak to walk, weighing only 112 pounds; the other escaped to the British lines weighing no more. Another man lost twenty-eight pounds in six weeks. Parcels did not reach these prisoners. In consequence they were famished. Such was their hunger, indeed, that we hear of them picking up for food potato peelings that had bee ntrampled under foot. One instance is given of an Australian private who, starving, had fallen out to pick up a piece of bread left on the roadside by Belgian women for the prisoners. He was shot and killed by the guard for so doing.

Some Merciful Guards

It was considered, so it would seem, to be no less than a stroke of luck for prisoners to chance upon guards who were more merciful. For instance, one of them speaking of food at Cambrai says:

> If it had not been for the French civilians giving us food as we went along the roads to and from work we should most certainly have starved. If the sentries saw us make a movement out of the ranks to get food they would immediately make a jab at us with their rifles, but conditions here were not so bad as at Moretz, where if a man stepped out of the ranks he was immediately shot. I heard about this from men who had themselves been working at Moretz, and had with their own eyes seen comrades of theirs shot for moving from the ranks.

At Ervillers in February, 1917. a prisoner's allowance for the day consisted of a quarter of a loaf of German black bread, (about a quarter of a pound,) with coffee in the morning; then soup at midday, and at 4:30 coffee again, without sugar or milk. On this a man had to carry on heavy work for over nine hours. The ration of the German soldier at the same time and place consisted of a whole loaf of bread per day, good, thick soup, with beans and meat in it, coffee, jam, and sugar; two cigars and three cigarettes. The food conditions at Marquion a little later are thus described:

> We used to beg the sentries to allow us to pick stinging nettles and dandelions to eat, we were so hungry; in fact, we were always hungry, and I should say we were semi-starved all the time. While we were here our Sergeants put in for more rations, but the answer they got was that we were prisoners of war now " and had no rights of any kind; that the Germans could work us right up behind their front lines if they liked, and put us on half the rations we were then getting."

Flogged with Dog Whip

The ration was coffee and a slice of bread at 4:45 A. M., soup of barley and horseflesh at 2 P. M., eight pounds of barley and ten pounds of meat between 240 men. And they were compelled to work hard for eight or nine hours a day on this diet. The frequent cruelty of the guards generally is a matter constantly referred to:

> The German Sergeant in charge at Ervillers (says one prisoner) was very harsh. Twice I saw him (this prisoner was there for a month only) using a dog whip, and heard of him doing so on another occasion. He used it mostly on men who were slow in getting out to work owing to weakness.

The description by a body of these men on their arrival at a camp in Germany, after being withdrawn from the front, may be taken as another example of this:

> We were forced to work; we were given hardly any food, and when we fell down from sheer exhaustion we were kicked until we got up again, and it was not until we absolutely could not get about that we were sent back.

To add to their miseries, the accommodation provided for these prisoners was in many cases pathetically inadequate. The witnesses recur to this again and again. One sleeping place, for instance, for a large party was a barn with no roof. The rain poured in upon the men. They had to sleep in their wet clothes and work in the same clothes. They had no change of any kind. And some of these prisoners, if they survived so long, were kept behind these enemy lines for over a year. Their quarters at Cambrai are thus described by two of the men:

> We slept about twelve in a room in our

uniforms, without either greatcoats or blankets. There was no fire, and it was very cold. We lay on loose straw, which was full of vermin, and we consequently became verminous. We could only wash in a bucket of cold water, without either soap or towels.

The Germans did not supply us with any clothing, and as we had to work in all weathers, conditions were very hard. Our clothes used to get drenched through, but still we had to go back to barracks and sleep in them. It was terribly cold also, especially without our fur coats. We asked for clothing, but never got any.

No Parcels or Letters

But, added to all these hardships, it was the total absence of parcels and the fact that letters or communications from their friends rarely reached them that placed these prisoners, for misery, in a class apart. Instances are on record where the very existence of some of them was undisclosed by their captors for many months. In March, 1917, for example, a body of these prisoners who had been captured as long before as August, 1916, and had been kept at work by the Germans behind their lines ever since, were returned to a parent camp in Germany weak and emaciated. On arrival there they found a number of their own names in the lists of missing men that had been sent from our War Office through Switzerland and posted in the camp. * * *

It seems almost incredible, but the committee do not doubt it to be the fact, that as late as November, 1917, there were at Limburg-am-Lahn, undelivered between 18,000 and 20,000 parcels for British prisoners on the German western front. In July, 1917, the German delegates at The Hague plainly recognized that no distinction in respect of the receipt of parcels could be properly made between prisoners of war in occupied territories and others. The agreement then concluded contains provisions on that subject. Having regard to the condition of things at Limburg as late as November, 1917, the committee can only regret that the effect of that agreement was certainly at that date not so manifest as it ought to have been. The matter, they add, is of tragic importance to the prisoners concerned. It made and makes just the difference between starvation and existence to the unfortunate sufferers.

Extracts from Evidence

The committee extract from the great mass of evidence now in their possession statements as to the impression produced upon those who actually saw our men upon their escape to the British lines or after their transfer to camps in Germany. These statements, they believe, must convince every impartial mind that it is impossible in terms of exaggeration to describe the sufferings these prisoners had undergone.

In April, 1917, three of them escaped over "No Man's Land." They were received by a British General Staff officer, a Major in the 1st Anzac Corps. This is what he says of them, under date April 18, 1917:

> Three men escaped from behind the German lines to us the other day. They had been prisoners three months, and were literally nearly dead with ill-treatment and starvation. One of them could hardly walk, and was just a skeleton. He had gone down from 182 pounds to less than 112 pounds in three months. I fetched him back from the line, and it almost made me cry. All that awful January and February out all day in the wet and cold; no overcoat, and at night no blanket, in a shelter where the clothes froze stiff on him; no change of underclothing in three months, and he was one mass of vermin, no chance of washing. The bodies of all of them were covered with sores. "Beaten and starved," one of them said, "sooner than go through it again I'd just put my head under the first railway."

The following is the substance of statements by two witnesses from a German camp:

> About June, 1917, a party of about twenty English soldiers came in who had been working behind the German lines on the western front. I became friends with one of them. He was so weak that I have several times seen him faint on parade. Another of them told me that he was one of a party of 100 working behind the lines on the western front digging trenches and carrying up supplies. He said they were all very badly treated and starved. They were knocked about by the Germans if they did not march as fast as they wanted them to, although they were all so weak. He was only sent to Germany when he became so weak as to be useless for work. When I left he did not look as if he could lift a shovelful of sand. There was another whom I knew. He had also been working behind the lines. They had to work in clogs and no socks. He said they used to tie rags round their feet. He was employed on road making. I never could have believed the things I was told but for the terrible state the men were in, which caused me to feel that no horror I was told was impossible.
>
> Many were brought into the camp who had returned from working behind the lines; they were in a shocking state, literally skin and bones, hardly able to walk, and quite worn out physically and mentally; their clothes threadbare and in rags, without boots, wearing old rag slippers. They told me that the conditions of work behind the lines, where some of them had been for months, were terrible; they had to work eight hours a day, and generally were made to walk ten kilometers out to their work, and the

only food they were given was one cup of coffee, a slice of bread, and some soup a day—a day's ration.

"Shot at Sight"

From another camp comes the following testimony:

In May of this year a large party of British came into the camp, who had returned from behind the German lines. They were ravenous through being starved, and half savages. I spoke to several of them. * * * Men were shot at sight for a slight cause, such as dropping out to get bread from Belgian civilians. The state in which they returned was the worst sight I have seen in my life. Their clothes were ragged, they were half shaven, verminous, suffering from skin diseases, and were half savage with hunger and bad treatment. After their arrival the commandant in the camp issued an order (which I saw) that no more of these parties should be taken through the main street of the town, but should go by the byways on account of the feeling that had been caused among the population. I am told that the population showed a great deal of sympathy, tears, &c.

About May 1, 1917, about 300 prisoners of all nationalities were brought from behind the western lines. I spoke to those who came into the lazaret. All were starving, and had been kept there until they collapsed from overwork. Fifteen Russians died as soon as they were brought in. One man told me that on a march of eleven kilometers a man fell out ill, the guard gave him so many minutes to fall in again, and told him he would shoot him if he was not up by then; he could not go on, and the guard shot him.

From a third camp:

I knew two of our men who had been working behind the German lines in the west for five months. One was 29 years old, the other 25. The first weighed 180 pounds when captured. He left the firing line too weak to walk, and weighed 110 pounds. He was badly treated and knocked about. When I saw him in camp he was black and blue. The other man had the same treatment. They were both starved, and both were gray-headed with the five months' treatment. These men said our men were dying there every day through hardship and exposure. The food behind the lines was about half the camp rations.

"Worked to the Bone"

From a fourth camp:

In September, 1917, seventy-five non-commissioned officers, who had been behind the lines, were brought into our camp. They were in a bad physical condition, hungry, lousy, and worked out. One month after, a large body, all privates from behind the lines, captured since May, came in. They were in a terrible condition, famished beyond words. They had been worked to the bone, and were in a filthy condition. They made our camp lousy. The camp doctor said they were the worst cases he had seen, and said they could stay in bed for a week. They were so famished that two died of eating the food we gave them. They had been working on the Hindenburg line, and the railway Cambrai to Lille, and repairing it under fire. They said they were on very small rations and compelled to work. They told us that Frenchwomen who out of compassion gave them any trifling gift of fruit were knocked down by the sentries.

From the same camp:

I spoke to men who had been kept at work behind the German lines on the western front. The majority of these were there about twelve months, and they came into camp about the end of November or the beginning of December, 1917. They told me that they had been employed close up to the lines. They had been employed cutting trees, and had been under our own shellfire. They were half starved and in a terrible condition. On one occasion about 300 came in, about forty of whom had British clothes, the rest being dressed in odds and ends of French and German clothing—in fact, anything they could get hold of. We collected bread for them and cut it up in readiness for their arrival so as to save all possible time, but their hunger was so great they could not help raiding us and fighting for it. It was terrible to see them. I do not think many of them had been wounded, but their condition was so terrible that I cannot describe it.

They were absolutely the worst bunch of men I had ever seen. They were terribly thin and weak, and fell down as soon as they started to eat, as they were in an absolutely exhausted state. Their underclothing was in a dreadful state, and they were covered with vermin, and had been like that for about twelve months. This is the party which I mentioned as coming to the camp about the end of November or the beginning of December, 1917. About a fortnight after their arrival, and after their clothes had been fumigated and they had baths two or three times a week, they picked up wonderfully.

From a fifth camp:

In March, 1917, I saw fifty English prisoners come in to camp who had been working behind the lines near Cambrai digging trenches; they had been there three or four months. All of them were in a shocking condition, absolutely starved, with boils and sores all over

them. We used to share our parcels with these men. During the whole time I was in camp—that is, up to December last—men were drifting in who had been working behind the lines on the western front; they always arrived in the same shocking condition. I remember particularly one, in November, 1917, coming back from Cambrai district. He was very bad and starved; he told me they had been very badly treated; all huddled together in barns, no sanitary arrangements, no blankets, and he said he had seen a native woman shot for giving them food; that they were well within range of guns, and within six kilometers of the lines, shells frequently falling about them, and that he had seen many of his own comrades wounded while working, that they were knocked about by their guards, and, generally, his account of their treatment was appalling. To my knowledge from conversation with them, men were coming in who had been working close up behind the lines right down to the time I left Germany in December, 1917.

From an army Chaplain:

On Feb. 16, 1917, there arrived in Minden Hospital sixteen men who had been working behind the western front, attached to Camp E.K. 5. The thermometer registered 10 degrees, Fahrenheit, below zero. They had walked seven kilometers from the station. Their clothing consisted of tunic, trousers, and thin shirt, boots and socks, and an old hat—no coat and no underclothes. They had been two days and two nights in the cold train with very little to eat. * * * Two of these men died later of consumption in Minden. They had all been captured in November (this was February) and their relatives did not know that they were even alive. These men report, too, that they are brutally treated; human life is not worth so much as horseflesh, because the latter can be eaten. They are worked until they either die or so completely collapse that they are useless. I believe this was the first party that arrived from the western front. I had the names of the men in a notebook, but it was taken from me. They said it was nothing to wake up in the morning and find the man sleeping beside you dead. I got the names of several who had died, and wrote to their people to inform them.

Lives Made Unbearable

The committee close these statements with the following striking extract from the evidence of a young wounded British officer who was placed in a ward in a German hospital in France, filled with prisoners of all nationalities:

The German in charge of the ward was a university professor, and, seeing several of our men, also Russians and Rumanians, come on to the hospital in an emaciated condition, I asked him the cause, and where they came from, when, without giving me details, he told me they came from working camps behind the lines. There, he said, the conditions were frightful, so much so that he himself was ashamed of them—the men were overworked, under shellfire, very much underfed, had not much clothing, and slept in sheds and shelters in the snow under filthy conditions. I ascertained from him and from some of our own men that many died behind the lines; all were thoroughly ill-treated by the Germans, and the lives of those who did not die were made quite unbearable.

I am sure the German who informed me had no personal grounds which made him complain against the system, it was merely on humanitarian grounds that he told me he was shocked; and the independent stories I received from our own soldiers simply bore out the fact that the Germans were ill-treating their prisoners behind the lines at this time. While I was in hospital the German I have mentioned above did his best to get the men from the hospital marked unfit for work behind the lines; and I must in fairness add that as a result very few, if any, went back to work there once they had been sent to hospital, and they seemed to be marked for camps in Germany instead.

The report concludes: "The committee in their survey of the evidence dealt with in this report have failed to find a trace even of lip service either to the obligations so solemnly undertaken by the German Government in time of peace for regulating their conduct in time of war or to these principles from their War Book which that Government professed as their own. Further comment appears to the committee to be superfluous. The facts speak for themselves."

American Prisoners Exploited

A correspondent sent the following from The Hague, April 20, 1918, regarding the German treatment of American prisoners:

FROM irrefutable evidence obtained by your correspondent, it is impossible to close one's eyes to what is going on in the hospitals and prisoners' camps in Germany. It is a mistake to believe that the treatment of prisoners and wounded in Germany has improved. On the contrary, it is as bad as it ever was, even worse.

The punishments inflicted are cruel and inhuman. As is well known, prisoners are absolutely dependent upon parcels for food and clothing. A favorite punishment is to withhold these from a whole camp or from large bodies of prisoners. It has been established beyond doubt that prisoners are employed behind the front and are under shellfire, in defiance of The Hague agreement of 1917.

Some prisoners never reach a camp in Germany for six months, meanwhile receiving no parcels of food. Their condition on arrival at camp, broken down and starving, is pitiable.

The evidence doesn't tend to show that American prisoners are receiving any preferential treatment. It is reported that the first American prisoners taken were hawked about the country, presumably to show them off to the populace. At Giessen, where, it would seem, American prisoners were kept on two separate occasions, they were prohibited any intercourse, even by sign language, with other prisoners and were not allowed to receive parcels or gifts from them.

British prisoners at Giessen asked if they could give parcels to Americans, and finally received permission to do so the following day. But the next day the American prisoners were moved away early in the morning.

British prisoners were able to detect Americans who had been captured any length of time by their appearance and by the state of their clothes. Until parcels for them arrived from Berne their state was deplorable.

A British noncommissioned officer recently obtained the signatures of the first ten Americans captured and talked with them. These men signed the scrap of paper in the hope that some news of them would reach the outside world. They were in poor physical health and somewhat despondent.

A few recent examples from a large amount of sworn evidence follow:

In February, 1918, 4,000 men were sent from a Westphalian camp to within thirty kilometers behind the front. Their guards ran away to escape the British shrapnel fire.

The state of prisoners coming from the big Somme battle in the first week of the present month was deplorable. Their wounds had not been dressed in many cases for more than ten days. Owing to the lack of dressing, British comrades bandaged their wounds with old towels and shirts.

It was formally announced by the German authorities in Camp Bonn on April 13 last that two British soldiers, R. and B., had been shot near Minden for not stopping talking when ordered to do so.

In November, 1917, men were brought into the hospital at M. continually, having been wounded by shrapnel from behind the lines. Wounded men lay for three or four weeks unattended and grossly neglected.

Much of the sworn evidence is so repugnant that it could not be published. There has been talk of reprisals on American prisoners, and even foreigners born in America are included in these threatened reprisals.

Total Destruction of Rheims

By G. H. Perris

With the French Armies, April 20, 1918

THE great fire at Rheims has nearly burned itself out. Having thrown in a week 50,000 explosive and an unknown number of incendiary and gas shells, the German gunners ceased as suddenly and inexplicably as they had begun, and when I entered the city this morning the silence of death brooded over it.

The written word is powerless to describe such a spectacle, and it is no more adequate for being unmeasured. But when men of faith, men who love the old and beautiful, write under the fresh, stunning impression of such a sight, is it strange that some loose phrases escape them?

I am very familiar with the ruins of Rheims. From the first bombardment, which destroyed the exquisite sculptures of the north tower and the façade of the cathedral three and a half years ago, I have been able to watch the mischief extending step by cruel step. At first, with normal British reluctance to credit the outrageous or incomprehensible, one was chiefly concerned to find out whether, after all, there was not some sort of military excuse. I severely cross-examined every one who could be supposed to know anything about the matter. There never was any shadow of excuse.

It remained only to record from time to time the progress of a crime as deliberate as any in the annals of the war, and in its own kind particularly damnable—a blackhearted crime such as a Comanche chief or a Congo cannibal would not have had the wickedness to conceive.

And if there be still any rationalist obstinate enough to ask for the reason why of this last outburst of vandalism, I can only hazard the guess that it may have been planned, like the long-distance bombardments of Paris, as a terroristic accompaniment of the Hindenburg offensive. It may have been supposed that the tales of the refugees would help to demoralize Paris and the rest of the country. So little after these terrible years has the boche learned of the people he set out to conquer.

Well, the Cathedral of St. Louis is not falling. Wonderful was the work of the builders. More buttresses, pinnacles, gargoyles, and stone railings have been shattered, more statues chipped, and rain, entering freely by a large rent in the roof, has worked invisible damage since my last visit in November. The cathedral has been struck again. The uplifted sword of Joan of Arc in the bronze equestrian statue before the cathedral has been cut in half.

If this were all, we should have after the war at least a worthy memorial to leave to posterity. It is said that it would now cost a million sterling to restore the finest Gothic fane in France. I hope nothing of the kind will be attempted, nothing more, that is, than the construction of a new roof, new windows, doors, and furnishings, and the necessary strengthening of the structure.

For as it stands, gashed and discolored, the vast shell has a strange magnificence and a piteous loveliness like that of some of the broken splendors that remain to us from the ancient world. Let Rheims speak to the future generations as the ruins of the Acropolis and the Forum have spoken to our fathers and us.

But the city itself raises a different and a more difficult problem. It is now no exaggeration to say that as a whole it is destroyed beyond hope. Till a fortnight ago large parts of it were not beyond the possibility of repair. Remember that Rheims was not a small town like Ypres or Arras, but a wealthy and dignified community of 120,000 souls, occupying a space equal to one-fifth of that of Paris.

There is now from end to end probably not a single house whose walls are not more or less broken. The northern and eastern quarters were already in ruins.

Now the centre of the city is gutted. Of the public buildings the central squares built in the time or after the Counts of Champagne, the cloth warehouses and workshops, the private residences, bazaars and shops, nothing stands but rows of smoking walls, half buried in fallen rafters and masonry.

The Abomination of Desolation

An Episode in France

Dr. Norman Maclean, an eminent Scottish scholar, whose articles from the front have appeared in The Scotsman of Edinburgh, penned this touching picture of the war-devastated Somme region a few days before the Germans again swept over it in March, 1918:

THEY stood side by side on a heap of rubbish inside the door of the ruined church in the midst of the ruined town—a man and woman garbed in humble, rusty black. The survivors of the erstwhile population were being brought back as shelters were prepared and work provided for them; these had obviously just returned, and had come straight to the church. When they fled before the flood of death, the church stood scatheless, built immovably upon the rock of the centuries. It was a shrine of beauty and a haunt of peace. But as they now stood on the mound of fallen masonwork inside the west door, what they saw was this—the roof lying in an undulating ridge piled on the floor, the sacred pictures torn and tattered; the pillars shattered; the altar buried under a great mass of débris, and a figure of the Christ, uninjured, looking out through the broken arches on the dead town, and on the land beyond, where the white crosses gleam o'er the multitudinous dead.

The man stood motionless, with a face like a mask. But in a moment the woman shook as if stricken by an ague. She turned and stumbled toward the doorway, where there is no door, the tears coursing down her cheeks and a sob in her throat. The man turned and followed her. He took her hand in his, and they walked away with bowed heads in silence. It is strange how the human heart is moved. It was the tremulous face of that black-robed woman, and the lifting of her hands as if to hide the abomination of desolation from her sight, and the stumbling flight from a scene intolerable, that made me feel the horror spread before me. For I saw it with her eyes.

What she saw was infinitely more than what I could see. She had experienced in her own soul that this was holy ground. In happy days of childhood heaven seemed to lie here; she had come hither to be received, in white, into the holy fellowship; hither to be married; hither to dedicate her children at the sacred font. And when the burden of life was heavier than could be borne, how often had she come hither; and as she fell on her knees at the elevation of the Host, the very God seemed to fold her in the Eternal Embrace, and her troubles fled as morning mists before the sun.

And when the war came, and the men went forth, and with them her sons, how often did she come softly to this sanctuary and dip her hand in the holy water at the door and cross herself, and bow toward the altar, and kneel and pray that they might be saved. In and out all day they came then, men and women, and they prayed for their own, and for France, and their prayers were as the moaning of the winds. * * * And now this! Nothing is left. Home and town and children and sanctuary are all overwhelmed in the one flood. And the Christ from the broken pillar gazes upon a perishing world. It is with her as with those of old, who fell under the heel of the oppressor and who cried: "Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation; our holy and our beautiful house where our fathers praised Thee is burned with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste."

There is that in man which enables him to meet every blow of fate with unblanched face—save one. When the blow is aimed at his soul, then he shrivels. It was in her soul that this woman was smitten, as she saw the house of her God thus. And that is why there in the land of death the churches and cathedrals are all in ruins. To make the altars of Arras gaze on the clouds and the stars, and make the winds wail through the colonnades of Rheims, was deemed the surest and swiftest way of spreading terror and affright. So the devotées of Odin declared war upon God. For a little while the tribal deity and the belligerent dynast reign supreme. The homeless and bereft, the great multitude who are as those standing on the rubble-heap, are verily left with nothing but their eyes to weep with.

It is amazing how soon one gets assimilated to the most horrifying environment. In a few days one can walk through a town which has been turned into heaps without even a shock of wonder, just as at home one reads the war news and the list of the dead without any realization. In these days we need to be stung broad awake now and then. A city in ruins becomes deadly monotonous —until one is wakened.

One day, when the sun broke forth heralding the Spring, the promise of green on a clump of tangled rose bushes tempted me to turn into the garden of a shattered villa. It was as thousands of others: the hearthstones looked upward to the clouds, and the household goods lay piled tier on tier of rotting lumber as floor fell on floor. In the centre of the green a shell hole took my eye, and I picked my way toward it. Out of the earth at the bottom of the hole there obtruded the bones of a man's arm. In haste, the dead had been thrown into the shell hole and lightly covered. And the rains had washed so much of the earth away. And that bone brought the realization that I stood in the midst of one vast cemetery.

Everywhere and all around under the feet are the nameless dead—men, women, and little children. These last are the nightmare of this horror. Formerly nations recovered from war swiftly; the cradles filled up the gaps. But here the children are dead. To the eye of faith the Star of the East shines still with splendor over every spot where a babe lies. But that Star has been extinguished in this region of doom. The altar is buried, the hearthstone is in the rain, and amid the welter of rubbish you can see the children's cots twisted and rusting and woeful. A woman breaking into sobs inside a ruined church door; a body in a shell hole in a garden, a child's cot rusting on a rubbish heap—these open the eyes and make them see.

These things did not come by the arbitrament of war. It wasn't shrapnel and high explosives that wrought the desolation. From the battlements of the old citadel one can see the dead town lie spread, and the houses hit by shells are few and far between. The houses destroyed wantonly by the enemy ere they retreated are easily recognized, for the walls fell outward by the internal explosions. Ninety-five per cent. have fallen outward, and the wall of the church is likewise. This ancient sanctuary was wantonly destroyed by the retreating enemy. What amazes one is the appalling stupidity of such a crime. If the Germans destroyed the town, that was their right, the might of the sword, and their act could perhaps be justified. But to destroy the church is to destroy what even Attila spared, and so outrage the conscience and instinct of the world. There is never an excuse to seek when an outrage is perpetrated by the enemy. A hospital ship is sunk—but, of course, it is carrying munitions! A church is turned into a ruin, but its towers are used as observation posts! Poor little towers in a land of airplanes and captive balloons! If the churches had been spared, as they were spared in the world's darkest ages, humanity would know that the German soul was still alive. But now the world knows that it is up against an enemy that threatens body and soul alike—an enemy that not only kills the body, but destroys the soul! What an amazing stupidity!—but it is through such stupidity that God lays up judgment against the day of wrath.

Lloyd George and General Maurice

A Speech in Which the Premier Routed His Enemies and Revealed Some Inside Facts

A FLURRY arose in British Parliamentary circles early in May which for a day or so threatened to wreck the Lloyd George Government, but which resulted in a new triumph for the Premier and a humiliating defeat for those who had intrigued against him. It was precipitated by Major Gen. Sir Frederick Barton Maurice, who had been Director of Military Operations until April, 1918, when he was succeeded by Brig. Gen. Radcliffe. His removal had been due to a public utterance in which he had criticised General Foch for not coming sooner to the assistance of the British after the beginning of the German offensive.

On May 7 General Maurice published a letter in which he definitely asserted that the Premier had made a misleading statement to the House of Commons April 9, when he asserted that the British Army in France on Jan. 1, 1918, was considerably stronger than on Jan. 1, 1917; that he misstated the facts regarding the number of white divisions in Egypt and Palestine; also that Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had made a misstatement in denying that the extension of the British front in France had been ordered by the Versailles War Council.

A resolution was introduced by former Premier Asquith for the appointment of a committee to investigate the charges. The Lloyd George Government accepted the challenge and announced that they would regard the passage of the resolution as a vote of censure and would resign if it was carried. The debate on the resolution occurred May 9 and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Government, the vote to uphold the Lloyd George Ministry being 293 to 106; the Irish members were not present.

In his address the Premier took up the charges in detail. Regarding the figures of the British strength he quoted from a report from General Maurice's own department, initialed by his deputy, dated April 27, 1918, which concluded with these words:

> From the statement included, it will be seen that the combatant strength of the British Army was greater on Jan. 1, 1918, than on Jan. 1, 1917.

He also showed that his statements regarding the relative strength of the opposing forces in France and the number of white divisions in Egypt were based on figures furnished by General Maurice's department.

Regarding the extension of the British front in France the Premier made some interesting disclosures showing that the extension was made by agreement of Field Marshal Haig and General Pétain, and not by the Versailles Council. He said:

> Before the council had met it had been agreed between Field Marshal Haig and General Pétain, and the extension was an accomplished fact. Field Marshal Haig reported to the council that the extension had taken place. There was not a single yard taken over as a result of the Versailles conference—not a single yard of extension.

In discussing this phase Lloyd George proceeded as follows:

Extending the British Line

> Of course, the Field Marshal was not anxious to extend his line. No one would be, having regard to the great accumulation of strength against him, and the War Cabinet were just as reluctant.
>
> There was not a single meeting between the French Generals and ourselves when we did not state facts against the extension, but the pressure from the French Government and French Army was enormous, and what was done was not done in response to pressure from the War Cabinet. It was done in response to very great pressure which Sir Douglas Haig could not resist and which we could not resist. We are not suggesting that our French allies are asking unfairly. That is certainly not my intention.
>
> There was a considerable ferment in France on the subject of the length of the line held by the French Army as com-

pared with our army. The French losses had been enormous. They had practically borne the brunt of the fighting for three years. There was a larger proportion of their young manhood put into the line than in any belligerent country in the world. They held 336 miles. We held a front of 100 miles.

That is not the whole statement, because the Germans were much more densely massed in front of ourselves. Not only that, but the line we held was much more vulnerable. Practically the defense of Paris was left to us, and the defense of some of the most important centres, but there was the fact that you had this enormous front held by the French Army, as compared with what looked like the comparatively small front of ours.

Shortage of Farm Labor

In addition to that, the French Army at that time was holding, I think, a two-division front on our line in order to enable us to accumulate the necessary reserves for the purposes of the attack in Flanders. That was part of the line which, I believe, was held before by the British and French.

The French were pressing in order to withdraw men from the army for purposes of agriculture. I ought to explain that their agricultural output had fallen enormously, owing to the fact that they had withdrawn a very large proportion of their men from the cultivation of the fields, and they felt it essential that they should withdraw part of their army for the purpose of cultivating the soil, and they were pressing us upon these topics.

The Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir William Robertson, and the Cabinet felt that it was inevitable that during the Winter months there should be some extension, and we acknowledged that something had to be done to meet the French demands, and to that extent we accepted the principle that there must be some extension of the line.

At that time the Field Marshal was under the impression that the Cabinet had taken a decision without his consent. The Chief of the Imperial Staff upon that sent the following memorandum to the War Cabinet. I will read it, but first, with reference to the Boulogne Conference, I may, perhaps, say that that was the first time we had a discussion with the French Ministers. The subject of discussion was a rather important foreign office. It was not summoned in the least to discuss an extension of the lines. We never knew that was to be raised. Sir William Robertson and I represented the British Government, and M. Painlevé, the Prime Minister, and General Foch represented the French Government.

When Sir William Robertson discovered that the Field Marshal was under the impression that we had come to a decision without his consent he sent the War Cabinet a memorandum, in which he says:

"At the recent Boulogne Conference "the question of extending our front was "raised by the French representatives. "The reply given was that, while in "principle we were, of course, ready to "do whatever could be done, the matter "was one which could not be discussed "in the absence of Sir Douglas Haig, "or during the continuance of the pres-"ent operations, and that due regard "must also be had to the plan of opera-"tions for next year.

"It was suggested that it would be "best for the Field Marshal to come to "an arrangement with General Pétain, "when this could be done. So far as I am "aware no formal discussion has taken "place, and the matter cannot be re-"garded as decided. Further, I feel "sure that the War Cabinet would not "think of deciding such a question with-"out first obtaining Sir Douglas Haig's "views. I am replying to him in the "above sense."

That, I think, was on the 19th of October. The War Cabinet fully approved of the communication. Sir Douglas Haig communicated, and said that it threw a new light on the Boulogne position. I think that we have a right to complain of the way in which it has been rumored about that Sir Douglas Haig protested.

The War Cabinet's Decision

The fact that Sir William Robertson had explained and Sir Douglas Haig had stated that the explanation threw new light has never been repeated. That is how mischief is done.

On Oct. 24 this question was first formally discussed by the War Cabinet. There was further pressure from the French Government, and Sir William Robertson gave his views as to the time which the British Government ought to take, and this conclusion is recorded in the minutes of the War Cabinet as follows:

"The War Cabinet approve of the sug-"gestion of the Chief of the Imperial "Staff that he should reply to Field Mar-"shal Sir Douglas Haig in the following "sense: The War Cabinet are of the opin-"ion that in deciding to what extent the "British troops can take over the line "from the French regard must be had to "the necessity of giving them a reason-"able opportunity for leave, rest, and "training during the Winter months and "to the plan of operations for the next "year, and, further, while the present "offensive continues it will not be pos-"sible to commence taking over more "line.

"Under these circumstances the War "Cabinet fear that until this policy is "settled it will be premature to decide "finally whether the British front is to "be extended by four divisions or to "greater or lesser extent."

The resolution was communicated to Sir Douglas Haig by Sir William Robertson, and we never departed from it. After that came the Cambrai incident and the Italian disaster, which necessitated our sending troops to Italy. That made it difficult for the Field Marshal to carry out the promise he made to General Pétain for a certain extension of the front. Then the present French Prime Minister came in, and he is not a very easy gentleman to refuse. He was very insistent that the British Army should take over the line.

Clemenceau Suggested Versailles

We stood by the position that that was a matter to be discussed by the two Commanders in Chief. We never swerved from that position. At last M. Clemenceau suggested that the question should be discussed by the military representatives at Versailles, and that the Versailles Council should decide if there was any difference of opinion. The military representatives discussed the question, and the only interference of the War Cabinet was to this extent. We communicated with the Chief of Staff, who was then in France, and with Sir Douglas Haig to urge on them the importance of preparing their case for the other side so as to make the strongest possible case for the British view.

The military representatives at Versailles suggested a compromise, but coupled with it recommendations as to steps which ought to be taken by the French Army to assist the British if they were attacked, and by the British to assist the French if they were attacked, which was even a more important question than the extension of the front.

That recommendation came up for discussion at the Versailles Council of Feb. 1. Before that meeting Sir Douglas Haig and General Pétain met and entered into an agreement as to the extension of the front to Brissy, and Sir Douglas Haig reported that to the Versailles Council. When the discussion took place there no further extension of the line was taken at all as a result of the discussion.

That is the whole story. I was to make it perfectly clear that in the action Sir Douglas Haig took for the extension of the line he had the full approval of the British Cabinet, having regard to the pressure of the French Government and military authorities. Sir Douglas Haig had no option except to make the extension. He was in our judgment absolutely right in the course he took. Naturally, he would have preferred not to have done it, but the British Government fully approved of the action he took.

The real lesson of the discussion is the importance of unity of command. It would never have arisen if you had had that. Instead of one army and one commander responsible for one part of the line, and another army and another commander responsible for another part of the line, we have one united command responsible for the whole and every part. It was the only method of safety, and I am glad we have it at last.

It was not so much a question of the length of the line held by one force or the length held by another. It was a question of reserves massed behind.

The Premier ended with a plea for a truce to political "sniping." On May 13 it was announced that as a disciplinary measure General Maurice had been placed on "the retired list."

The New British Service Act

Provisions of Law Which Raises Military Age

THE new British Military Service act became effective in April, 1918, having passed both houses of Parliament by large majorities; it immediately received the royal assent. The provision applying conscription to Ireland was suspended temporarily, on the assumption that it would not be enforced until a measure of home rule for Ireland was agreed upon. The main provisions of the new service measure are as follows, as analyzed by The London Times:

RAISING OF MILITARY AGE

Men Up to 50.—Obligation to military service imposed upon every male British subject:

1. Who has at any time since Aug. 14, 1915, or who for the time being is in Great Britain, and

2. Who on April 18, 1918, had attained the age of 18 years and had not attained the age of 51 years or who at any subsequent date attains the age of 18 years.

Men Up to 55.—If it appears necessary at any time for the defense of the realm, his Majesty may, by Order in Council, declare the extension of the obligation to military service to men generally or to any class of men up to any age not exceeding 56 years. The draft of any such order is to be presented to each house of Parliament, and will not be submitted to his Majesty in Council unless each house presents an address, praying that the order may be made.

Doctors.—Duly qualified medical practitioners, who have not attained the age of 56 years, are made immediately liable to military service.

FORMER PRISONERS OF WAR

The clause in the act of May, 1916, excepting from military service any person who has been "a prisoner of war, captured or interned by the enemy, and has been released or exchanged," is to cease to have effect. It is, however, provided that the change shall be without prejudice to any undertaking, recognized by the Government, and for the time being in force, that any released or exchanged prisoner of war shall not serve in his Majesty's forces during the present war.

TIME-EXPIRED MEN

The act of May, 1916, provided that the service should not be prolonged of men who, when their times for discharge occurred, had served a period of twelve years or more and had attained the age of 41 years. This section is to cease to have effect.

EXTENSION TO IRELAND

Method of Procedure.—His Majesty may, by Order in Council, extend the act to Ireland, with the necessary modifications and adaptations.

Legal Proceedings.—An Order in Council may be issued to make special provision for the constitution of the civil court before which proceedings for any offenses punishable on summary conviction under the Reserve Forces act, the Army act, and the Military Service acts are to be brought in Ireland. The order may also assign any such proceedings to a specified civil court or courts.

WITHDRAWAL OF EXEMPTIONS

His Majesty may, by proclamation declaring that a national emergency has arisen, direct that any certificates of exemption other than those granted on the grounds of ill-health or of conscientious objection shall cease to have effect.

THE TRIBUNALS

The Local Government Board or the Secretary for Scotland may make regulations for the following purposes:

1. For providing for applications for certificates of exemption, including appeals, being made to such tribunals, constituted in such manner and for such areas as may be authorized.

2. For establishing special tribunals, committees, or panels for dealing with particular classes of cases.

3. For regulating and limiting the making of applications.

4. For making other provision to secure the expeditious making and disposal of applications.

It is provided that such regulations shall not alter the four grounds for applications for certificates of exemption—the expediency, in the national interests, that a man should be engaged in other work, business or domestic reasons, ill-health, and conscientious objection.

PENALTIES

Any person making a false statement with a view to preventing or postponing the calling up of himself or any other person, or for any medical examination, is to be liable to six months' imprisonment.

It is to be the duty of any man whose certificate has been withdrawn, or who no longer satisfies the conditions on which it was granted, to transmit it forthwith to the local office of the Ministry of National Service. If he fails without reasonable

cause to do so, he will be liable to a fine of £50.

MEDICAL EXAMINATION

Any man holding a certificate of exemption (other than one from combatant service only) or applying for its renewal may at any time be required to present himself for medical examination or re-examination.

VOLUNTEER OBLIGATION

Every man granted a certificate of exemption is to join the Volunteer Force for the perid of the war, unless the tribunal dealing with the case orders to the contrary.

CONVENTIONS WITH ALLIED STATES

The act is to be read with previous acts in relation to the act of 1917, which confirmed conventions with allied States making subjects of those States in this country liable for military service. That act is also to apply to Ireland, if the act is extended to Ireland.

EXCEPTIONS

The exceptions from the act are the following:

1. Men ordinarily resident in the Dominions.
2. Members of the regular or reserve forces or of the Dominion forces, and territorials liable to foreign service.
3. Men serving in the navy, the Royal Marines, or the air force.
4. Certain categories of officers and men who have left or been discharged from the forces in consequence of disablement or ill-health; and men medically rejected, if, on further medical examination after April 5, 1917, they have been certified to be totally and permanently unfit for any form of military service.
5. Men in holy orders or regular ministers of any religious denomination.

British Aid to Italy

General Plumer's Dispatch

THE report was published May 10, 1918, that 250,000 Italian troops had been concentrated in France to swell the reserves of the allied armies against the German offensive, and that this had been accomplished without weakening the Italian front, which was preparing for a threatened Austrian attack. No statement was made regarding the British troops that had gone to Italy's aid during the disaster to the Italian armies in 1917.

General Sir Herbert Plumer, who took over the command of the British troops in Italy after their arrival there, Nov. 10, 1917, submitted his official report March 9, 1918. He stated that he found on his arrival that the situation in Italy was disquieting, the Italian Army having received a severe blow, and the aid that the British and French might give could not be immediate owing to difficulties of transport. As it was then uncertain whether the Italians could hold the Piave line, it was arranged that two British divisions in conjunction with the French should move to the hills north and south of Vicenza. By the time the troops had reached this position the situation had improved and an offer was made by the British in conjunction with the French to take over a sector of the foothills of the Asiago Plateau. But as snow was imminent and special mountain equipment was difficult to provide, the suggestion was made by the Italians that the British should take over the Montsello sector, with the French on their left. This was agreed to.

Sir Herbert considers that the entrance of the French and British had an excellent moral effect and enabled the Italians to withdraw and reorganize. The Montsello sector, which was taken over on Dec. 4 and work immediately begun on its defense, is described by Sir Herbert as a hinge to the whole Italian line, joining the mountain portion facing north, from Mount Tomba to Lake Garda, to the Piave line held by the 3d Italian Army.

December was an anxious month. Several German divisions were east of the Piave, and an attempt to force the river and capture Venice was considered likely. Local attacks grew more and more severe, and, though the progress of the enemy was not great and Italian counter-attacks were constantly made, the danger of a break-through increased. The Austrians were being encouraged to perse-

vere in the hope of getting down to the plains for the Winter.

Rear lines of defense were constructed, and as time passed and the preparations were well forward the feeling of security grew, and was further increased by the recapture by the Italians of the slopes of Monte Asolone on Dec. 22. The following day Mount Melago and Col del Rosso, on the Asiago Plateau, were lost, but the Italians regained the former by a counterattack. Though Christmas Day found the situation still serious, especially on the Asiago, where the Italians, while fighting stubbornly, suffered from strain and cold, the situation showed signs of improvement. This outlook was brightened still further by the capture of Mount Tomba, with 1,500 prisoners, by the French. In this action British artillery assisted.

"During all this period," the dispatch continues, "we had carried out continuous patrol work across the River Piave and much successful counterbattery work. The Piave is a very serious obstacle, especially at this season of the year, the breadth opposite the British front being considerably over 1,000 yards, and the current 14 knots. Every form of raft and boat has been used, but wading has proved the most successful, though the icy cold water made the difficulties even greater. In spite of this there has never been any lack of volunteers for these enterprises.

"On Jan. 1 our biggest raid was carried out by the Middlesex Regiment. This was a most difficult and well-planned operation, which had for its objective the capture and surrounding of several buildings held by the enemy to a depth of 2,000 yards inland, provided a surprise could be effected. Two hundred and fifty men were passed across by wading and some prisoners were captured, but, unfortunately, the alarm was given by a party of fifty of the enemy that was encountered in an advanced post, and the progress inland had therefore, in accordance with orders, to be curtailed. The recrossing of the river was successfully effected, and our casualties were very few. An operation of this nature requires much forethought and arrangement, even to wrapping every man in hot blankets immediately on emerging from the icy water.

"The 3d Italian Army also opened the year well by clearing the Austrians from the west bank of the Piave about Zenson. This was followed on Jan. 14 by the attack of the 4th Italian Army on Mount Asolone, which, although not entirely successful, resulted in capturing over 400 Austrian prisoners. The situation had by this time so far improved that I offered to take over another sector of defense on my right in order to assist the Italians. This was agreed to, and was completed by Jan. 28. On this day and the following the 1st Italian Army carried out successful operations on the Col del Rosso—Mont Val Bella front, on the Asiago Plateau. The infantry attacked with great spirit, and captured 2,500 Austrians. British artillery took part in the above operation."

General Plumer states that in February the weather was bad, much snow having fallen, and operations were hampered. Although the British had not taken part in serious fighting, yet they had some share in the improvement which, he says, had taken place.

The work of the R. F. C, under Brig. Gen. Webb-Bowen, during the period under review (says Sir Herbert) has been quite brilliant. From the moment of arrival they made their presence felt, and very soon overcame the difficulties of the mountains. They have taken part in all operations, and rendered much assistance to the Italians in the air. They have carried out a large number of successful raids on enemy aerodromes, railway junctions, &c., and have during the period destroyed sixty-four hostile machines, a large proportion of which were German, and nine balloons, our losses to the enemy during the period being twelve machines and three balloons.

A comparison of the photographs of hostile battery positions when our artillery entered the line with the positions now occupied shows that the enemy batteries have been successfully forced back almost throughout the whole front. Some British artillery assisted both in French and Italian operations, and a

frequent interchange of British and Italian batteries was made, together with counterbattery staff officers, in order that experience of each other's methods might be gained. Every effort was made to illustrate the value of counterbattery work, the value of which we had learned by experience in France, but which the Italians had not hitherto fully appreciated.

"The Italians were only too anxious to profit by any experience we could give them, and this was done not only by frequent interchange of visits of commanders and staffs to the various sectors of defense, but by the establishment of schools of instruction, at which a large number of Italian officers actually underwent the courses. About 100 Italian officers attended the courses at the various schools, together with some French officers. Similarly, British officers underwent courses at French and Italian schools."

Sir Herbert thanks the Italian authorities for their assistance, especially General Diaz, Chief of the Staff, and expresses indebtedness to Generals Fayolle and Maistre, in command of the French troops.

Emperor Charles's "Dear Sixtus" Letter

French Supplemental Statement Corroborates Its Authenticity

THE publication of the letter of Emperor Charles of Austria to his brother-in-law, Prince Sixtus, in which he sought a separate peace with France, referring to the "just claims" of France to Alsace-Lorraine, and which caused the downfall of Count Czernin, the Austrian Foreign Secretary, was followed by this official denial by the Austrian Government:

The letter by his Apostolic Majesty, published by the French Premier in his communiqué of April 12, 1918, is falsified, (verfaelscht.) First of all, it may be declared that the personality of far higher rank than the Foreign Minister, who, as admitted in the official statement of April 7, undertook peace efforts in the Spring of 1917, must be understood to be not his Apostolic Majesty but Prince Sixte of Bourbon, who in the Spring of 1917 was occupied with bringing about a rapprochement between the belligerent States. As regards the text of the letter published by M. Clemenceau, the Foreign Minister declares by All Highest command that his Apostolic Majesty wrote a purely personal private letter in the Spring of 1917 to his brother-in-law, Prince Sixte of Bourbon, which contained no instructions to the Prince to initiate mediation with the President of the French Republic or any one else, to hand on communications which might be made to him, or to evoke and receive replies. This letter, moreover, made no mention of the Belgian question, and contained, relative to Alsace-Lorraine, the following passage: "I would have used all my personal influence in favor of the French claims for the return of Alsace-Lorraine, if these claims were just. They are not, however." The second letter of the Emperor mentioned in the French Premier's communiqué of April 9, in which his Apostolic Majesty is said to have declared that he was "in accord with his Minister," is significantly not mentioned by the French communiqué.

This statement drew forth from the French Government the following reply:

There are rotten consciences. The Emperor Charles, finding it impossible to save his face, falls into the stammerings of a man confounded. He is now reduced to accusing his brother-in-law of forgery, by fabricating with his own hand a lying text. The original document, the text of which has been published by the French Government, was communicated in the presence of M. Jules Cambon, Secretary General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and delegated for this purpose by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the President of the Republic, who, with the authorization of the Prince, handed a copy of it to the President of the Council.

The Prince spoke of the matter to M. Ribot himself in terms which would have been devoid of sense if the text had not been that published by the French Government. Is it not evidence that no conversation could have been opened, and

that the President of the Republic would not even have received the Prince a second time, if the latter, at Austria's instance, had been the bearer of a document which contested our rights instead of affirming them?

The Emperor Charles's letter, as we have quoted it, was shown by Prince Sixte himself to the Chief of State. Moreover, two friends of the Prince can attest the authenticity of the letter, especially the one who received it from the Prince to copy it.

The Serbian Government, moreover, gave the lie direct to Count Czernin's statement in reference to offering peace to Serbia. Premier Pashitch was asked in the Skupshtina at Corfu by Deputy Marco Trifcovitch whether Count Czernin's statement was true. He replied that he had denied Count Czernin's statements as soon as he had received the text of the speech from Amsterdam, and that he welcomed this fresh opportunity of declaring before Parliament that, so far as Serbia was concerned, the statements were totally inaccurate. (Exclamations from the right, "Czernin lied!") The Premier then proceeded to say that Count Czernin had never made peace overtures to Serbia, and that, if he had, such proposals would not have been accepted. "All the statements of Count Czernin," continued M. Pashitch, "are only the result of Austro-Hungarian intrigues."

Premier Clemenceau explained in detail before three committees of the French Chamber, the Committees on Foreign Affairs, the Army, and the Navy, which represented practically one-fourth of the total membership, the circumstances connected with the letters; it was unanimously agreed that there was nothing in the situation to justify any further consideration than had been given them. The Paris Temps gave the following details concerning their receipt:

The Emperor's two letters, and the conversations arising out of them, will form an essential part of the proceedings before the committees today. The letter from the Emperor to Prince Sixte of Bourbon-Parma was communicated to M. Poincaré on March 31 last year, but it remained in the possession of the Prince, who gave a copy of it to M. Ribot, by whom it was placed in the archives of the French Foreign Office. "Let us add," says the Temps, "that in the course of the interview which he had with Lloyd George at Folkestone a few days after the copy of the letter came into his possession that M. Ribot handed a copy of this copy to the British Premier. A little later in the interview which took place at St. Jean de Maurienne, in Savoy, between the chiefs of the British, French, and Italian Cabinets the question was raised as to what should be done in case the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet took steps toward peace negotiations. An agreement was come to without difficulty between the Allies as to the line of conduct to be adopted in such an eventuality. Let us add that this first letter sent to Prince Sixte had determined the Allies to ask for further explanations, as the result of which Prince Sixte received from his imperial brother-in-law a second letter, which was also communicated to M. Poincaré and M. Ribot. We have no right to give any indication on this subject, but we believe we can state that this second letter was regarded unanimously by the Allies as of such a nature that it would not permit them to pursue the conversations further."

Kaiser Wilhelm in the following telegram accepted without reserve Emperor Charles's statement that the Sixtus letter had been distorted:

Accept my heartiest thanks for your telegram, in which you repudiate as entirely baseless the assertion of the French Premier regarding your attitude toward French claims to Alsace-Lorraine, and in which you once again accentuate the solidarity of interest existing between us and our respective empires. I hasten to inform you that in my eyes there was no need whatever for any such assurance on your part, for I was not for a moment in doubt that you have made our cause your own, in the same measure as we stand for the rights of your monarchy. The heavy but successful battles of these years have clearly demonstrated this fact to every one who wants to see. They have only drawn the bonds close together. Our enemies, who are unable to do anything against us in honorable warfare, do not recoil from the most sordid and the lowest methods. We must, therefore, put up with it, but all the more is it our duty ruthlessly to grapple with and beat the enemy in all the theatres of war. In true friendship, WILHELM.

As a sequel to the matter it was reported from Vienna that the mother of Empress Zita and Prince Sixtus had been compelled to leave Vienna and live in retirement at her estates, remote from the Austrian capital.

THE ISSUES IN IRELAND

Official Report of the Irish Convention—Full Text of the Chairman's Summary of the Proceedings

THE Irish home-rule question, in consequence of the failure of the Irish Convention to agree, became an important war issue in the Spring of 1918 on account of its effect upon Great Britain's man-power measures.

Premier Lloyd George, on May 21, 1917, announced the Government's decision to summon a convention of Irishmen representing all parties and interests to endeavor to reach an agreement on the home-rule question. The Sinn Feiners refused to send representatives, but all other factions were represented in the convention, which met July 25, 1917, at Dublin and elected Sir Horace Plunkett Chairman. The report of its recommendations was made public April 13, 1918, in three separate documents—the proposals for a scheme of Irish self-government, adopted by vote of 44 to 29 in a total membership of 90; a protest by the Ulster Unionist delegates, who dissented from any agreement, and the report of 22 Nationalist delegates, who were unable to agree to the fiscal proposals. The majority proposals were accepted by practically all the Nationalists, all the Southern Unionists, and 5 out of 7 of the Labor representatives.

The summary of the proceedings, presented by Sir Horace Plunkett, and the scheme of government as agreed upon by the majority, are of importance historically for a comparison with subsequent measures of home rule, which the British Government announces it intends to introduce before putting into force conscription in Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY

Sir Horace Plunkett's letter reads:

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith the report of the proceedings of the Irish Convention. For the immediate object of the Government the report tells all that needs to be told:

It shows that in the convention, while it was not found possible to overcome the objections of the Ulster Unionists, a majority of Nationalists, all the Southern Unionists, and five out of the seven Labor representatives were agreed that the scheme of Irish self-government set out in Paragraph 42 of the report should be immediately passed into law. A minority of Nationalists propose a scheme which differs in only one important particular from that of the majority. The convention has, therefore, laid a foundation of Irish agreement unprecedented in history.

I recognize that action in Parliament upon the result of our deliberations must largely depend upon public opinion. Without a knowledge of the circumstances which, at the termination of our proceedings, compelled us to adopt an unusual method of presenting the results of our deliberations, the public might be misled as to what has actually been achieved. It is, therefore, necessary to explain our procedure.

Adopting the Report

We had every reason to believe that the Government contemplated immediate legislation upon the results of our labors. The work of an Irish settlement, suspended at the outbreak of the war, is now felt to admit of no further postponement. In the dominions and in the United States, as well as in other allied countries, the unsettled Irish question is a disturbing factor both in regard to war effort and peace aims. Nevertheless, urgent as our task was, we could not complete it until every possibility of agreement had been explored. The moment this point was reached—and you will not be surprised that it took us eight months to reach it—we decided to issue our report with the least possible delay. To do this we had to avoid further controversy and protracted debate. I was, therefore, on March 22, instructed to draft a report which should be a mere narrative of the convention's proceedings, with a statement, for the information of the Government, of the conclusions adopted, whether unanimously or by majorities.

It was hoped that this report might be unanimously signed; and it was understood that any groups or individuals would be free to append to it such statements as they deemed necessary to give expression to their views. The draft report was circulated on March 30, and discussed and amended on April 4 and 5. The accuracy of the narrative was not challenged, though there was considerable difference of opinion as to the rela-

tive prominence which should be given to some parts of the proceedings. As time pressed, it was decided not to have any discussion upon a majority report, nor upon any minority reports or other statements which might be submitted. The draft report was adopted by a majority, and the Chairman and Secretary were ordered to sign it and forward it to the Government. A limit of twenty-four hours was, by agreement, put upon the reception of any other reports or statements, and in the afternoon of April 5 the convention adjourned sine die.

The public is thus provided with no majority report, in the sense of a reasoned statement in favor of the conclusions upon which the majority are agreed, but is left to gather from the narrative of proceedings what the contents of such a report would have been. On the other hand, both the Ulster Unionists and a minority of the Nationalists have presented minority reports covering the whole field of the convention's inquiry. The result of this procedure is to minimize the agreement reached, and to emphasize the disagreement. In these circumstances I conceive it to be my duty as Chairman to submit such explanatory observations as are required to enable the reader of the report and the accompanying documents to gain a clear idea of the real effect and significance of the convention's achievement.

I may assume a knowledge of the broad facts of the Irish question. It will be agreed that of recent years the greatest obstacle to its settlement has been the Ulster difficulty. There seemed to be two possible issues to our deliberations. If a scheme of Irish self-government could be framed to which the Ulster Unionists would give their adherence, then the convention might produce a unanimous report. Failing such a consummation, we might secure agreement, either complete or substantial, between the Nationalist, the Southern Unionist, and the Labor representatives. Many entertained the hope that the effect of such a striking and wholly new development would be to induce Ulster to reconsider its position.

Ulster Issue Unsolved

Perhaps unanimity was too much to expect. Be this as it may, neither time nor effort was spared in striving for that goal, and there were moments when its attainment seemed possible. There was, however, a portion of Ulster where a majority claimed that, if Ireland had the right to separate herself from the rest of the United Kingdom, they had the same right to separation from the rest of Ireland. But the time had gone by when any other section of the Irish people would accept the partition of their country, even as a temporary expedient. Hence, the Ulster Unionist members in the convention remained there only in the hope that some form of home rule would be proposed which might modify the determination of those they represented to have neither part nor lot in an Irish Parliament. The Nationalists strove to win them by concessions, but they found themselves unable to accept any of the schemes discussed, and the only scheme of Irish government they presented to the convention was confined to the exclusion of their entire province.

Long before the hope of complete unanimity had passed, the majority of the convention were considering the possibilities of agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists. Lord Midleton was the first to make a concrete proposal to this end. The report shows that in November he outlined to the Grand Committee and in December brought before the convention what looked like a workable compromise. It accepted self-government for Ireland. In return for special minority representation in the Irish Parliament, already conceded by the Nationalists, it offered to that Parliament complete power over internal legislation and administration, and, in matters of finance, over direct taxation and excise. But, although they agreed that the customs revenue should be paid in to the Irish Exchequer, the Southern Unionists insisted upon the permanent reservation to the Imperial Parliament of the power to fix the rates of customs duties. By far the greater part of our time and attention was occupied by this one question, whether the imposition of customs duties should or should not be under the control of the Irish Parliament. The difficulties of the Irish Convention may be summed up in two words—Ulster and Customs.

Customs and Excise Problem

The Ulster difficulty the whole world knows; but how the customs question came to be one of vital principle, upon the decision of which depended the amount of agreement that could be reached in the convention, needs to be told. The tendency of recent political thought among constitutional Nationalists has been toward a form of government resembling as closely as possible that of the dominions, and, since the geographical position of Ireland imposes obvious restrictions in respect of naval and military affairs, the claim for dominion home rule was concentrated upon a demand for unrestricted fiscal powers. Without separate customs and excise Ireland would, according to this view, fail to attain a national status like that enjoyed by the dominions.

Upon this issue the Nationalists made a strong case, and were able to prove that a considerable number of leading commercial men had come to favor fiscal autonomy as part of an Irish settlement. In the present state of public opinion in Ireland it was feared that without customs no scheme the convention recommended would receive a sufficient measure of popular support to secure legislation. To obviate any serious disturbance of the trade of the United Kingdom the Nationalists were prepared to agree

to a free-trade arrangement between the two countries. But this did not overcome the difficulties of the Southern Unionists, who on this point agreed with the Ulster Unionists. They were apprehensive that a separate system of customs control, however guarded, might impair the authority of the United Kingdom over its external trade policy. Neither could they consent to any settlement which was, in their judgment, incompatible with Ireland's full participation in a scheme of United Kingdom federation, should that come to pass.

It was clear that by means of mutual concessions agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists could be reached on all other points. On this important point, however, a section of the Nationalists, who have embodied their views in a separate report, held that no compromise was possible. On the other hand, a majority of the Nationalists and the whole body of Southern Unionists felt that nothing effective could result from their work in the convention unless some understanding was reached upon customs which would render an agreement on a complete scheme attainable. Neither side was willing to surrender the principle; but both sides were willing, in order that a Parliament should be at once established, to postpone a legislative decision upon the ultimate control of customs and excise. At the same time each party has put on record, in separate notes subjoined to the report, its claim respecting the final settlement of this question. A decision having been reached upon the cardinal issue, the majority of the convention carried a series of resolutions which together form a complete scheme of self-government.

Parliament for All Ireland

This scheme provides for the establishment of a Parliament for the whole of Ireland, with an Executive responsible to it, and with full powers over all internal legislation, administration, and direct taxation. Pending a decision of the fiscal question, it is provided that the imposition of duties of customs and excise shall remain with the Imperial Parliament, but that the whole of the proceeds of these taxes shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer. A joint Exchequer Board is to be set up to determine the Irish true revenue, and Ireland is to be represented upon the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom.

The principle of representation in the Imperial Parliament was insisted upon from the first by the Southern Unionists, and the Nationalists conceded it. It was felt, however, that there were strong reasons for providing that the Irish representatives at Westminster should be elected by the Irish Parliament rather than directly by the constituencies, and this was the arrangement adopted.

It was accepted in principle that there should be an Irish contribution to the cost of imperial services, but owing to lack of data it was not found possible in the convention to fix any definite sum.

It was agreed that the Irish Parliament should consist of two houses—a Senate of sixty-four members and a House of Commons of 200. The principle underlying the composition of the Senate is the representation of interests. This is effected by giving representation to commerce, industry, and labor, the County Councils, the Churches, learned institutions, and the peerage. In constituting the House of Commons the Nationalists offered to guarantee 40 per cent. of its membership to the Unionists. It was agreed that, in the south, adequate representation for Unionists could only be secured by nomination; but, as the Ulster representatives had informed the convention that those for whom they spoke could not accept the principle of nomination, provision was made in the scheme for an extra representation of Ulster by direct election.

The majority of the Labor representatives associated themselves with the Nationalists and Southern Unionists in building up the Constitution, with the provisions of which they found themselves in general agreement. They frankly objected, however, to the principle of nomination and to what they regarded as the inadequate representation of Labor in the upper house. Throughout our proceedings they helped in every way toward the attainment of agreement. Nor did they press their own special claims in such a manner as to make more difficult the work, already difficult enough, of agreeing upon a Constitution.

Knottiest Question in History

I trust I have said enough to enable the reader of this report and the accompanying documents to form an accurate judgment upon the nature and difficulties of the task before the convention and upon its actual achievement. While, technically, it was our function to draft a Constitution for our country, it would be more correct to say that we had to find a way out of the most complex and anomalous political situation to be found in history—I might almost say in fiction. We are living under a system of government which survives only because the act abolishing it cannot, consistently with Ministerial pledges, be put into operation without further legislation no less difficult and controversial than that which it has to amend. While the responsibility for a solution to our problem rests primarily with the Government, the convention found itself in full accord with your insistence that the most hopeful path to a settlement was to be found in Irish agreement. In seeking this—in attempting to find a compromise which Ireland might accept and Parliament pass into law—it has been recognized that the full program of no party could be adopted. The convention was also bound to give due weight to your opinion that

to press for a settlement at Westminster, during the war, of the question which, as I have shown, had been a formidable obstacle to agreement would be to imperil the prospect of the early establishment of self-government in Ireland.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with which we were surrounded, a larger measure of agreement has been reached upon the principle and details of Irish self-government than has yet been attained. Is it too much to hope that the scheme embodying this agreement will forthwith be brought to fruition by those to whose call the Irish Convention has now responded? I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

HORACE PLUNKETT.

April 8, 1918.

THE MAJORITY REPORT

The proposed scheme of Irish self-government referred to in Sir Horace Plunkett's letter is set out below, the majorities by which each section or subsection was carried being indicated in parentheses:

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. (51 votes to 18.)

(1) The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish Senate, and an Irish House of Commons.

(2) Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in the Government of Ireland act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland and every part thereof.

POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, subject to the exclusions and restrictions specified in 3 and 4 below. (51 to 19.)

EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. (49 to 16.) The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters:

(1) Crown and succession.

(2) Making of peace and war, (including conduct as neutrals.)

(3) The army and navy.

(4) Treaties and foreign relations, (including extradition.)

(5) Dignities and titles of honor.

(6) Any necessary control of harbors for naval and military purposes, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals, to be settled with reference to the requirements of the military and naval forces of his Majesty in various contingencies. (41 to 13.)

(7) Coinage; legal tender; or any change in the standard of weights and measures.

(8) Copyright or patent rights.

TEMPORARY AND PARTIAL RESERVATION. The Imperial and Irish Governments shall jointly arrange, subject to imperial exigencies, for the unified control of the Irish police and postal services during the war, provided that as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities the administration of these two services shall become automatically subject to the Irish Parliament. (37 to 21.)

RESTRICTION ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE. (46 to 15.)

(1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality. N. B.—A subsection should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage, or disability on account of religious belief. Certain restrictions still remain under the act of 1829.

(2) Special provision protecting the position of Freemasons.

(3) Safeguard for Trinity College and Queen's University similar to Section 42 of act.

(4) Money bills to be founded only on Viceregal message.

(5) Privileges, qualifications, &c., of members of Irish Parliament to be limited as in act.

(6) Rights of existing Irish officers to be safeguarded.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. Section 9 (4) of the act of 1914 to apply to the House of Commons with the substitution of "ten years" for "three years." The constitution of the Senate to be subject to alteration after ten years, provided the bill is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of members of both houses sitting together. (46 to 15.)

EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in act. (45 to 15.)

DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued, and dissolved as set out in act. (45 to 15.)

ASSENT TO BILLS. Royal assent to be given or withheld as set out in act with the substitution of "reservation" for "postponement." (45 to 15.)

CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE. (48 votes to 19.) Lord Chancellor, 1; four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, 4; two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland, 2; a representative of the General Assembly, 1; the Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, 3; peers resident in Ireland, elected by peers resident in Ireland, 15; nominated by Lord Lieutenant—Irish Privy Councilors of at least two years' standing 4, representatives of learned institutions 3, other persons 4; representatives of commerce and industry, 15; representatives of labor, one for each province, 4; representatives of County Councils, two for each province, 8—64.

On the disappearance of any nominated ele-

ment in the House of Commons an addition shall be made to the numbers of the Senate.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. (45 to 20.)

(1) The ordinary elected members of the House of Commons shall number 160.

(2) The University of Dublin, the University of Belfast, and the National University shall each return two members. The graduates of each university shall form the constituency.

(3) Special representation shall be given to urban and industrial areas by grouping the smaller towns and applying to them a lower electoral quota than that applicable to the rest of the country.

(4) The principle of proportional representation, with the single transferable vote, shall be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members. (47 to 22.)

(5) The convention accept the principle that 40 per cent. of the membership of the House of Commons shall be guaranteed to Unionists. In pursuance of this, they suggest that, for a period, there shall be summoned to the Irish House of Commons twenty members nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, with a view to the due representation of interests not otherwise adequately represented in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, and that twenty additional members shall be elected by Ulster constituencies, to represent commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests.

(6) The Lord Lieutenant's power of nomination shall be exercised subject to any instructions that may be given by his Majesty the King.

(7) The nominated members shall disappear in whole or in part after fifteen years, and not earlier, notwithstanding anything contained in Clause 5.

(8) The extra representation in Ulster not to cease except on an adverse decision by a three-fourths majority of both houses sitting together. (27 to 20.)

(9) The House of Commons shall continue for five years unless previously dissolved.

(10) Nominated members shall vacate their seats on a dissolution but shall be eligible for renomination. Any vacancy among the nominated members shall be filled by nomination.

MONEY BILLS. (45 to 22.)

(1) Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons, and not to be amended by the Senate. (Act, Section 10.)

(2) The Senate is, however, to have power to bring about a joint sitting over money bills in the same session of Parliament.

(3) The Senate to have power to suggest amendments, which the House of Commons may accept or reject as it pleases.

DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN HOUSES. Disagreements between the two houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in act, with the proviso that if the Senate fail to pass a money bill such joint sitting shall be held in the same session of Parliament. (45 to 22.)

REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER.

(1) Representation in Parliament of the United Kingdom to continue. Irish representatives to have the right of deliberating and voting on all matters.

(2) Forty-two Irish representatives shall be elected to the Commons House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the following manner:

A panel shall be formed in each of the four provinces of Ireland, consisting of the members for that province in the Irish House of Commons, and one other panel shall be formed consisting of members nominated to the Irish House of Commons. The number of representatives to be elected to the Commons House of the Imperial Parliament shall be proportionate to the numbers of each panel and the election shall be on the principle of proportional representation. (42 to 24.)

(3) The Irish representation in the House of Lords shall continue as at present unless and until that chamber be remodeled, when the matter shall be reconsidered by the Imperial and Irish Parliaments. (44 to 22.)

FINANCE. (51 to 18.)

(1) An Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor General to be appointed as set out in act.

(2) If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.

(3) The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made.

FINANCIAL POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

(1) The control of customs and excise by an Irish Parliament is to be postponed for further consideration until after the war, provided that the question of such control shall be considered and decided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom within seven years after the conclusion of peace. For the purpose of deciding in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the question of the future control of Irish customs and excise, a number of Irish representatives proportioned to the population of Ireland shall be called to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. (38 to 34.)

(2) On the creation of an Irish Parliament, and until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish customs and excise services shall have been decided, the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom shall include a person or persons nominated by the Irish Treasury. (39 to 33.)

(3) A Joint Exchequer Board, consisting of two members nominated by the Imperial Treasury, and two members nominated

by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King, shall be set up to secure the determination of the true income of Ireland. (39 to 33.)

(4) Until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish customs and excise services shall have been decided, the revenue due to Ireland from customs and excise, as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer. (38 to 30.)

(5) All branches of taxation, other than customs and excise, shall be under the control of the Irish Parliament. (38 to 30.)

IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION. The principle of such a contribution is approved. (Unanimously.)

LAND PURCHASE. The convention accept the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase. (Unanimously.)

JUDICIAL POWER. (43 to 17.) The following provisions of the Government of Ireland act to be adopted:

(*a*) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges.

(*b*) Leaving appointment of future Judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both houses of Parliament.

(*c*) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges.

(*d*) Extending right of appeal to this court.

(*e*) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee.

The Lord Chancellor is not to be a political officer.

LORD LIEUTENANT. The Lord Lieutenant is not to be a political officer. He shall hold office for six years, and neither he nor the Lords Justices shall be subject to any religious disqualification. His salary shall be sufficient to throw the post open to men of moderate means. (43 to 17.)

CIVIL SERVICE. (42 to 18.)

(1) There shall be a Civil Service Commission consisting of representatives of Irish universities which shall formulate a scheme of competitive examinations for admission to the public service, including statutory administrative bodies, and no person shall be admitted to such service unless he holds the certificate of the Civil Service Commission.

(2) A scheme of appointments in the public service, with recommendations as to scales of salary for the same, shall be prepared by a commission consisting of an independent Chairman of outstanding position in Irish public life, and two colleagues, one of whom shall represent Unionist interests.

(3) No appointments to positions shall be made before the scheme of this commission has been approved.

DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES. Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the services relating to Old-Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labor Exchanges, Post Office Trustee Savings Banks, and Friedly Societies. (43 to 18.)

The final division on the question of the adoption of the report as a whole was as follows:

FOR (44)

E. H. Andrews	Alderman McCarron
M. K. Barry	M. McDonogh
J. Bolger	J. McDonnell
W. Broderick	C. McKay
J. Butler	A. R. MacMullen
J. J. Clancy	Viscount Midleton
J. J. Coen	J. Murphy
D. Condren	J. O'Dowd
P. Dempsey	C. P. O'Neill
Earl of Desart	Lord Oranmore and Browne
J. Dooly	Dr. O'Sullivan
Captain Doran	J. B. Powell
Archbishop of Dublin	T. Power
Lord Mayor of Dublin	Provost of Trinity College
T. Fallon	Sir S. B. Quin
J. Fitzgibbon	D. Reilly
Sir W. Goulding	M. Slattery
M. Governey	G. F. Stewart
Earl of Granard	R. Waugh
Captain Gwynn	H. T. Whitley
T. Halligan	Sir B. Windle
A. Jameson	
W. Kavanagh	

AGAINST (29)

Duke of Abercorn	M. E. Knight
Sir R. N. Anderson	Marquis of Londonderry
H. B. Armstrong	J. S. McCance
H. T. Barrie	Sir C. McCullagh
Lord Mayor of Belfast	J. McGarry
Archbishop of Cashel	H. G. MacGeagh
Sir G. Clark	J. McHugh
Colonel J. J. Clark	Moderator General Assembly
Lord Mayor of Cork	W. M. Murphy
Colonel Sharman-Crawford	P. O'H. Peters
Bishop of Down and Connor	H. M. Pollock
T. Duggan	Bishop of Raphoe
H. Garahan	T. Toal
J. Hanna	Colonel Wallace
	Sir W. Whitla

ULSTER UNIONISTS' REPORT

Nineteen Ulster Unionists signed a dissenting report in which they declared that it had soon become evident to them that no real approach to agreement was possible, as the Nationalists put it beyond doubt that what they wanted was "full national independence," or a Parliament possessing co-equal powers with those of the Imperial Parliament. If the Ulster Unionists had anticipated this at the outset, their report explained, they "could not have agreed to enter the convention." Objection was taken to the Nationalist

scheme, which aimed at denying the right of the Imperial Parliament to impose military service in Ireland "unless with the consent of the proposed Irish Parliament."

Dr. Mahaffy, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Archbishop of Armagh, in a separate note, stated that they found it impossible to vote for the majority proposals, since these involved, in their opinion, either the coercion of Ulster, which was unthinkable, or the partition of Ireland, which would be disastrous.

Twenty-two Nationalists, including Joseph Devlin, M. P., the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishop of Raphoe, the Bishop of Down and Connor, and the Lord Mayors of Dublin and Cork, signed a report favoring a subordinate Irish Parliament with immediate full powers of taxation.

The majority of the Nationalists also signed a note explaining that for the sake of reaching an agreement with the Unionists they did not press their claim for full fiscal autonomy.

The Southern Unionists, who for "high considerations of allied and imperial interests" signed the majority report, also added a note. They insisted that all imperial questions and services, including the levying of customs duties, be left in the hands of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; that Ireland send representatives to Westminster; and that the whole of Ireland participate in any Irish Parliament.

THE FINANCIAL ISSUE

Apart from the main question whether an Irish Parliament with an Executive responsible to it should be established, debate chiefly centred on the question of fiscal autonomy. By January, 1918, it became apparent that on the financial issue there were three clearly defined bodies of opinion:

First—The Ulster Unionists favoring the maintenance of the fiscal unity of the United Kingdom;

Second—A section of Nationalists insisting upon complete fiscal autonomy for Ireland;

Third—The Southern Unionists, supported by other Nationalists, and the majority of the Labor representatives, favoring a compromise which left to Ireland the proceeds of all sources of revenue and the imposition of all taxes other than customs.

It was to overcome these and other differences that Premier Lloyd George invited representatives of the convention to London to confer with the Cabinet. The Premier's letter, dated Feb. 25, 1918, is published in the report. It discloses the fact that some of the Nationalists had been willing to set up an Ulster Committee in the Irish Parliament to veto the application of certain legislation to that province, to make Belfast the headquarters of the Irish Ministry of Commerce, and to let the Irish Parliament meet alternately in Dublin and Belfast.

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

Dealing with "the difficult question of customs and excise," Lloyd George wrote:

> The Government are aware of the serious objections which can be raised against the transfer of these services to an Irish Legislature. It would be practically impossible to make such a disturbance of the fiscal and financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland in the midst of a great war. It might also be incompatible with that federal reorganization of the United Kingdom in favor of which there is a growing body of opinion. On the other hand, the Government recognize the strong claim that can be made that an Irish Legislature should have some control over indirect taxation as the only form of taxation which touches the great majority of the people, and which in the past has represented the greater part of Irish revenue.
>
> The Government feel that this is a matter which cannot be finally settled at the present time. They therefore suggest for the consideration of the convention that, during the period of the war and for a period of two years thereafter, the control of customs and excise should be reserved to the United Kingdom Parliament; that, as soon as possible after the Irish Parliament has been established, a Joint Exchequer Board should be set up to secure the determination of the true revenue of Ireland—a provision which is essential to a system of responsible Irish government—and to the making of a national balance sheet, and that, at the end of the war, a royal commission should be established to re-examine impartially and thoroughly the financial relations of

Great Britain and Ireland, to report on the contribution of Ireland to imperial expenditure, and to submit proposals as to the best means of adjusting the economic and fiscal relations of the two countries.

The Government consider that during the period of the war the control of all taxation other than customs and excise could be handed over to the Irish Parliament; that for the period of the war and two years thereafter an agreed proportion of the annual imperial expenditure should be fixed as the Irish contribution; and that all Irish revenue from customs and excise as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, after deduction of the agreed Irish contribution to imperial expenditure, should be paid into the Irish Exchequer. For administrative reasons, during the period of the war it is necessary that the police should remain under imperial control, and it seems to the Government to be desirable that for the same period the postal service should be a reserved service.

CONSCRIPTION IN IRELAND

The announcement of the British Government's twofold plan of home rule and conscription for Ireland caused an outpouring of protests from the whole of the Nationalist population. Preparations for resistance were begun, a great anti-conscription fund was opened, resolutions from public bodies began pouring in, and the Sinn Fein clubs renewed their activities.

The most striking feature of the opposition to conscription was that it welded together all the Irish elements represented by the Nationalist Party, the Independent Home Rulers, led by William O'Brien and Timothy Healy; the Sinn Fein, and the Labor organizations, which in recent years had not been very friendly to the Nationalists. Representatives of all these parties were present at a conference in Dublin, held, under the Chairmanship of the Lord Mayor, on April 18. The Catholic Bishops, at a meeting in Maynooth the same day, adopted a declaration against conscription. This meeting was attended by five representatives from the Dublin conference—John Dillon, Edward de Valere, Timothy Healy, a Labor delegate, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin.

A majority of the Nationalist members of the House of Commons decided to abstain from attendance in Parliament during the crisis, thus adopting the attitude of the Sinn Feiners who were elected to the House but have never attended. Fifty-five of the Nationalist members met in Dublin on April 20, with John Dillon presiding, and passed a resolution in which they declared that the enforcement of compulsory military service on a nation without its assent constituted "one of the most brutal acts of tyranny and oppression of which any Government can be guilty."

Fifteen hundred delegates of labor unions met at the Mansion House, Dublin, on April 20, and pledged their resistance to conscription. They also fixed April 23 for the stoppage of all work as an earnest of this resolve and to enable all workers to sign the pledge of resistance. The complete stoppage of work was duly observed on the day mentioned, and passed off for the most part in a quiet and orderly manner.

Sunday, April 21, was observed throughout Catholic Ireland as the day for the administration by the priests of the anti-conscription covenant. From every Catholic pulpit conscription was the subject of discourse, and the action of the Bishops and political leaders was explained. The assemblies where the pledge was taken were generally outside the churches, sometimes in the open air, sometimes in a hall. The practice followed in many cases was for the priest to read the pledge, sentence by sentence, the people reciting after him. In other cases the pledge was given by the raising of hands or the signing of a paper. The Bishops took part with the inferior clergy in administering the pledge, addressing the people and generally warning them against isolated and unconsidered action. They urged obedience to the orders of the recognized leaders, who act in co-operation. All classes, including lawyers, bankers, and merchants, as well as farmers and workmen, took the pledge.

On May 1 an Order in Council was issued by the British Government postponing the operation of the National Service, or conscription, act in Ireland beyond that date, to which it had been previously postponed.

Premier Lloyd George, commenting on the new attitude of the Irish Home Rulers in a letter addressed on May 2 to Irish workers on the Tyneside in England, wrote:

> The difficulties have not been rendered easier of settlement by the challenge to supremacy of the United Kingdom Parliament in that sphere, which always has been regarded as properly belonging to it by all advocates of home rule, which recently was issued by the Nationalist Party and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in concert with the leaders of the Sinn Fein.

While Nationalist and Catholic Ireland had already begun its campaign of resistance to conscription, the Ulster Unionists, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, prepared to oppose home rule. Sir Edward Carson declared that the Government had broken its pledges to Ulster by undertaking to pass a Home Rule bill, and on April 24 he advised the Ulster Unionist Council to reorganize its machinery for the impending struggle.

The appointment of Field Marshal Viscount French as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and of Edward Shortt, member of the House of Commons for Newcastle-on-Tyne, as Chief Secretary for Ireland was officially announced on May 5.

Lord French, before his new appointment, was Commander in Chief of the forces in the United Kingdom and had gone to Ireland in that capacity a few days before he became Viceroy. Edward Shortt, in addition to being a Home Ruler, had voted against the extension of conscription to Ireland until an Irish Government had been established.

Greatest Gas Attack of the War

W. A. Willison, Canadian correspondent, cabled from the Picardy front on March 22, 1918:

While British and German troops were struggling far to the south in the opening clash of the Spring campaign, the greatest projector gas bombardment in the world's history was carried out by the Canadians tonight against the enemy positions between Lens and Hill 70. Sharply at 11 o'clock the signal rocket gave notice of the beginning. A moment later over 5,000 drums of lethal gas were simultaneously released from projectors, and were hurled into the enemy territory from the outskirts of Lens, and northward to Cité St. Auguste and the Bois de Dix-Huit.

From his front lines and strong points favoring winds carried the poisonous clouds back upon the enemy's supports, reserves, and assembly areas. The whole of the front was lit up with enemy flares, dimly seen through the heavy mist, while the men in our lines could hear the enemy's gas alarms and cries of distress from the hostile trenches.

Nine minutes later our field artillery, supported by heavy guns and heavy trench mortars, opened up with a slow bombardment, which gradually increased in intensity, until, forty minutes later, the enemy positions were swept with a short, intensive, creeping barrage, which raked his forward and rear areas with high explosive. Caught by our gas without a moment's warning, caught again as he was emerging from his shelters by our artillery, the enemy's casualties must have been very heavy, for the effectiveness of our smaller gas operations has been emphatically proved by the evidence of prisoners.

Tonight's bombardment was three times greater than anything of its kind ever attempted by us on the Western front, and much greater than anything ever launched by the Germans, though the score of the second battle of Ypres and other reckonings are still to be settled, and will be settled.

Plucky Dunkirk

By Anna Milo Upjohn

Inspector in Paris for the Fraternité Americaine

[Since this article was written Dunkirk has faced a new peril from the blow struck in her direction by the powerful German armies around Ypres, to the southeast; but the author's vivid and sympathetic description of the daily life of the little city remains as true as in the Winter days when it was penned for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

IN the track of the wind stands the plucky little City of Dunkirk, still flapping the flags of courage and constancy in the face of an increasingly rabid enemy. It is the only city of France that is subjected to bombardment from land and sea and sky.

What is the every-day life in a town near enough to the front to be never free from the menace of a triple bombardment? That is what I went to find out, traveling by way of Calais in stygian darkness, for the train was without lights to avoid the danger of bombs.

A little before dawn the train drew into the black station of Dunkirk, through whose roofing the sky showed dimly in spots where air-raid shells had spattered. The silent crowd jostled through the darkness, the soldiers separating themselves from it at the military exit. Inside, only a ray from a dark lantern, held by the officer who scanned the passports one by one, made a spot of light among the overlapping shadows. The wind sighed through the draughty place, the snow entered freely, the floor was sloppy with mud. Outside in the empty square not a vehicle, not a porter, in sight. The street cars had stopped running.

My hotel lay beyond the centre of the town. In the driving storm, through unknown streets, I knew it would be foolish to attempt to find it. An officer passed and to him I appealed. "To the right, in the middle of the square," he said, with outstretched arm, "is the Lion de Flandre. If they can't put you up there, come back and we will see."

Not a point of light indicated the identity of the Lion de Flandre. On nearer approach all the houses appeared boarded up, as though long since abandoned. In the middle of the square was an oblong hump, like the roofed-over foundation of a demolished building. I learned later that this was a public refuge built for the inhabitants of the section.

HOTEL IN DANGER ZONE

As I turned irresolutely in the direction of the dark façades, the silhouette of a man in casque and puttees passed across the snow. A crack of light gleamed from a hidden doorway, and through it he disappeared. I followed hard after him and stepped into a lighted room full of smoke and soldiers, a *man's* place, with sand-strewn floor and bottles conspicuously in evidence. Nevertheless, the comfortable woman behind the bar received me without surprise. A room she could give me, but as for food, that was a different matter. The boches had the habit of coming at about dinner time, and it had become a nuisance to abandon the untasted meal every night and to dive into the cave—it really had! So she had given up trying to have anything hot at night and let the fires go out at 6. But if I would like a sandwich and some beer—?

After the long, starved journey this was not alluring.

"Not a cup of tea with the sandwich?" I pleaded. A collaborator was called, a plump, dark woman, and after a hurried conference I was asked to wait in the room behind the café. Nothing could be more dismal than this compartment. It was high for its floor space, like a deep box with a lid, and had no outside windows, being wedged between the café and the kitchen. The ornate glass divisions were gone or clinging in fragments, the walls pierced in many places, the plaster down. A tiny point of gas burned high above the table.

They were very good to me, these war-

bound women, one of whom, I discovered, had an ulcerated tooth, the other two little boys captive in Belgium.

FIRST NIGHT'S EXPERIENCES

In a short time a small bit of steak and a potato cut in quarters and fried were placed before me, and simultaneously a large black dog with wistful eyes but determined manner stationed himself at my side. The steak was followed by a chilly little salad, bread and cheese, and more butter than I had seen for many a month in Paris—and a cup of tea which, for its grateful warmth, I drank without challenge.

Snatches of honest English, mingled with French, filtered in from the café, where the fire was not quite extinct and where beer was served until 9 o'clock. Before that hour I was fumbling upstairs guided by the patronne, who carried a two-inch stub of candle between her fingers. "This is the way to the cave," she explained, pointing to a doorway under the stairs. "In case of an alarm you have only to rush down there. There will be a light burning at the entrance." Passing through the hallway she indicated the spot where a man had recently been killed. "If he had stayed where he was, at the table where you have just eaten, Madame, he would have been all right, but as he ran to the refuge a bomb exploded outside in the square, burst open the front door, traversed the length of the corridor, passed through the kitchen wall and into the garden beyond. But you can rest assured that nothing will happen tonight, Madame," continued the patronne, who seemed as familiar with the habits of Gothas as a farmer's wife is with those of fowls—"Not in this wind, oh, no!"

After that first night I groped my way alone to bed, the candle stub having come to an end, feeling my way along the pitch dark passageways to the room with the linoleum mat, the room which had not known fire for three years and a half, whose paneless windows were boarded up, the one room in the house which had not lost a ceiling or floor or whose walls were not clipped through with shells. The regular inmates of the hotel slept nightly in the cellar. It saved time and was warmer.

Notwithstanding the reassurances of the patronne I confess to going to bed with half my clothes on. But under the wing of the storm Dunkirk slept tranquilly for three successive nights. Of course, there was always the soft bum-bum of the cannon on the northern horizon, strange tremors shook the bed, and the night was full of weird sounds, the rattling skeletons of dead houses.

BRAVE LITTLE DUNKIRK

Like an arm held up to protect the face, the coast between Calais and Dunkirk bears the brunt of storm from the North Sea. A dark sea, sombre and brooding, girdled by lowering clouds; on the snow-driven plain a few detached towers, etched as though in sepia against the gray sky and rising adruptly above the low line of roof—this is Dunkirk on a Winter's day. A homely little town with a deep fringe of docks and waterways on its seaward side and a girdle of fortifications built by Vauban encircling the rest. The whole set in a ring of dark water which fills the moat. It is thoroughly Flemish in character, and, seen from the water, must resemble a city on a delft tile. The moral attitude of the town has always been one of robust activity. Even its patron saints are among the most industrious and enterprising in the calendar—notably St. Eloi, who brought Christianity to the Dunkerquois and to whom the original Dunkirk (church on the dunes) was dedicated.

All the history of the town is tinged with a vigor which has blown in to it from the sea. Here the crusading ships of Baldwin of Flanders, and later those of St. Louis of France, were fitted out. After the momentous marriage of Marie of Burgundy had thrown the city for a time under the dominion of Spain it played a brilliant part in the game of the period—piracy.

The quaint tower on the quay—called Lugenhaer, the Liar—was used at that epoch to give false signals to ships at sea. But it dates from a much earlier period, and was one of twenty-eight towers with which Baldwin of Flanders

A photograph, full of human interest, showing Americans, headed by a regimental band, marching to the front in France
(American Official Photograph)

The Harvard University Regiment marching through the streets of Boston

(© *Underwood*)

bound together the wall with which he surrounded the city. The Liar and the belfry of the recently ruined Cathedral of St. Eloi were the only interesting architectural bits left in Dunkirk. The thirteenth century tower, dark and strong at its base, rises to a great height, flowering into restrained tracery at the top and shepherding under its shadow the heart of the town, which lies below it. This is the lodestone. Toward it I turned after leaving the battered hotel that first morning at Dunkirk.

CITY OF SHATTERED HOMES

From the snowy Place de la Gare the street cars started regularly in divergent directions, but oh, the gloom of those dead streets which they passed! Wide streets, winding between rows of low houses, plain and solid, but built on a neighborly plan. Their desolation is the more marked because of this innate, homelike quality. In almost all of them the window and door spaces were boarded up, and the first impression was rather that of a deserted city than of a demolished one. But a second glance showed that destruction had come from the sky, tearing away the roof, annihilating the interior, and rendering the house uninhabitable, perhaps irreparable, though the walls might to a certain extent be left standing. Often the havoc was more apparent, exposing the bare skeleton of a home and the shattered remnants of household comforts in shocking nudity.

The freakishness of destruction by bombardment is proverbial. It is this which creates in the timid an intense anxiety and in the hardy the willingness to take a chance. The 8-year-old son of the chief surgeon at the Military Hospital, stretching out his hand during a bombardment, said calmly, "Of course it *may* fall on *that*, but there is plenty of room on each side." And this rather sums up the spirit of the Dunkerquois who remain.

Of a population of 40,000, about 5,000 are left, and most of these have become modern cave men. To be thoroughly up to date one must live in a "casemate." In every quarter of the town posters announce the locality of these public refuges. They are either cellars reinforced overhead, or dugouts in the public squares, strongly roofed with corrugated iron, which is covered with wood and sandbags. Often there is extra trench work inside, always a tight little stove with a pipe running the length of the cave, plank benches along the sides, and usually beds with army blankets.

DODGING THE BOMBS

Into these refuges the Dunkerquois has learned to precipitate himself with extraordinary celerity. He considers a minute and a half sufficient time in which to gain safety, no matter where he may be when the "alerte" is given. When there is a bombardment from the land side the alarm is sounded as the obus leaves the gun at the front. It takes 90 seconds for its flight to Dunkirk. So accurately is this calculated that casualties seldom result from a land bombardment. The inhabitants scuttle into safety, and the damage is limited to bricks and mortar. The peppering from sea is also taken lightly. The firing is very rapid, but it is soon over, and the shots are comparatively small, passing clean through the walls without shattering them. It is the air raids which are dreaded, and these are increasingly frequent and destructive. Often the chugging of the motors can be heard in the thick darkness for a quarter of an hour or more before there is an explosion, and this is a nerve-racking experience.

A striking feature of the streets in Dunkirk is the incumbrance of the sidewalks by boxes filled with stones and sandbags. These cover the windows and approaches to the cellars and serve as shock absorbers against flying pieces of shell.

And why does any one stay in so precarious an outpost on the verge of the fighting line? Some perhaps because to set forth alone or with a brood of children into an unknown world already trampled by countless refugees seems an equally perilous outlook. Others because their maintenance still depends upon the docks and shipyards, though the 6,000 longshoremen usually employed about the piers have disappeared. Then

there are those whose interests are bound up in a shop or other investment in the town, and business is brisk in Dunkirk, owing to the presence of two armies. A few there are who are not only *of* Dunkirk but who *are* Dunkirk itself, upon whose presence depends the prosperity of the town and its usefulness to the State.

STILL A LIVELY PORT

For if the picturesque landmarks have disappeared, Dunkirk has by no means lost its sea prestige. It is the third port of France, and though its position is singularly exposed it is largely through its harbor that the British Army has been revictualed since the beginning of the war. This renders still more remarkable the fact that not one ship has been lost between Dunkirk and the English port of clearing. One does not appreciate at first glance all that this implies. It means for one thing that some one must sit tight at Dunkirk. Traffic by sea has gone on uninterruptedly and until recently has been quite that of normal times. Now, owing to the recent restrictions on imports and exports, it is greatly reduced, though still regular. The sailings and dockings take place on schedule time.

One of those largely responsible for the order of the port is the Consular Agent of the United States, M. Morel, also President of the Chamber of Commerce of Dunkirk. His house, a mere skeleton, has long since been abandoned for the superior comforts and safety of the cellar. Attached to the jamb of the almost equally ruined office building his small sign in black and gold makes a brave showing. The front of the building had been largely torn away and with it a part of the roof. Looking up one saw a dizzy arrangement of laths and rafters, suggestive of the underside of a heap of jackstraws. But the staircase was firm and led to a small back room, where a bright fire burned and where business was transacted as usual; not only the business of the port, for while I was there an American Red Cross doctor and a bevy of nurses came in to have their passports renewed.

Another home which I had the privilege of entering, that of Commandant Boultheel, had been more fortunate, for it stood as yet untouched by disaster. Here in an atmosphere of warm charm, a serene and gracious hostess dispensed hospitality to her friends. Pewter and old china on the walls and a great fire of logs dispelled the depression of the outside world. Around the table were men of war and men of the world, who represented the finest qualities of the French. Among them was a valiant Préfet du Nord, who had spent ten months as hostage in a German prison, using his time to study English and reread Horace. In fact, I felt, as I had on the train, that the further I got from Paris the nearer I came to the heart of France.

A glimpse of "cave life" I had in the pharmacie maintained by the Sisters of the Sacré Coeur in the basement of the Hôtel de Ville, where it had been temporarily installed by the city, its own quarters being untenable. This was a large space lighted by electricity and crowded with bottles and jars, bundles of herbs and bandages, and made cheerful by the bright faces of the sisters. In another portion of the cellar they sleep, living entirely underground.

Families are large in Dunkirk, and children troop unconcernedly to and fro between home and school. To them the nightly flight to the casemate is no longer a wild adventure.

BUSINESS UNDER DIFFICULTIES

The business part of the town has not the sad aspect of the residence streets, for it is full of life. The decrepit shops, half boarded up, many of them resembling a face with a bandage over one eye, are doing a lively business. With the demands of a large floating population of two armies, Dunkirk is not suffering commercially. Department stores, book shops, shoe stores, provision shops of all kinds, make the most of a short day. Oranges, figs, dates, nuts, and conserved food of all kinds are much in evidence, also warm clothing, blankets, boots, and novels. The restaurant of the Hôtel Chapeau Rouge was filled with French and English officers, and an excellent meal

was served much as it would be in Paris. At 4:30 everything is closed. Lights are extinguished, windows and doors are sealed with their householders behind them, unless the latter are among those who seek the comparative safety of the suburbs at nightfall. For though the entire surrounding country is subject to bombardment, the town is the centre of attack. In the twilight of the unlighted streets scarce a footfall is heard. Only the occasional rumble of a heavy cannon shakes the air. Behind the wall of darkness pulses a full life undismayed by the terrors of the approaching night or the possibilities of the tomorrow.

A STAG AT BAY

In the heart of the forest I once saw a stag leading his herd to the shelter of a rock in the rush of an oncoming storm. Having urged them into crouching positions around him, he turned and with a simple gesture lifted his head to the storm. There was that in his attitude which compelled reverence. One mentally saluted, though one might think "poor, silly beast, in what way could he mitigate the lash of the tempest?" But instinctively he had obeyed the highest for which he had been created, the protection of the weak. And his calm presence caught away all panic from those around him. Often while in Dunkirk this scene came back to me, recalled by the simple matter-of-courseness with which these brave men and equally brave women stayed on because it was the place for them to be.

At the Military Hospital of Rosendael, with the exception of the intrepid surgeon and the almoner, it is the women who hold the position. Originally the city hospital, it was taken over by the army at the beginning of the war. An immense building with modern equipment and a capacity for 700 patients, it has been necessary of late to evacuate many of the sections because of the increasing frequency of the bombardments. The hospital has been struck many times and one ward completely destroyed. As it happened there were no soldiers in that section, it being used as a maternity hospital for the city. Several women and little children were killed and also the sister in charge, Sister St. Etienne, so dear to her co-workers that she is never spoken of without tears. She had just finished her rounds for the night when the alarm came. Her one thought was to save her ward from panic. A bomb crashing through the roof hurled a beam across the sister, killing her instantly and wrecking the entire wing.

"FOR ALL AMERICAN WOMEN"

In spite of this tragedy and of recurring attacks, the other sisters and the head nurse, Mlle. Guyot, have held their posts with quiet heroism and have never lost an hour's duty. The patients now are mostly convalescent, because fresh cases are no longer brought there.

The supplies of shirts, pajamas, and bandages sent from America were gratefully commented upon by Mlle. Guyot, and I was touched by similar expressions from the men. One poor aviator, terribly burned, but recovering, put up a bandaged hand and saluted me "for all American women." Another poilu wove for me a table mat of red, white, and blue cord. All were fervent in their good wishes.

Everywhere warmth and order prevailed, from the wards where the bandaged soldiers sat about with their pipes and their knitting to the big bakery where the fragrant brown bread is baked and to the kitchens with their caldrons of broth and crisp roasts of meat.

Dry, well ventilated "abris" or bomb shelters have been built in connection with each section of the hospital. The surgeon, who sleeps in a cellar near the centre, is the first to assist his patients to shelter in case of an alarm. There, underground, long games of cards are played on the brink of the unknown. This is not callousness, but is done with deliberate intent by the clever surgeon, (a refugee from Lille,) knowing that by this means his men may be saved a nervous strain which might prove fatal.

Mlle. Guyot, who has been at the hospital since the beginning of the war, knows as well as any one what the city has endured. It was she who said to me:

"I shall never forget that Dunkirk

has borne the weight of the war from the first day; that she has seen the exodus of the Belgian population, to whom she has given refuge as well as to the people of the Department du Nord; that she has known the passing of innumerable armies going and coming from the Yser; that in October, 1914, she began to be bombarded, having at the same time to fulfill the immense duty of bringing in and caring for the wounded from that immortal battlefield; and through it all I have seen Dunkirk living and working and saving with a smile!"

The military position of Dunkirk is sometimes confusing because it has been alternately on the French and English fronts. The English are now retiring, but sentinels of three nationalities still guard the city gates; English Tommy and French poilu stand with their arms across each other's shoulders, the Belgian stands apart.

On the sands of Malo, which is but a prolongation of Dunkirk, with a sweeping beach toward the North Sea, strange men from Tonquin were digging trenches —dark men branded by the sun and the mark of the East, with warm dabs of color on their high cheekbones, and small opaque eyes under rising brows. The uniform of the French Colonial is often a medley. He looks as though he had begun "dressing up" like children in the attic, and as though his mind had fallen short of his expectations. Out on those bleak sands his touches of rich blue, crimson, and green had almost the fervor of stained glass set against the dark and sinister sea. To the north the Belgian coast cut the background with a livid streak of sand.

In spite of the moving figures, the loneliness was as of the ends of the earth. The silence was accentuated rather than broken by the purr of the cannon and the mewing of a stray gull slapped sidewise by the wind. But it is thus that I like to think of Dunkirk—scourged by the wind, blotted out by the storm, knowing that for the time being her stout hearts are safe.

As the sea has been the life of Dunkirk in the past, so it will be its resurrection. The city cannot be struck a deathblow from the land side as has many another less favorably situated. But what a unique protégé for some godmothering American city to help re-establish through her sympathy and aid!

Is it any wonder that France has just included in the arms of Dunkirk the following legend in addition to the one gained by the naval battle of 1793: "Ville heroique, sert d'exemple à toute la nation"?

Brutal Treatment of Italian Prisoners

SWORN statements from British soldiers returned from German prison camps and hospitals received by Reuter's Agency (the Associated Press of Great Britain) indicate that systematic brutality is practiced there upon Italian prisoners. Lance Corporal Horace Hills, 7th Suffolk Regiment, made the following statement under oath:

> Five or six thousand Italians came in. They had traveled three or four days, and had had nothing at all to eat. After they arrived soup was brought in, and, as they were starving, they rushed at it. The Germans then dashed forward and stabbed them with their swords and bayonets, and killed and wounded a lot. Seven or eight Italians were dying every day in the camp of starvation. They had no parcels. I saw an Englishmen give an Italian bread, and the Italian went down on his knees and kissed his hands.

Private J. F. Jackson, King's Liverpool Regiment, swore:

> One Italian told me they had been fifteen days on the journey and had only three meals all the time. Our hospital lager was separated from the camp by barbed wire; we took some bread and threw it over the wire to the Italians; they all began to grab for it, but a lot of Germans rushed up and drew their bayonets and flourished them in the air in a threatening manner, and kicked and threw the Italians about, and got the bread for themselves.

At Friedrichsfeld the treatment of the Italians was equally barbarous, the sentries shooting them for trying to get food from the British. Equally revolting stories come from Ohrdrup, Nammelburgh, Stendal, Soltau, Limburg, and Hamburg.

Germany's Attempt to Divide Belgium

Official Summary of Recent Political Events in Flanders, Issued by the Belgian Foreign Office

Germany's plan to divide Belgium by organizing a small group of "activists" to establish a so-called Council of Flanders for the purpose of separating the Flemish from the Walloon Provinces, was described in the April issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, *pp. 91-96, along with the fearless opposition which the atttempt created. The following summary of the case, with a fuller array of dates and details, has since been prepared by the Belgian Foreign Office at St. Adresse, France, the seat of King Albert's Government in exile:*

THE semi-official Wolff Agency in Berlin announced on Jan. 20, 1918, that the so-called Council of Flanders had proclaimed the autonomy of Flanders Dec. 22, 1917. Soon after that action, which had passed unnoticed and had left Belgian opinion indifferent and scornful, Herr von Walraff, German Secretary of the Interior, had judged the time opportune for a trip to Belgium, (Jan. 1, 1918.) The "council," after getting into close relations with him, had taken up the decree which the Landtag had intrusted to him on the 4th of February preceding, and had declared that it would submit itself to a popular referendum.

At length a commission of executive officials was created; it included heads for the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, Public Works, Arts and Sciences, Justice, Finance, Labor, National Defense, Posts and Telegraph, and the Navy. The German telegraphic agencies sent out this news in all directions to spread the idea that Flanders was showing an intention of detaching itself from Belgium, and to give the impression of a spontaneous popular movement for political separation.

The thought that inspired this intrigue dates back to a period almost two years earlier. On April 5, 1916, the German Chancellor, in defining the war aims of Germany before the Reichstag, had outlined the imperial policy of establishing a protectorate over the Flemings. Later there were found in Belgium some obscure and discredited citizens who, betraying their sacred duty, placed themselves in the pay of the enemy and consented to make themselves the agents and accomplices of the invaders.

GERMAN ACT OF SEPARATION

On Feb. 4, 1917, an assembly composed of 200 Belgians speaking the Flemish language met and voted for the creation of a "Council of Flanders." On March 3 this body sent a deputation to Berlin, and the Chancellor announced to it that "the policy tending toward the administrative separation would be pursued with all the vigor possible during the occupation," and that "during the negotiations and after the conclusion of peace the empire would not cease to watch over the development of the Flemish race." The German decrees dividing Belgium into two administrative regions followed close upon these declarations, (March 21, 1917.)

At the end of 1917 the German authorities believed that the moment had come to consummate the enterprise by completing the administrative separation with a political separation. Thus the end would be attained: Belgium would be dismembered; one part of the country would fall under vassalage to Germany, and, in case there were no annexation, would become in a way a sphere of influence for the empire.

The intrigues of the "Council of Flanders" are merely a comedy intended to mask this policy. The policy rests upon a clever juggling with the question of languages. Under cover of the principle of free self-determination of peoples, it seeks to internationalize an internal prob-

lem in the hope of dislocating the Belgian nationality. Perhaps it also aims at the creation of a fictitious Government which shall furnish the German Government with the means for opening fallacious peace negotiations to deceive the world and weaken the cohesion of the Allies. Many German newspapers have allowed these aims to appear, and some have boldly unveiled them.

ALL BELGIUM PROTESTS

But the strong protests of Flemish communities and of the entire Belgian Nation have foiled these plans, and the news coming from the occupied region enables us to determine with precision the character of the rôle played by the "Council of Flanders." At the same time it attests the determination of the Belgian people to repel all foreign interference and to maintain its unity unshaken.

What is this "Council of Flanders"? It has no representative character. It was created by a private assembly which had no mandate from the people. It now pretends to seek popular sanction through an election. This is only a subterfuge. There has been no election. There has been no consultation of the people. The promoters have limited themselves to assembling groups of adherents in theatres or restaurants, and causing gatherings composed of their proselytes, with an admixture of the curious and the idle, to vote on lists of candidates previously arranged in the private offices of those who are directing the work.

The Deputies and Senators, in a protest to the Chancellor, thus denounced the pretense of an election that was organized in Brussels:

> A meeting was called at a day's notice in an exhibition hall. Everybody entered who wished to, Belgians or strangers, men, women, and children. There were in all 600 or 700 persons. It was these unknown persons, come together by chance, without control or guarantee, that in a few moments, as an interlude in a speech, proclaimed the election of twenty-two Deputies to the "Council of Flanders" and fifty-two Provincial Councilors. Such was the expression—without the knowledge of the people—of the will of the Municipality of Brussels, which has 200,000 electors and almost 1,000,000 inhabitants.

PROTESTS OF CITY COUNCILS

Foreign occupation has not wholly destroyed legitimate and regular representation in Belgium. The Provincial Councils and the City Councils are still functioning. The administrative framework of the country survives. The municipal organization, so solidly rooted, has not ceased to exercise power. The Provincial and Municipal Councilors, like the Deputies and Senators, most of whom remain in the country, have been elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage. They alone in the occupied territory are competent to express the true national opinion, and that opinion is strikingly voiced in the protest of the Flemish and Walloon members of Parliament, in that of the Common Councils of the capital and the large cities of Antwerp and Ghent, whose example has been followed by an increasing number of prominent citizens and local Governments of smaller towns in Flanders.

It has been demonstrated that the "Council of Flanders" is pursuing an enterprise of usurpation, that it is a tool of the invader, and that its members are in reality only agents of the German authorities. They went to Berlin a year ago to ask for administrative separation. Herr von Walraff met them at Brussels at the beginning of 1918 to arrange for political separation. When Tack and Borms were arrested by the Belgian police on the order of Belgian Magistrates it was the German functionaries who, by force, compelled their release, and they came out of prison by the side of the German officer who had liberated them. It was the Kommandantur of Antwerp that ordered the communal administration, disregarding its resistance, to authorize the "activist" demonstration of Feb. 3, and to have this protected by the police, in violation of orders of the Burgomaster that had been in force nearly four years. It was the German military headquarters, too, that forbade all demonstrations of other groups and commandeered the hall of the Chamber of Commerce, placing it at the disposition

of the organizers of a demonstration judged by the Burgomaster to be one to wound public sentiment and endanger the public peace.*

At length Governor General von Falkenhausen stamped the "Council of Flanders" with the seal of German investiture, deciding by a decree of Jan. 18, 1918, (published Feb. 10,) that the appointment of the "council's" delegates was subject to his ratification, and that these delegates were called to collaborate with him in his legislative labors.

Thus one has the right to conclude that the whole organism of the "Council of Flanders" is only a foreign tool to serve the enemy in his designs of division and oppression. The delegates of the council cannot pretend to any independence, since the decree of Jan. 18 reduces them to the rôle of functionaries of German authority, named by that authority and expected to contribute, by their advice, to its political work.

THE DELEGATES OSTRACIZED

The Belgian people, without distinction of language, party, or condition, have, by impressive demonstrations, repudiated the faithless citizens who, joining hands with the enemy, have arrogated to themselves the right to speak in the name of the Flemings. The Flemings were the first to condemn the crime. To the protests of the Deputies and Senators and of the City Councils have been added those of the leading intellectual and political societies of Flanders. The Flemish Academy raised its voice to "affirm its fidelity to the Belgian Fatherland and its King." The Belgian Labor Party proclaimed that "not one of the 800 labor groups composing it, and not one of its authorized leaders, had been led astray or corrupted by the activist-separatist movement, either in Flanders or in Wallonia."

In the streets of Antwerp, of Malines, of Brussels, spontaneous uprisings which the German troops could not suppress voiced the scorn and anger of the crowds.

Crowning this expression of the popular will and giving it the sanction of law, the Brussels Court of Appeals, acting upon the protest of the Deputies and Senators, at a plenary sitting of all its united chambers, [Feb. 7, 1918,] ordered a hearing which ended in the arrest of delegates of the "Council of Flanders" on a charge of conspiracy against the form of the State, interference with public functions, and wicked attacks against the constitutional authority of the King, the rights of the chambers, and the laws of the nation. When the German authorities, protecting the guilty ones and acting in the guise of vengeance, caused the arrest of the Presidents of the Court, who had come in the august garb of justice to do their duty, the Court of Cassation, by a decree of Feb. 11, decided unanimously to suspend its sittings; the Courts of Appeals in Ghent and Liége, with all the courts of first instance and the courts of commerce, followed its example. The civic heroism of a whole people is summed up in that impressive gesture. There is no more eloquent page in history.

This nation can remain free. It stoically endures the presence and domination of the enemy in its territory. The foreign occupation that has lasted three and a half years has not broken its spirit or its will to resistance. The Flemish, like the Walloon communities, victims of the most frightful brutalities, subjected to a system of forced labor, decimated by deportations, have remained immovably faithful to King and country. The moral unity of the nation has continued intact.

FLEMISH QUESTION NOT NEW

The Flemish question does not imperil this unity. It dates much further back than the war and has often been a subject of lively debate. It is a question of interior policy which the nation alone must solve, after the war, independently, under its own free constitutional powers. Belgium has had the same Constitution since 1831, and has not dreamed of altering its principles, unless we except the proclamation of universal manhood suffrage in 1893. In eighty-three years of peace and prosperity there was not a single political party that cast doubt upon the validity of the fundamental

*Later the City Councils were forbidden by German authority to debate political questions, such as the autonomy of Flanders.

charter—an eloquent proof of its plastic vitality and perfect harmony with the deepest needs of the nation's collective existence.

Equality before the law, (Article 6,) individual liberty, (Articles 7, 8, 9, 10,) liberty of religious faith, (Articles 14 and 15,) freedom in education, (Article 17,) freedom of the press, (Article 18,) the right of assembly, (Article 19,) liberty of association, (Article 20,) freedom as to language, (Article 21)—these are the essential axioms on which the nation's public life is based.*

The Belgian Constitution, after guaranteeing respect for these fundamental principles, regulates the exercise of political powers, all of which, it declares, "emanate from the nation." (Article 25.) "The legislative power is exercised jointly by the King, the House of Representatives, and the Senate." (Article 26.) The Deputies are elected directly by all the Belgian citizens who are 25 years old and who have lived at least one year in the commune, those who fulfill certain requirements of knowledge or capacity being allowed one or two supplementary votes. (Article 47.) Senators are elected on the same principles, with the difference that the voters must be at least 30 years old. The Senate also includes a certain number of members elected by the Provincial Councils. (Article 53.) For both chambers the voting is obligatory and secret, and the division of seats is arranged on a system of proportional representation that safeguards the rights of minorities. Subject to the responsibility of his Ministers the King exercises the executive power. (Articles 63 and 64.)

Judicial power is exercised through courts whose members are not subject to removal. (Articles 99 and 100.) A jury alone can deal with criminal cases, political charges, and indictments brought against the press. (Article 98.)

Finally, side by side with the three great political branches, the provincial and communal Governments deal with all matters of local interest. Chief among them are—for the commune: the City Council, elected by direct vote, and the "College of Burgomasters and Aldermen," whose members are chosen by the Common Council, with the exception of the Burgomaster, who is appointed by the King; and for the province: the Provincial Council, directly elected, the "Permanent Deputation," elected by the Provincial Council, and the Governor, who represents the National Government.

SETTLING THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

This rapid sketch suffices to show the democratic and liberal nature of the Belgian Governmental system. Such institutions permit of free discussion and facilitate the peaceful solution of the most irritating internal problems. As the protest of the Flemish societies puts it, "The Flemings are not a conquered nation; they have the same electoral right as the Walloons; they have all the means for safeguarding their just rights."

Belgium has always lived an intense life, yet this has never compromised its unity. Three great parties, the Catholic, the Liberal, the Socialist, struggle for preponderance, and their action extends to all parts of the country without distinction of language. Each of them supports an identical program, in Flanders as in Wallonia, regardless of whether the citizens speak Flemish or French. The party lines have never corresponded with the linguistic lines. In each are found leaders of the Flemish movement, whose aspirations have given rise to many speeches, but have never been repudiated as anti-patriotic. This movement is thus described by the Flemish societies in their protest against the "Council of Flanders": "It is the expression of the fundamental principle that every population possesses the inalienable right to develop itself according to its own character and its own language, life, and historic personality." But it remains essentially national and declares itself, in the document just cited, unalterably hostile to the separation of the country into two Governments with two capitals, two Ministries, two Parliaments. The

*Article 21 of the Constitution reads thus: "Employment of the languages used in Belgium is optional. It can be regulated only by law and solely for acts of public authority and for judicial proceedings."

Flemish societies see in separation only "a weakening that will lead to a catastrophe for the Flemings, as well as for the Walloons." They add:

> Our most sacred political and economic interests are menaced by these absurd plans. The organic whole which has made of Belgium, through its commerce and industry, its rivers, ports and railways, its agriculture and workingmen, all working together under a single Government through scores of years, an economic power of the first order, would be dissolved, artificially weakened by contradictory influences, enervated by divergent official policies. The narrow particularism which in the past and present has done so much harm would dominate. The balance between the different political, religious, and social tendencies in our country would be destroyed, and Belgium would be left in a state of crisis which, through long years, would render almost impossible the relief of the country and the curing of the wounds caused by the war.

RIGHTS OF FLEMISH TONGUE

In the years before the war the Belgian Parliament passed several laws intended to assure to the Flemish language the place that belongs to it in the national life, especially in the administrative, judicial, and educational departments. It will suffice to recall the law of May 12, 1910, on secondary schools, and the law of July 2, 1913, on languages in the army, making a knowledge of Flemish and French obligatory for admission to the National Military School. At the moment when the war broke out the Parliament was considering a proposition tending to organize Flemish high schools, and in a report to the King, Oct. 8, 1916, the Government declared itself "convinced that immediately upon the reestablishment of peace a general agreement of favorable sentiments, which it will try to promote, will assure to the Flemings, both in the higher schools and in all the others, that complete equality, in right and in fact, which ought to exist under the guarantees of our Constitution." (Moniteur, Oct. 8-14, 1916.)

Only after the war can the Government solve the problems arising out of the Flemish movement. The promoters of that movement themselves deplore the intervention of an alien power and scorn the traitors who have conspired with the enemy, accepting money and positions at his hand. It is as loyal Belgian citizens, they declare, that they are striving for reforms from which they expect a fuller intellectual development of Flemish communities, and they see in such culture a new force of unity for the nation, from which they by no means wish to be separated.

BELGIAN PREMIER'S VIEW

Baron de Broqueville, the Belgian Prime Minister, said to a correspondent of The London Times:

The Belgian people, after three and a half years of the most grinding oppression, have shown by the courageous defiance of enemy bayonets which brought about the collapse of the "activist" plot, that they have lost none of their sturdy resolve to be free; that the spirit which moved them to reject the German ultimatum of Aug. 2, 1914, is as strong as ever. * * *

Only one thing is worrying and humiliating in a quite special degree all Belgians in occupied territory. It is the fear lest abroad it may be imagined that there really is an "activist" movement in Belgium. All the reports we have received on this point amount to this: "No one in Belgium talks of this alleged movement, for it is nonexistent. There are a few miserable individuals in German pay—always the same—who intrigue and plot. All they have achieved is to arouse against them such feelings of repulsion and hate that they have been thrust forever forth from the nation, and nothing can cleanse them of their crime. For mercy's sake, beg people not to insult us by treating the agitation of these individuals seriously, and to stop seeing any agitation where there is nothing but the work of a few paid traitors.

It is in this sense that our compatriots write to us from behind the German barrier. There, as elsewhere, the most ardent advocates of Flemish claims reject foreign interference in internal policy, and they treat as traitors to the cause all those who accept bribes from the torturers of their country.

Stripping Belgian Industries

Germany's Use of the "Rathenau Plan" for the Exploitation of Belgium and Northern France

THE German Government from the beginning of the war has systematically stripped the factories of Belgium and other conquered territory with the purpose, it is charged, of crippling industries in those countries, not only as a war measure, but as an economic means of preventing future competition. This phase of German war policy is treated in a brochure edited by Professors Dana C. Munro of Princeton, George C. Sellery of the University of Wisconsin, and August C. Krey of the University of Minnesota. It is issued by the United States Committee on Public Information under the title, "German Treatment of Conquered Territory." The editors find their text in this statement by Deputy Beumer, made before the Prussian Diet in February, 1917:

Anybody who knows the present state of things in Belgian industry will agree with me that it will take at least some years—assuming that Belgium is independent at all—before Belgium can even think of competing with us in the world market. And anybody who has traveled, as I have done, through the occupied districts of France, will agree with me that so much damage has been done to industrial property that no one need be a prophet in order to say that it will take more than ten years before we need think of France as a competitor or of the re-establishment of French industry.

This exploitation for the benefit of German industry is an outgrowth of the plan suggested early in August, 1914, by Dr. Walter Rathenau, President of the General Electric Company of Germany, to establish a Bureau of Raw Materials for the War. The bureau (Kriegsrohstoffabtheilung) was made a part of the Ministry of War. Its operation in the occupied territories was explained in a lecture by Dr. Rathenau in April, 1916, as follows:

It was necessary to be sure of an increase in the reserve of raw materials both by purchase in neutral countries and by monopolizing all stocks found in the occupied territory of the enemy. * * * The occupation of Belgium, of the most valuable industrial parts of France, as well as of parts of Russia, made a new task for the organization. It was necessary to make use of the stocks of raw material of these three territories for the domestic economy of the war, to use, especially, the stores of wool found at the centres of the Continental wool market. Valuable stocks of rubber and of saltpeter were to be used for the profit of the manufacturer at home. The difficulties that are met with in keeping to the rules of war while making these requisitions have been overcome. A system of collecting stations, of depots and of organizations for distribution was arranged which solved the difficulties of transportation, infused new blood into industry at home, and gave it a firmer and more secure basis.

BRAND WHITLOCK'S STATEMENT

This plan, which has given German industry "a firmer and more secure basis," was used not merely to "make war support war" by contributions wrung from the conquered peoples, but also to destroy future competition—in violation of The Hague Convention, (Articles 46, 52, 53,) which Germany had signed. In the first months of the war a pretense was still made of acting under military necessity, but this was soon abandoned. On March 4, 1915, Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium, reported to the State Department:

The Federation of Belgian Steel and Iron Manufacturers forwarded a protest to the German Governor General in Belgium, on Jan. 22, 1915, complaining that the German authorities have invaded the Belgian plants and seized the machinery and tools, which have been taken to pieces and sent to Germany in great number; in many cases no receipt was left in the hands of the legitimate owner to prove the nature, number, and value of the seized tools. Machinery to the value of 16,000,000 francs ($3,000,000) had been taken away up to Jan. 22.

Furthermore, the Feldzeugmeisterei in Berlin has entered into a contract with

the firm Sonnenthal Junior of Cologne, which firm is to collect, transport, and deliver to German manufactories of war supplies all engines and tools seized in Belgium and France, and to bring them back after the war is over.

This contract provides, also, that the Sonnenthal Company has the right and even is compelled, in co-operation with the gun foundry at Liége, to pick out in factories of the occupied territory those machines which seem most useful for the manufacture of German war supplies and to propose the seizure of the machinery.

The Royal Belgian Government protests, with indignation, against these measures, which constitute a clear violation of Article 53 of the regulations of the Fourth Hague Convention. The items enumerated in Article 53 are limited and neither the seizure nor the transport to another country of machinery and tools used in industry are permitted; these implements must always be respected when they are private property, (Article 46.)

By the removal of these tools, the efforts made by the manufacturers in order to maintain a certain activity in the plants are nullified, numerous workmen are obliged to remain idle and are facing starvation. These measures will also retard the restoration of industry after the war is over.

Furthermore, the German authorities disregard in a systematic way the prescriptions of Article 52 of the above-mentioned regulations of the Fourth Hague Convention, which stipulate that requisitions in nature from towns and their inhabitants in the occupied territory can only be permitted when they are directly destined for the army of occupation.

UNJUST FINES

A dispatch from Minister Whitlock dated at Brussels, Aug. 2, 1915, gives a fuller memorandum on the subject, as follows:

Upon the arrival of German troops at Brussels, the city and communes of the agglomeration were required to pay as a war contribution the sum of 50,000,000 francs in gold, silver, or banknotes, the Province of Brabant having to pay, in addition, the sum of 450,000,000 francs, to be delivered not later than Sept. 1, 1914.

The sum of 50,000,000 francs imposed on the City of Brussels was reduced to 45,000,000 francs, but the city was later subjected to a penalty of 5,000,000 francs on the ground that two members of the German Secret Service had been attacked by the crowd without assistance having been rendered by the Brussels police. On this point it may be noted that when Mr. Max, the Burgomaster, at the beginning of the occupation, asked the German authorities to inform him of the names of the German secret police agents whom they intended to employ, he was told that there were no German secret police in Brussels.

In December, 1914, a contribution of 480,000,000 francs, payable at the rate of 40,000,000 a month, was imposed on the provinces.

At the beginning of April, 1915, a fine of 500,000 marks was imposed on the City of Brussels, which refused to repair the road between Brussels and Antwerp—a State road the repair of which devolved upon the State. But the German authorities had taken over the State moneys, and should, therefore, have assumed the expense of the work. Furthermore, this road is entirely outside of the territory of the City of Brussels, and, finally, the city had not the administration for the maintenance or construction of roads, and had neither material nor personnel to carry on such work.

On Jan. 16, 1915, on Belgians who had voluntarily left the country and had not returned by March 1, 1915, tenfold advance of personal tax was made; and many taxes were imposed on communes as indemnity for damages claimed by German citizens to have been suffered through acts of the inhabitants at the time war was declared.

When the German Army arrived in Brussels, it requisitioned for the daily support of the troops 18,000 kilos of wheat, 10,000 kilos of fresh meat, 6,000 kilos of rice, 10,000 kilos of sugar, and 72,000 kilos of oats. Similar requisitions were made in all cities in which the German troops camped. The requisitions, however, exceeded the needs of the troops in passing or in occupation, and a large part of the requisitioned supplies was sent to Germany.

At Louvain the German authorities requisitioned 250,000 francs' worth of canned vegetables and at Malines about 4,000,000 francs' worth.

In Flanders and in part of Hainault the farmers were despoiled of almost all their horses and cattle and the little wheat and grain remaining. The little village of Middleburg, for instance, which numbers 850 inhabitants, after having given up 50 cows, 35 hogs, and 1,600 kilos of oats, was forced to furnish in January and February, 1915, 100 hogs, 100,000 kilos of grain, 50,000 kilos of beans or peas, 50,000 kilos of oats, and 150,000 kilos of straw.

At Ghent and Antwerp the German authorities found about 40,000 tons of oil-cake, necessary for the feeding of cattle in Winter, and seized it.

They also carried off several hundred thousand tons of phosphates from Belgium for use in Germany.

Walnut trees on private properties, as well as on State lands, were cut down and requisitioned.

Besides, draught horses—the result of a rational selection carried on through more than a century and probably the most perfect Belgian agricultural product—were carried off throughout all Belgium. Not only did the German Army requisition horses necessary for its wagons, mounts for its troops or artillery service, but it carried away from the Belgian stock horses absolutely unfit for military service, which were sent to Germany. The same is true as regards the cattle.

All crude materials indispensable for Belgian industries were requisitioned and sent to Germany—leather, hides, copper, wool, flax, &c. Furthermore, if not the entire stock, at least the greatest number possible of machinery parts, were shipped to Germany to be used, according to German statements, in making munitions which the Belgian factories had refused to produce.

At Antwerp, requisitions of all kinds of materials and products were considerable, notably:

	Francs.
Cereals	18,000,000
Oilcake, about	5,000,000
Nitrate, over	4,000,000
Oils — animal and vegetable— over	2,000,000
Oils—petrol and mineral—about	3,000,000
Wools	6,000,000
Rubber	10,000,000
Foreign leathers, to Dec. 1, about	20,000,000
Hair	1,500,000
Ivory, about	800,000
Wood	500,000
Cacao	2,000,000
Coffee	275,000
Wines	1,100,000

Cottons in large quantities—one house having been requisitioned to the amount of 1,300,000 francs. Other enormous requisitions were made on shop depots, &c., and are impossible of computation just now.

PAYMENT WITHHELD

The requisitions from Antwerp, which Mr. Whitlock enumerates, were the subject of a protest by the Acting President of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce on March 18, 1915. He valued these goods at more than 83,000,000 francs ($16,600,000) and stated that only 20,000,000 francs ($4,000,000) had been paid by the German authorities. The reply of Governor General von Bissing on Sept. 24 shows that up to that time payment had not been made. The reason is indicated in the following statement of German policy, published in the Frankfurter Zeitung Dec. 21, 1914:

> The raw materials which the Imperial Government has bought in Antwerp, Ghent, and other places will be paid for as soon as possible. The payment will be made only after the goods have been transported into Germany and after the valuation has been made, and *the payment shall be made in such manner that no money shall be sent from Germany to Belgium during the period of the war.*

Professor Munro and his fellow-editors have drawn freely upon the official texts printed in the work entitled "German Legislation for the Occupied Territories of Belgium," edited, in ten volumes, by Huberich and Nicol-Speyer, (The Hague, 1915-17.) These volumes cover the period from Sept. 5, 1914, to March 29, 1917, and contain a reprint of "The Official Bulletin of Laws and Ordinances" in German, French, and Flemish. The documents show that the first step under the Rathenau plan was to ascertain what raw materials and other supplies were accessible. Consequently, there were many ordinances commanding the declaration of certain wares. The following is an example:

> Brussels, Dec. 11, 1914.
>
> All stocks of benzine, benzol, petroleum, spirits of alcohol, glycerine, oils and fats of any kind, toluol, carbide, raw rubber and rubber waste, as well as all automobile tires, shall immediately be reported in writing to the respective chiefs of districts or commanders, with a statement of quantity and the place of storage. * * *
>
> If a report is not made the wares shall be confiscated for the State and the guilty individual shall be punished by the military authorities. (*From "German Legislation," &c., Vol. I., p. 95.*)

Such a declaration made it easy for the military authorities later to acquire the wares either by direct requisition or by forced sales. The following are examples:

> Brussels, Aug. 13, 1915.
>
> Article 1. The stocks of chicory roots existing within the jurisdiction of the General Government in Belgium are hereby commandeered. (*From "German Legislation," &c., Vol. IV., p. 148.*)
>
> Brussels, Jan. 8, 1916.
>
> Article 1. All wools (raw wool, washed wool, tops and noils, woolen waste, woolen yarns, artificial wools, as well as mixtures of these articles with others) and also all mattresses filled with the wools above specified and now an object of trade

or introduced into trade, found within the jurisdiction of the General Government, are hereby commandeered.

Wool freshly shorn or in any other way separated from the skin shall also be subject to seizure immediately upon its separation. (*From "German Legislation," &c., Vol. VI., p. 57.*)

Between October, 1914, and March, 1917, there were ninety-two separate ordinances of the General Government commanding the declaration, forced sale, or confiscation of various materials. Of these, forty-five were issued in 1915 and thirty-five in 1916. How these decrees passed by rapid evolution from mere declaration to complete confiscation is instanced in these typical examples:

1. A decree issued at Brussels July 19, 1916, lists several pages of textile materials which are to be declared.

2. A decree of Aug. 22, 1916, enlarges the preceding list.

3. A decree drawn up July 19, 1916, but not published till Sept. 12, 1916, declares 75 per cent. of this material subject to seizure by the Militärisches Textil-Beschaffungsamt.

4. Later decrees of seizure cover materials overlooked in these.

STRIPPING BELGIUM OF METALS

Every scrap of metal in the conquered countries that could possibly be seized has been confiscated. The ordinance below is given as an example of the thoroughness of the system of requisitions. The prices to be paid were entirely too low, and the sixth section shows that the owners were not expected to part with their property willingly. The ordinance was issued at Brussels Dec. 13, 1916:

SECTION I. The following designated objects are hereby seized and must be delivered.

SECTION II. Movable and fixed household articles made of copper, tin, nickel, brass, bronze or tombac, whatever their state:

1. Kitchen utensils, metal ware, and household utensils, except cutlery.

2. Wash basins, bathtubs, warm-water heaters and reservoirs.

3. Individual or firm name plates in and on the houses, doorknobs, knockers, and metal decorations on doors and carriages not necessary for locking.

4. Curtain rods and holders and stair carpet fixtures.

5. Scales.

6. All other household articles or adornments made of tin.

The articles included under the numerals 1-6 are subject to seizure and delivery even when not contained in households in the narrow sense, but in other inhabited or uninhabited buildings and rooms, (*e. g.*, offices of authorities, office rooms in factories and entries.)

SECTION III. Exempt from seizure and delivery:

1. Articles on and in churches and other buildings and rooms dedicated to religious services.

2. Articles in hospitals and clinics, as well as in the private offices of physicians, apothecaries, and healers, so far as these articles are essential to the care of the sick or the practice of medicine and cannot be replaced.

3. Articles in public buildings.

4. Articles which are part of commercial or industrial stores either designated for sale or useful in the business. For these articles a special decree is enacted.*

SECTION IV. Procedure of seizure is as follows:

All alteration of the articles subject to seizure is forbidden. All judicial disposition or change of ownership is interdicted, except in so far as the following paragraphs permit.

SECTION V. *Obligation to Deliver.* The delivery of the seized articles must be made at the time and places designated by the Division of Trade and Industry; it can also be made before the requisition at the Zentral-Einkaufsgesellschaft for Belgium. Upon delivery the ownership of the articles is vested in the German Military Administration.

Articles of artistic or historic value, if so recognized by the Bureau of Delivery, need not be delivered.

The Bureau of Delivery may, for unusual cause, grant exemptions from delivery.

SECTION VI. *Indemnity.* The following prices will be paid for the delivered articles:

	Francs.
Copper, per kilo	4
Tin	7.50
Nickel	13
Brass	3
Bronze	3
Tombac	3

*Such articles in trade and industry were declared seized Dec. 30, 1916. The form of that edict is practically the same as this, penalties being somewhat higher. The listing of these articles had occurred in July, 1916. Other items were added later and all were now declared seized.

In arranging the weight, seizures of nondesignated materials will not be included.

The payment will take place on the basis of the estimate made by the Bureau of Delivery. Payment will be made to the deliverer without question of his ownership.

If the deliverer refuses to accept the payment he will be given a receipt, and the determination of the indemnity in this case will follow through the Reichsentschädigungskommission according to the rules in force.

SECTION VII. *Persons and Corporations Affected by This Decree:*

1. House owners, inhabitants and heads of establishments.

2. Persons, associations, and corporations of a private or public nature whose buildings or rooms contain articles enumerated in Section 2.

To this group, furthermore, belong also State, Church, and community business and industrial establishments, including business, industrial, and office buildings in the ownership, possession, or guardianship of military and civil authorities. For buildings abandoned or not occupied by their owners or inhabitants, the communal authorities are responsible for the execution of this decree. The district commanders are authorized to furnish further instructions to the communities in this case. If dwelling houses are occupied as quarters by German military or civil authorities the execution of this order rests upon the military authorities concerned.

SECTION VIII. *Confiscation.* [Failure to comply with the provisions of the decree entails confiscation.]

SECTION IX. *Co-operation of Communities.* [Local authorities ordered to cooperate in execution of this order.]

SECTION X. *Certificates of Exemption.* [Verwaltungschef empowered to issue certificates of exemption.]

SECTION XI. *Punishment for Violations.* Any one who intentionally or through gross negligence violates the present decree or supplementary regulations will be punished with imprisonment not to exceed two years or a fine not to exceed 20,000 marks, or both. Any one who urges or incites others to violate the present decree or its supplementary regulations will be punished in like manner, unless he has incurred graver punishment under the general law. The attempt is punishable. Military courts and military authorities are empowered to try cases. (*From "German Legislation," &c., Vol. IX., pp. 398-394.*)

Some industries which were not directly useful to the Germans were at first allowed to resume work in whole or in part, for the Government did not wish to cut off all sources of the enormous indemnities which it was levying upon towns and individuals. But the rival manufacturers in Germany objected angrily against this policy. Thus Dr. Goetze, head of the German Glassmakers' Union, wrote in the Wirtschaftzeitung der Zentralmächte, Nov. 10, 1916:

> It has become vital to the German manufacturers of glass wares that the Belgian manufacturers should be stopped from going to neutral markets, and it must be admitted that the German Civil Administration has fully recognized the necessity of arranging this matter according to the demands of the German industry, and that it has taken suitable action. [In spite of this some Belgian shops were able to do some exporting and had affected the market price.] Measures must be taken to stop this. For this reason the factories of Central and Eastern Germany, which are most directly concerned, have secured the promulgation of an order stopping importation, transit, and exportation. * * * We must demand that the German Civil Administration of Belgium should first of all look out for the protection of the interests of the German industry.

In addition to securing the aid of the German Government in ruining Belgian industries which competed with them, German manufacturers have also been aided by the German Government in obtaining Belgian trade secrets. For example, Dr. Bronnert secured a permit from the War Ministry to visit the factory at Obourg for making artificial silk. He took full notes of all that he could learn when he visited it, on Dec. 9, 1916, and carried away designs and parts of the machinery. Dr. Bronnert is a director of a German factory for making artificial silk which competes with the Belgian factory. (*From the "Informations Belges," No. 307.*)

HAGUE REGULATIONS FLOUTED

When Belgium attempted to protest against the illegal requisitions, citing The Hague regulations, they received answers such as the following, which was read to the Municipal Council and notables of the town of Halluin, June 30, 1915:

> Gentlemen: What is happening is known to all these gentlemen. It is the conception and interpretation of Article 52 of The Hague Convention which has cre-

ated difficulties between you and the German military authority. On which side is the right? It is not for us to discuss that, for we are not competent, and we shall never arrive at an understanding on this point. It will be the business of the diplomatists and the representatives of the various States after the war.

Today it is exclusively the interpretation of German military authority which is valid, and for that reason we intend that all that we shall need for the maintenance of our troops shall be made by the workers of the territory occupied. I can assure you that the German authority will not under any circumstances desist from demanding its rights, even if a town of 15,000 inhabitants should have to perish. The measures introduced up to the present are only a beginning, and every day severe measures will be taken until our object is obtained.

This is the last word, and it is good advice I give you tonight. Return to reason and arrange for the workers to resume work without delay; otherwise you will expose your town, your families, and your persons to the greatest misfortunes.

Today, and perhaps for a long time yet, there is for Halluin neither a prefecture nor a French Government. There is only one will, and that is the will of German authority.

The Commandant of the Town,
SCHRANCK.

(From Massart's "Belgians Under the German Eagle," New York, 1916, pp. 192-3.)

GERMANY'S PROFITS

The German profits from the Rathenau plan were summarized thus frankly by Herr Ganghofer in an article published in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten Feb. 26, 1915:

For three months about four-fifths of the army's needs were supplied by the conquered country. Even now, although the exhausted sources in the land occupied by us are beginning to yield less abundantly, the conquered territory is still supplying two-thirds of the needs of the German Army in the west. Because of this, for the last four months the German Empire has saved an average of 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 marks a day. This profit which the Germans have secured by their victory is very greatly increased by another means. That is the economic war which, in accordance with the rules of international law, is being carried on against the conquered land by the exhaustion of the goods which belong to the State, which are being carried to Germany from Belgium and Northern France. These are in enormous quantities and consist of war booty, fortress supplies, grain, wool, metal, expensive hardwood, and other things, not including all private property which cannot be requisitioned. In case of necessity this private property will, of course, be secured to increase the German supply, but it will also be paid for at its full value. What Germany saves and gains by this economic war, carried on in a businesslike way, can be reckoned at a further 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 marks a day. Thus the entire profit which the German Empire has made behind its western front since the beginning of the war can be estimated at about 2,000,000,000 marks. For Germany this is a tremendous victory through the sparing and increase in her economic power; for the enemy it is a crushing defeat through the exhaustion of all of the auxiliary financial sources in those portions of his territory which have been lost to us.

Of the branches and management of this economic war I shall have more to say. Then people will learn to banish to the lumber room of the past the catch phrase about "the unpractical German." A German officer of high rank at St. Quentin characterized this happy change which has taken place in our favor in these half-serious, half-humorous words: "It is extraordinary how much a man learns! Although in reality I am an officer of the Potsdam Guard, now I am in the wool and lumber business. And successful, too!"

Governor General von Bissing's testimony on this subject, as recorded in his "Testament," will be found in full in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for February, 1918, pp. 330-38. Among the passages from it quoted in the pamphlet here under review is this:

The advantages which we have been able during the present war to obtain from Belgian industry, by the removal of machinery and so on, are as important as the disadvantages which our enemies have suffered through the lack of their fighting strength.

LANGHORNE'S DISPATCH

That the systematic exploitation and destruction in Flanders and Northern France were still going on in the Fall of 1917 is shown by the following dispatch from the American Chargé d'Affaires in Holland:

The Hague, Sept. 29, 1917.

SECRETARY OF STATE, WASHINGTON: A person who has recently arrived here from Ghent gives the following information as to conditions in East and West Flanders and Northern France:

The looms and machinery are being

taken away from the textile mills in Roubaix and Tourcoing and sent to Germany. Such machines as cannot be removed and transported have in some instances been dynamited, and in others are being destroyed with hammers. In the neighborhood of Courtrai in Flanders all the mills have been ordered to furnish a list of their machinery. The measures which have been applied to the north of France will be carried out in Flanders. All textile fabrics have been requisitioned by the military authorities, even in small retail stores, and woolen blankets have been taken from private houses. There is also extensive requisitioning of wine. In the larger cities in the course of the past few weeks large numbers of children of from 10 to 15 years have been brought in for office work. There is a rapid increase in the number of women brought in for this purpose. A marked animation was observed in the Etappen inspection at Ghent last week. It is believed that at the meeting of the inspection something unusual was being discussed.

LANGHORNE,
Charge d' Affaires.

DESTRUCTION STILL GOING ON

That the Rathenau plan is still wringing the remnants of industrial supplies from Belgium in 1918 is shown by documents still later than those printed in the brochure just reviewed. In January linen and mattresses were being taken from hotels, boarding houses, and convents all over Belgium. The inhabitants were forbidden by law to have any wool in their possession, but were offered a substitute made of seaweed. The large electrical plant at Antwerp known as l'Escaut was stripped of its machinery, which was transferred to a German plant. Belgian kitchens did not escape. The huge copper pans and kettles, the glory of Belgian housewives, had to go to Germany with the bright jars and jugs of the milkmaids. Nearly every conceivable brass, copper, and bronze object had been requisitioned by that time.

The Belgian Government sent out a statement on Feb. 17, 1918, containing these passages:

> The German authorities then aggravated the evils of industrial stoppage by forbidding public works and commandeering the factories and metals and leather for military purposes. After this they instituted the barbarous system of deporting workmen to perform forced labor in Germany, a system which they had to interrupt officially, after some months, because it proved revolting to the conscience of mankind, but only to substitute for it immediately the forced labor of the civilian population, in work of military value, by the order of the military authorities. This system is still being cruelly maintained in the zones lying back of the fighting line in the provinces of East and West Flanders, Hainault, Namur, and Luxemburg.
>
> Meanwhile, the commandeering has become general, and affects both natural and manufactured products and also tools, motors, and means of transportation, whether mechanical or animal. Finally, fiscal and administrative measures have been taken to close the last remaining outlets for Belgian products into neutral countries.
>
> These facts are incontestable. They are proved by many rules and regulations officially published by the German authorities.
>
> At present the raid upon the last economic resources of occupied Belgium has been carried on to such an extent that they are methodically taking away all the machinery from the factories, which they themselves have made idle, in some cases to set it up again in Germany, in other cases, to break it up and use it for grapeshot.
>
> The purpose of this entire system of destruction is double: First, to supply deficiencies in German industry; secondly, to put an end to Belgian competition and later to subject Belgian industry to that of Germany when the time comes for refitting the factories with machinery after the war.
>
> The proofs collected by the Belgian Government in support of this statement are conclusive. It is significant that in general the task of systematically stripping Belgian factories was intrusted to German manufacturers who were the direct competitors of the Belgian owners. Some of them have taken advantage of their official positions to steal secrets of manufacturing processes, for example, at the artificial silk shops of Obourg, and personal methods of production and sale.
>
> And as to the fact that Germany is destroying the factories for a military reason without any regard for the economic needs of Belgium or for the rights of nations, it is sufficient to cite the following passages from a semi-official note that appeared in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 392, of Dec. 18, 1917, in which Germany distinctly pleads guilty:
>
> "All measures taken in Belgium are "inspired by military necessity.
>
> "The exploitation, under military con- "trol, of Belgian factories in order to re- "pair locomotives and automobiles, and "also to obtain material of war for the "front, is carried out for the purpose of

Trafalgar Square, London, as it appears after three and a half years of war

(© *Western Newspaper Union*)

A typical scene in Flanders today, with all signs of civilization completely obliterated
(International Film Service)

" relieving the strain on German indus-
" try and economizing transportation. It
" has become necessary to strip the Bel-
" gian factories of their machinery and
" other fittings, because all German in-
" dustry is busy filling orders for mate-
" rial of war. * * * By relieving the
" home market from the necessity of en-
" larging our own factories we are ac-
" celerating the production of munitions
" and other products. * * * In conse-
" quence of the intense activity of all Ger-
" man industry our machinery and other
" equipment is tremendously overworked,
" and must from time to time be partly
" replaced by new machines, while, fur-
" thermore, we must be able to furnish
" spare parts rapidly unless we wish to
" see our output of munitions diminish.
" The machinery and equipment required
" for these purposes are evidently brought
" from Belgian factories. The destruction
" of whole factories for the production of
" grapeshot is effected in order to main-
" tain at its present level the supply of
" iron and steel in Germany, or, if pos-
" sible, to raise it. * * * It is not only
" possible, but even evident, that, in view
" of all the steps taken by the military
" authorities, the question of keeping up
" work in some of the factories of the oc-
" cupied country must be subordinated to
" considerations tending to spare the lives
" of German soldiers and thus protect our
" national power."

This record of the deliberate crippling of Belgian industries was brought up to March 6, 1918, by an official dispatch to the United States Government, quoting the statement of Belgian refugees to the effect that dynamite was being used to destroy machines and equipment in factories in the Mons district. Rails of tramways were being taken up, and in some cities they were entirely destroyed. Meanwhile, deportation of men, and even of children 13 years old, was proceeding, several hundred boys between the ages of 13 and 15 being taken from Mons alone.

Spoliation of Belgian Churches

Cardinal Mercier's Protest

CARDINAL MERCIER, Archbishop of Malines, issued the following letter to the clergy and people of his diocese on March 2, 1918:

My Very Dear Brethren:

The painful tidings, announced semi-officially on Feb. 8, by the occupying power, have been confirmed. The bulletin of laws and edicts, dated Feb. 21, requires an inventory of the bells and organs of our churches. Informed by experience, we need not delude ourselves; the inventory of today is the signal for the requisition of tomorrow.

The repeated protests of the Sovereign Pontiff, our appeal to the Chancellor of the Empire, appear thus to have been in vain.

Your Christian hearts will bleed. At a time when we are in such need of comfort, a veil of mourning will descend upon our land, covering like a shroud our every day. It is to be for Catholic Belgium an interminable Way of the Cross.

It is true, is it not, dear brethren, that we should have borne this sorrow, added to so many others, if it had concerned ourselves alone, but this time the rights of God, of our Saviour, Jesus, the freedom of the Church and of her heritage are to be sacrificed to what is called necessity, that is, to the military need of our enemies.

" This term, liberty of the Church, rings harshly on the ears of politicians," writes the great Dom Gueranger. They immediately discern therein the signs of a conspiracy. Now there is no thought in our minds either of conspiracy or of revolt, but of the indefeasible affirmation of the rights granted to His Immaculate Spouse by our Saviour, Jesus.

The freedom of the Church lies in her complete independence with regard to all secular powers, not alone in her teachings of the Word, in the administering of the sacraments, in the untrammeled relations between all ranks of her Divine hierarchy, but also in the publishing and applying of her disciplinary decrees—in the conservation and administration of her temporal heritage.

" Nothing in the world is dearer to God
" than this liberty of His Church," says St. Anselm.

The Apostolic See, through the medium of Pope Pius VIII., wrote on June 30, 1830, to the Bishops of the Rhine Province:
" It is in virtue of a Divine order that
" the Church, spotless spouse of the Im-
" maculate Lamb, Jesus Christ, is free
" and subject to no earthly dominion."

" This freedom of the Church," continues Dom Gueranger, " is the bulwark of the
" very sanctuary, hence, the shepherd,
" sentinel of Israel, should not wait until
" the enemy has entered into the fold to

"sound the cry of alarm. The duty of "protecting his flock begins for him at "the moment of the enemy's siege of his "outposts, upon whose safety depends the "police of the entire city."

In the execution of this duty of our pastoral office we protest, dear brethren, against the injury which the forcible seizure of church property will cause to the liberty of our mother, the Holy Church.

We add that the removal of the bells without the consent of the religious authorities and despite their protests will be a sacrilege.

The bell is, in fact, a sacred object, its function is sacred. It is a consecrated object; that is to say, it is devoted irrevocably to Divine service. It has been not only blessed but anointed by the Bishop with the holy oil and the holy chrism, just as you were anointed and consecrated at holy baptism; just as anointed and consecrated as the priest's hands which are to touch the consecrated wafer.

The function of the bell is holy. The bell is sanctified by the Holy Ghost, says the liturgy, sanctificetur a Spiritu Sancto, to the end that, in its voice, the faithful shall recognize the voice of the Church calling her children to hasten to her breast.

It announced your initiation into Christian life, your confirmation, your first communion. It announced, dear parents, your Christian marriage; it weeps for the dead; thrice daily it marks the mystery of the Incarnation; it recalls the immolation of the Lamb of God on the altar of sacrifice; it sings the joys of Sabbath rest, the cheer of our festivals of Christmas, of Easter, of Pentecost. Her prayers are associated with all the events and all the great memories, happy or unhappy, of the fatherland.

Yes, the seizure of our bells will be a profanation; whosoever assists in it will lend the hand to a sacrilege.

The Catholic Bishops of Germany and Austria will not deny these principles. If their patriotism has wrung from them concessions which must have cost their religious spirit dear, patriotism with us confirms on the contrary the law of resistance. We would be betraying the Church and the fatherland were we so cowardly as to permit without a public act of reprobation the taking away of metal to be converted by the enemy into engines of destruction, destined to carry death into the ranks of the heroes who are sacrificing themselves for us.

The authorities, strangers to our beliefs, will not be greatly moved, I fear, by the protest, however worthy of respect, of our religious consciences, but at least they should remember their given word and not tear up a juridical code which their believers have elaborated with us and promulgated. Morality has force of law for Governments as for individuals.

On Oct. 18, 1907, the representatives of forty-four Governments gathered together at The Hague, drew up a convention concerning laws and customs of war on land.

They were assembled, they proclaimed unanimously, for a double purpose—in the first place to safeguard peace and prevent armed conflicts between nations; and, in the second place, in the extreme hypothesis of an appeal to arms, to serve, nevertheless, the interests of humanity and the progressive demands of civilization by restraining, as much as possible, the rigors of war.

To this convention there was annexed a set of regulations which, the general tenor of its clauses having been examined a first and a second time, respectively, during the peace conferences held in 1874 at Brussels and in 1899 at The Hague, was submitted a third time, in 1907, to careful study at the second conference at The Hague and signed by the plenipotentiaries of all the great powers.

The first signer of this code of international law in wartime was Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, delegated by his Majesty, the German Emperor, King of Prussia.

Articles 52 and 46 of the regulations annexed to the convention are formulated as follows:

"Article 52. Neither requisitions in kind "nor service can be demanded from com-"munes or inhabitants, except for the "necessities of the army of occupation."

"Article 46. Family honor and rights, "individual life and private property, as "well as religious convictions and worship, must be respected."

Evidently bells and organs are not necessary to supply the needs of the army of occupation, they lie in the domain of private property, are destined for the exercise of Catholic worship.

The transformation of these articles of the Church into war munitions will be, therefore, a flagrant violation of international law, an act of force perpetrated on the weaker by the stronger because he is the stronger.

We Belgians, who have never wished nor acted other than well toward Germany, we are the weak ones. I call you all to witness, brethren, is it not true that prior to 1914 a current of sympathy, of esteem, of generous hospitality was turning our trusting hearts toward those who are today so harshly oppressing us? You will remember that on the very day of the invasion the first lines that flowed from my pen spoke to you of those "whom we have the sorrow to call our enemies." For four years Germany has been rewarding us. Nevertheless, we will not rebel. You will not seek in desperate recourse to

material force the sudden triumph of our rights.

Courage does not reside in passionate impulse but in self-mastery. We will offer to God in reparation for the sacrilege which is about to be committed against Him, and for the final success of our cause, our supreme sacrifice.

Let us pray, one for the other, that the arm of the All-Powerful may lend us support; "Lord," says the Holy Spirit, in the Book of Esther, "Lord, Sovereign Mas-"ter, all is subject to Thy authority. "Nothing, nobody, is capable of resisting "Thee if Thou shalt decide to save Is-"rael. * * * Grant our prayer, Lord! "Transform our grief into joy, so that, "living, we may glorify Thy name. "* * * Thou art just, Lord. Now they "are no longer satisfied to weigh us down "under the most grievous servitude, they "intend to silence the voices that praise "Thee and to tarnish the glory of the "temple. Remember us, O Lord. Reveal "Thyself to us in this hour of our tribula-"tion. * * * O God, Thou art exalted "above all, hearken to the voice of those "who place their hopes in Thee. Deliver "us from the blows of injustice and grant "that our courage may control our fears."

In the name of the freedom of the Church, in the name of the sanctity of the Catholic religion, in the name of international law, we condemn and reprove the seizure of the bells and organs of our churches; we forbid the clergy and faithful of our diocese to co-operate toward their removal; we refuse to accept the price of the sacred objects taken from us by violence.

Strong in invincible hope, we await the hour of our God.

D. J. CARDINAL MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Belgium's Appeal to the Bolsheviki

The Belgian Government, shortly after the Bolshevist Government of Russia deserted the Allies and disbanded its armies, sent this eloquent appeal to Petrograd:

BY the treaty of April 19, 1839, Russia placed her guarantee upon the independence and neutrality of Belgium. On Aug. 4, 1914, when Germany had violated this neutrality—which the German Government also had guaranteed—Belgium appealed to Russia for aid. To this appeal Russia replied on Aug. 5 by promising the assistance of her arms. Thus Belgium entered into the struggle for independence and neutrality, trusting in the unswerving loyalty of the Russian people.

On Feb. 14, 1916, Russia undertook to renew by a solemn act the pledges she had made regarding Belgium, "heroically faithful to her international obligations." Russia declared before a listening world that she would not cease hostilities until Belgium should be re-established in her independence and liberally indemnified for the losses she had endured. Furthermore, Russia promised her aid in assuring the commercial and financial rehabilitation of Belgium.

The authorities placed in power by the Russian revolution have just signed—on Feb. 9 and March 3, 1918—treaties under which they lay down their arms before the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

Yet Belgium is still the prey of the imperial armies, which oppress her, decimating her population by privations and pitiless repressions, and overwhelming her with the worst kind of moral tortures. To these violences the Belgian Nation continues to oppose forces of resistance drawn from a consciousness of right, from the beauty of her cause, from her love of liberty.

Respect for treaties is the basis of the moral and juridical relations of States and the condition of an honest and regular international order. Carried into the war by a will to compel respect for a treaty which Russia had guaranteed, Belgium is pursuing the struggle without wavering, and at the price of the most cruel sacrifices. She considers that the promise of Russia, in which she trusted, is still binding. She refuses to believe that the Russian people, master of its destinies, will irrevocably abandon the promises made in its name. Confident in the honor and loyalty of the Russian people, Belgium reserves to herself the right to implore the execution of obligations whose permanent character places them outside any internal changes of régime in the State.

Serbia's Hopes and Russia's Defection

By Nikola Pashitch

Premier and Foreign Minister of Serbia

[Speech delivered March 31, 1918, before the Skupshtina at Corfu and especially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

SINCE the last meeting of this Assembly a great number of events have come to pass which have measurably modified the general military and political situation. One of our greatest allies, Russia, has retired from the battlefield, but another ally, quite as powerful as Russia, but doubtless not yet bringing to bear all the force of which she is capable, has rushed to our aid.

These two principal events, with others of less importance, have perceptibly changed the situation which existed more than a year ago, when Germany proposed to us the conclusion of a peace "honorable" for both the belligerent groups. Already at that time had Germany perceived the impossibility of fighting her adversaries by military force alone, and was obliged to resort to other means, which she had already employed, although in a more restrained fashion. So Germany decided to make more energetic use of her hidden channels with the idea of disorganizing in the quickest possible time the unity of her adversaries. She contrived intrigues, employing different methods according to the country where they were to be used and where she believed they would succeed.

You still remember the case of Miassoyedov, which was perpetrated with the aim of annihilating an entire Russian army. You also remember the attempt of the enemy to have Ireland revolt, an experiment which dismally failed owing to the prompt and energetic measures taken by the British Government. Surely you have a vivid memory of the criminal exploitation which the enemy Governments made in Italy of the Papal note in favor of peace. Also, you remember the numerous cases of arson of munition plants by the action of their agents, and the enemy propaganda of a premature peace for the benefit of Germany, employed to the limit by pacifists and certain imperialist and international adventurers through lectures and "defeatist" newspapers in neutral countries.

RUSSIA ALONE DECEIVED

All these intrigues were clothed in fine phrases and put forward with high humanitarian ideals, by which the enemy propagated monarchistic ideas in republics and republican ideas in monarchies, eulogizing a military régime in democratic countries and in autocracies democratic, republican, and even anarchistic ideals.

They all had one sole end—to provoke internal disorders and discord among the Allies in order to divert the attention of Germany's adversaries from the principal aim. In every allied country these secret machinations of our enemies were unmasked and repelled. Repelled—except in Russia. All these intrigues and secret machinations could not succeed anywhere except in Russia, where there are many Germans, and where our enemies managed to concentrate the entire attention of a people in the midst of war upon their internal organization. In this way the possibility was placed in the hands of enemies—most dangerous to the liberty of the people and to their right to dispose freely of their destiny—to guide more easily the struggle with free and democratic nations reared against Prussianism in order to defend the rights of the weak and prevent the enslaving of other countries and other peoples.

RUSSIAN LIBERTY DESTROYED

The first revolutionary movement in Russia was directed against an autocratic and irresponsible Government. On the side of the revolution they pretended that the Government had initiated pour-

parlers for a separate peace with Germany unknown to the Russian people and the Allies. After this first movement, a second took place in Russia demanding a democratic peace "without annexations and indemnities" on the basis of the right of peoples to determine their destiny freely and for themselves.

This second revolutionary provisional Government not having the desire to cut the bonds which attached Russia to the democratic and allied countries, a third movement followed, which did not hesitate to cut the bonds uniting Russia to the Allies, to demobilize the Russian armies—an act contrary to all reason, even revolutionary—and to initiate pourparlers with the enemy at Brest-Litovsk for a separate peace.

The result of these pourparlers was the capitulation of the Maximalists to Prussian militarism, the disguised annexation by Germany of the great Baltic provinces of Russia, and the conclusion of peace between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, by which the latter separated from her enfeebled sister in order consciously to aid the enemies of the Slav race. The recognition of the independence of Finland, Caucasia, and Poland by the Central Powers followed, and, upon its heels, disintegration and general discord in Russia finally giving place to the present civil and fratricidal war.

We would not wish to deny that the Russian revolution counted for something in the ranks of its sincere combatants in the way of high social ideals, for democratic reforms, and for liberty. But, judging from its results, it is impossible to deny that the Russian revolution sustained a German influence, and that this influence so far has been useful only to Germany, who still makes war on Russia in order to prevent the latter from unifying her enfeebled peoples and re-establishing her position in the world.

A SHAMEFUL CATASTROPHE

The Russian revolutionists fell before the blow of Prussian militarism and surrendered to it the peoples who had hoped to obtain the right of self-determination. It is possible, even probable, that the situation in Russia may improve. But at present what the Germans aimed at in Russia has been attained. They have taken away Russian provinces, incited civil war in the Russian fatherland, and removed the danger of the Russian armies which threatened them. These armies having been prematurely demobilized for incomprehensible reasons, the enemy is able to direct all his forces against his other adversaries. He has also obtained in this way a considerable amount of war material and food.

This catastrophe, which has covered the Russian people with shame, has been a lesson to all other nations, for it has definitely confirmed the conviction that it was certainly Germany who provoked this terrible war with the aim of conquest and hegemony.

But the great and free America did not wait for this moment before deciding to declare war on Germany, who had placed above the principles of right and justice that of brute force. On account of the Germans' conduct in the war, which surpassed all known horror and barbarism, not sparing even neutral nations, the United States became convinced that it was its duty to restrain this bestial force if the world were not to fall under the yoke of Prussian militarism. America entered the war to defend civilization and the right of people to dispose of themselves.

AMERICANS TO THE BREACH

The appearance of North America on the war stage filled the place made vacant by the surrender of Russia. Our allies having come to the conviction that they could count no longer on Russia, and that it would even be dangerous to regard her as a military asset, have employed all their forces in conformity with the new situation in order to fortify the solidarity which unites them and to augment their military and material force in proportion to what they had lost by the withdrawal of Russia, all with the idea of assuring the world a just and durable peace based on the liberty of the people to be self-determining. The strength of the army of our allies is greater by far than that of the enemy, not only in man power but also in mate-

rial. Organization is improving, and on all questions there is complete accord. Quite recently German war atrocities decided Japan to participate still more actively in the struggle.

The Serbian people, who have made the greatest sacrifice and given the finest proofs of their loyalty and fidelity toward the Allies, may therefore be certain that their sacrifices have not been in vain, and that their ideals will be realized if they continue to give in the future the evidence of their military and civil virtues, and if, as in the past, they abhor all intrigues having for their aim the destruction of our concord and union in defense of the interests of our people, who bear three names, but who form but one nation. We have observed that Austria-Hungary, particularly in these latter days, has intensified her intrigues and her calumnies against the Serbian people. She began by spreading in Western Europe the false rumor that Serbia had tried, in an indirect way, to initiate pourparlers for a separate peace, because in our country and on the front of the Serbian Army she had suggested that she would be disposed to end the war against Serbia were it not for the fact that King Peter and the Serbian Government were opposed to the project. All such intrigues and culumnies have only one end—to destroy the faith which our allies have in the Serbian people, to rupture the national concord, and by our discord and quarrels to assure the conquest of the Serbian Nation.

SERBIA STILL FAITHFUL

But our people know Austria-Hungary too well to be taken in by these infamous intrigues and to believe her lying words. The nation remains faithful to her noble allies, who are pouring out their blood for little and weak nations, and will not deviate one hair's breadth from her stand until the end. The Serbian people have given all that they have, and now, although few in numbers, they still stand faithfully by the side of the Allies. They should never lose sight of the fact that it was Austria-Hungary who provoked the war with the idea of annihilating Serbia.

Our allies will not fail to acquire the conviction that the various peoples of Austria-Hungary cannot be free, and that a durable peace cannot be guaranteed so long as these peoples shall live in the State of the Hapsburgs, who from peoples once free have made Germano-Magyar slaves and have prevented their development by subjecting them to Germano-Magyar exploitation.

Germanism in its drive toward the Orient hurled itself upon Serbia, and only as a single united nation of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, closely bound to Italy, can we obstruct the German push toward the Orient and Adriatic, and aid in the establishment of a durable peace.

We ask only justice. We demand that slavery of peoples be abolished, just as slavery of individuals was suppressed. We demand equality among all nations, whether great or small, the fraternity and equality of all nationalities, and the foundation of a free State of all the reunited Jugoslavs. The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the complete reestablishment of independent Belgium; the re-establishment of the kingdom of all the Czechs, also that of all the Poles, the union of Italians with Italy, of Rumanians with Rumania, of Greeks with Greece, all of which would constitute the greatest and most solid guarantee for a just and lasting international peace. Hence we proclaim what should be realized soon or later—if not after this war then after a new shedding of blood—because this realization is identified with the progress of civilization and of humanity.

These great ends, humane and just, which are incarnated with the life and growth of civilization, we repeat, should be realized. They embrace those great ideals which spring from the soul and sentiments of individuals and races, and which will vanquish the brute force of certain anachronistic States, just as, in the last century, they vanquished the brute force of the individual.

Let us pledge our honor and eternal gratitude to all the peoples who are fighting for the right of all nations to shape their own destiny and for an international peace both just and lasting.

Rumania's Peace Treaty

Why the Onerous Terms of the Central Powers Had to be Accepted

THE peace treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed at Bucharest May 6, 1918, and is called "the peace of Bucharest." Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, was Chairman of the plenipotentiaries representing the Central Powers. A comprehensive synopsis of the terms of the treaty appears elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

A writer in The London Times explains why Rumania was compelled to accept the enemy's exacting terms. He quotes General Averescu, the Rumanian Prime Minister, in these words:

> If Rumania accepts the humiliating German peace terms and is ready to yield to her enemies the dearest part of her territory, she does not do it only to spare the lives of the remnants of her army, but for the sake of her allies, too. If Rumania refuses the German conditions today she may be able to resist another month, but the results will be fatal. A month later she might have to lose even the shadow of independence which is left to her now; and then, no doubt, the Germans would deal with her in the same way as they dealt with occupied France and with Belgium. The whole Rumanian army would be made prisoners, and would be sent to work on the western front against the Allies, while the civilian population would be compelled to work in ammunition and other factories for the Kaiser's army. I fought in the ranks in 1877 to help my country to win the Dobrudja. You may imagine how I feel now, having to sign the treaty which gives it to our worst enemies. But we are compelled to amputate an important part of our body in order to save the rest of it. However painful it may be, we are bound to do it.

DESERTED BY RUSSIA

To understand Rumania's situation, as The London Times correspondent goes on to say, we have to consider her position since Kerensky's fall. At the end of November, 1917, the front from the Bukowina to the Black Sea was held by a Russo-Rumanian force. Its flanks from Dorna-Watra to Tergu-Ocna and from Ivesti to the Black Sea were held by three Russian armies, numbering about 450,000 men, and by two Rumanian armies of about 180,000 men. The Russian armies were, of course, weakened by many desertions and by lack of discipline, so that their actual was much less than their nominal strength. Nevertheless, about 350,000 Russians were still holding the front at that time. When the Russian armistice was signed, Rumania was compelled, by the joint threats of Germany and the Soviets of the Rumanian front, to adhere to it. From that day the Russian troops began to leave the trenches, not in hundreds, as they did before, but in masses of thousands at a time. Thus, at the end of January, 1918, hardly 50,000 Russians remained on the whole Rumanian front, and they had no desire to fight the enemy, but, being from Siberia or some other remote part of Russia, found it more convenient to spend their time in Rumania than to go back to their own country. They could easily raise money by selling to the highest bidder (Austrian or Rumanian) their guns, rifles, motor cars, &c.

For a certain time many—especially the French—believed strongly in the Ukraine and in the promises of the Rada. Much money had been spent in recruiting an army of the Ukraine which was supposed to fill the gaps left by the Russian Army on the southwestern front. All that I saw of this army was a group of about 150 boys, none of them over the age of 16, armed with rifles with fixed bayonets, a pistol, a sword, and a dagger. All wore spurs, though none of them had a horse. They paraded in the main streets of Jassy daily between 11 and 12. I calculated that every one of these boys cost the Entente well over £10,000. But in time the most incorrigible dreamers realized that the Ukraine had played a trick on Rumania. Then the handsome

Ukrainian toy soldiers were withdrawn from circulation, and no army ever replaced the Russians.

In the meantime, the Rumanian Government decided, for political and military reasons, to occupy Bessarabia. This operation required no less than seven divisions. Thus at the beginning of February the same front which was held in November by over 500,000 men was occupied by barely 120,000. Army supplies were getting shorter every day; and Rumania, being in a state of war with the Bolshevist Government, was completely cut off from the rest of her allies. In these circumstances Germany had an easy prey, and dealt with it in true German fashion.

AN IMPERIOUS SUMMONS

When the treaty with the Ukraine was signed Rumanian Headquarters received a note from General Morgen, the German Commander in Chief, saying that, as peace with Russia had been concluded, the Rumanian armistice had come to an end, and that delegates should be sent without delay to Focsani to examine the new situation. The Rumanian delegates arrived at Focsani next day. They were received with such insolence by the German delegates that the Chief of the Rumanian General Staff, General Lupesco, threatened to leave immediately. The discussions, however, did not last very long, and the mission came back with the announcement that Rumania had to decide within four days whether she was ready to discuss peace terms or not. A Crown Council was held immediately; and the majority of the Generals declared that the army could resist for a month at the most. M. Bratiano and M. Take Jonescu, who could not consent to make peace with the enemy, resigned, and the King asked General Averescu, the most popular man in Rumania, to form a new Cabinet

Meanwhile, King Ferdinand received a telegram from Berlin, by which he was warned that the Austro-German Government would not discuss peace terms with a Cabinet which included M. Bratiano or any member of his former Cabinet. The feelings of the King of Rumania—when he saw that even before peace discussions had begun the enemy had begun to interfere in Rumania's internal politics—can be appreciated. But King Ferdinand carried his head high, as he had done all through the tragic misfortunes of his country, and was indifferent to German arrogance. He replied to Herr von Kühlmann that Rumania was an independent country, and had a right to any Government she pleased. But none of the members of the former Cabinet came into the new one. General Averescu formed a Government which had the tragic task of concluding peace, and thus of annihilating, temporarily at least, all the tremendous efforts that Rumania had made during the preceding fifty years to become, economically as well as politically, the leading power in the Balkans.

THREE HUNGRY ENEMIES

The peace negotiations were supposed to last for a fortnight at most. In fact, they were nothing more than a farce, for the Germans allowed no discussion at all. They simply laid their preliminary conditions before the Rumanian delegates, and, taking advantage of the military helplessness of Rumania, told them: "You can take it or can leave it." The Rumanian delegates made a few attempts to discuss the German terms, but they soon found that it was useless and that the only thing to do was to yield.

The fact was that Rumania had to satisfy three hungry enemies. Each had his own object, but in each case the result was the same from the point of view of Rumania—subjection to the German yoke. The Bulgarians were eager to accomplish their ideal of "a great Bulgaria" by the annexation of the Dobrudja. Therefore, Rumania had to give up the Dobrudja. The Austrians, under Magyar pressure, demanded the surrender of the Carpathian passes—a condition which was pressed by Count Czernin, who remembered with bitterness the rebuff that he had suffered from the Rumanian King and Government at the time when Rumania came into the war. The Germans were determined to seize the immensely rich oilfields of Rumania and to

secure for an unlimited period Rumanian wheat for Germany at a price to be fixed by German authorities. For years Germany had tried to get control of the Rumanian oilfields. Where bribes and the offer of a heavy price had failed, the chance of war now insured success. The oilfields were seized nominally by way of a monopoly for ninety-nine years.

GERMANY'S SHARE OF BOOTY

As usual, Germany's allies had to yield up some of the prey to her. Thus the Germans succeeded in setting up a condominium over the most important part of the Dobrudja, between Constanza and the mouths of the Danube. From Campina, the centre of the oilfields district, a pipe line runs direct to Constanza, where the oil can be stored in enormous tanks, which were left practically untouched when Constanza was abandoned in November, 1916. It is essential for Germany that she should control the pipe line, and this she will certainly do under the form of the condominium.

As for the grain supply, the Germans, who had had to pay a heavy price for Rumanian grain before Rumania went to war, owing especially to British competition, were particularly careful to insure now against the repetition of anything so unpleasant. The form of the agreement which was dictated to Rumania on this point is that the surplus is to go to Germany after the needs of Rumania have been satisfied. What the needs of Rumania may be will be decided by a Rumanian commission; but this is to be under German control, and there is not much doubt that the ration allowed to the Rumanian population will be proportioned pretty accurately to the needs of Germany.

These territorial and economic advantages secured, Germany went on to add humiliation for Rumania to the heavy toll of material loss. They insisted that the eight Rumanian divisions which were holding the Rumanian front should be demobilized at once under the control of German staff officers. Finally, the Germans asked that the Rumanian Government should give all possible facilities to a German force to pass through Rumania to Odessa. In point of fact, on March 10, long before the peace conditions were settled, the first German battalions passed through Galatz on their way to the Ukraine.

All these humiliating conditions had to be accepted. The motive of the Germans in piling up their enactions so frequently was evidently to compel the Averescu Cabinet, which they suspected of being pro-ally, to resign. They hoped to force the King to form a Cabinet of their Bucharest friends. In this they succeeded. The present Government of Rumania may be pro-German; but the Rumanian Nation—from the last peasant soldier, who brought the Germans to a stand last Summer at Maraseshti and Oitoz, to the King—bitterly hates everything German. Isolated as Rumania is now, she waits breathlessly for the victory of the Allies, hoping to be helped to free herself from German dominion.

The Peace of Bucharest

Synopsis of Rumania's Peace Treaty

FOLLOWING is a comprehensive summary of the treaty finally signed by the Rumanian Government at Bucharest, May 6, 1918:

Clause 1.—*Re-establishment of Peace and Friendship.*

Article I. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, on the one hand, and Rumania on the other, declare the state of war ended and that the contracting parties are determined henceforth to live together in peace and friendship.

Article II. Diplomatic and Consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. The admission of Consuls will be reserved for a future agreement.

Clause 2.—*Demobilization of the Rumanian Forces.*

Article III. The demobilization of the Ru-

manian Army, which is now proceeding, will immediately after peace is signed be carried out according to the prescriptions contained in Articles IV. and VII.

Article IV. The regular military bureau, the supreme military authorities and all the military institutions will remain in existence as provided by the last peace budget. The demobilization of divisions eleven to fifteen will be continued as stipulated in the treaty of Focsani signed on March 8 last. Of the Rumanian divisions one to ten, the two infantry divisions now employed in Bessarabia, including the Jäger battalions which are the remnants of dissolved Jäger divisions, and including two cavalry divisions of the Rumanian Army, will remain on a war footing until the danger arising from the military operations now being carried on in the Ukraine by the Central Powers ceases to exist.

The remaining eight divisions, including the staff, shall be maintained in Moldavia at the reduced peace strength. Each division will be composed of four infantry regiments, two cavalry regiments, two field artillery regiments, and one battalion of pioncers, together with the necessary technical and transport troops. The total number of the infantry of the eight divisions shall not exceed 20,000 men; the total number of cavalry shall not exceed 3,200; the entire artillery of the Rumanian Army, apart from the mobile divisions, shall not exceed 9,000 men. The divisions remaining mobilized in Bessarabia must, in case of demobilization, be reduced to the same peace standard as the eight divisions mentioned in Article 4.

All other Rumanian troops which did not exist in peace time will at the end of their term of active military service remain as in peace time. Reservists shall not be called up for training until a general peace has been concluded.

Article V. Guns, machine guns, small arms, horses, and cars and ammunition, which are available owing to the reduction or the dissolution of the Rumanian units, shall be given into the custody of the Supreme Command of the allied (Teutonic) forces in Rumania until the conclusion of a general peace. They shall be guarded and superintended by Rumanian troops under supervision of the allied command. The amount of ammunition to be left to the Rumanian Army in Moldavia is 250 rounds for each rifle, 2,500 for each machine gun, and 150 for each gun. The Rumanian Army is entitled to exchange unserviceable material at the depots of the occupied region, in agreement with the allied Supreme Command, and to demand from the depots the equivalent of the ammunition spent. The divisions in Rumania which remain mobilized will receive their ammunition requirements on a war basis.

Article VI. The demobilized Rumanian troops to remain in Moldavia until the evacuation of the occupied Rumanian regions. Excepted from this provision are military bureaus and men mentioned in Article 5, who are required for the supervision of the arms and material laid down in these regions. The men and reserve officers who have been demobilized can return to the occupied regions. Active and formerly active officers require, in order to return to these regions, permission of the chief army command of the allied forces.

Article VII. A General Staff officer of the allied powers, with staff, will be attached to the Rumanian Commander in Chief in Moldavia, and a Rumanian General Staff officer, with staff, will be attached as liaison officer to the chief command of the allied forces in the occupied Rumanian districts.

Article VIII. The Rumanian naval forces will be left to their full complement and equipment, in so far as their views, in accordance with Article IX., are not to be limited until affairs in Bessarabia are cleared, whereupon these forces are to be brought to the usual peace standard. Excepted herefrom are river forces required for the purposes of river police and naval forces on the Black Sea, employed for the protection of maritime traffic and the restoration of mine-free fairways. Immediately after the signing of the peace treaty these river forces will, on a basis of special arrangement, be placed at the disposal of the authorities intrusted with river policing. The Nautical Black Sea Commission will receive the right of disposing of the naval forces on the Black Sea, and a naval officer is to be attached to this commission in order to restore connection therewith.

Article IX. All men serving in the army and navy, who in peace time were employed in connection with harbors or shipping, shall, on demobilization, be the first to be dismissed in order that they may find employment in their former occupations.

Clause 3.—*Cessions of territory outlined in Articles X., XI., and XII.*

Article X. With regard to Dobrudja, which, according to Paragraph 1 of the peace preliminaries, is to be added by Rumania, the following stipulations are laid down: (A) Rumania cedes again to Bulgaria, with frontier rectifications, Bulgarian territory that fell to her by virtue of the peace treaty concluded at Bucharest in 1913. (Attached is a map showing the exact extent of the frontier rectification, with a note to the effect that it forms an essential part of the peace treaty.) A commission composed of representatives of the allied powers shall shortly after the signature of the treaty lay down and demarkate on the spot the new frontier line in Dobrudja. The Danube frontier between the regions ceded to Bulgaria and Rumania follows the river valley. Directly after the signature of the treaty further particulars shall be decided upon regarding the definition of the valley. Thus

RUMANIA AND ITS LOST TERRITORY: THE BLACK AREA SHOWS THE SOUTHERN PART OF DOBRUDJA, WON FROM THE BULGARS IN THE LAST BALKAN WAR, WHICH RUMANIA IS FORCED TO RETURN TO BULGARIA. THE SHADED AREA—NORTHERN DOBRUDJA—WHICH INCLUDES THE MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE AND RUMANIA'S ONLY ACCESS TO THE BLACK SEA, IS CEDED TO THE CENTRAL POWERS, WHO WILL ADMINISTER IT THROUGH A MIXED COMMISSION. THE SHADING ALONG RUMANIA'S WESTERN BORDER INDICATES THE AUSTRO-GERMAN "RECTIFICATION," WHICH GIVES AUSTRIA ALL THE MOUNTAIN PASSES AND IMPORTANT MINERAL LANDS.

the demarkation shall take place in Autumn, 1918, at low water level.

(B) Rumania cedes to the allied powers that portion of Dobrudja up to the Danube north of the new frontier line described under Section A; that is to say, between the confluence of the stream and the Black Sea, to the St. George branch of the river. The Danube frontier between the territory ceded to the allied powers and Rumania will be formed by the river valley. The allied powers and Rumania will undertake to see that Rumania shall receive an assured trade route to the Black Sea, by way of Tchernavoda and Constanza, (Kustendje.)

Article XI. says that Rumania agrees that her frontier shall undergo rectification in favor of Austria-Hungary as indicated on the map, and continues:

"Two mixed commissions, to be composed of equal numbers of representatives of the powers concerned, are immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty to fix a new frontier line on the spot."

Article XII. Property in the ceded regions of Rumania passes without indemnification to the States which acquire these regions. Those States to which the ceded territories fall shall make agreements with Rumania on the following points: First, with regard to the allegiance of the Rumanian inhabitants of these regions and the manner in which they are to be accorded the right of option; secondly, with regard to the property of communes split by the new frontier; thirdly and fourthly, with regard to administrative and juridical matters; fifthly, with regard to the effect of the changes of territory on dioceses.

Clause 4 deals with war indemnities, of which Article XIII. declares that the contracting parties mutually renounce indemni-

fication of their war costs, and special arrangements are to be made for the settlement of damages caused by the war.

The fifth clause relates to the evacuation of occupied territories, embodied in Articles XIV. to XXIV., summed up as follows:

"The occupied Rumanian territories shall be evacuated at times to be later agreed upon. The strength of the army of occupation shall, apart from the formation employed in economic functions, not surpass six divisions. Until the ratification of the treaty the present occupation administration continues, but immediately after the signature of the treaty the Rumanian Government has the power to supplement the corps of officials by such appointments or dismissals as may seem good to it."

Up to the time of evacuation, a civil official of the occupation administration shall always be attached to the Rumanian Ministry in order to facilitate so far as possible the transfer of the civil administration to the Rumanian authorities. The Rumanian authorities must follow the directions which the commanders of the army of occupation consider requisite in the interest of the security of the occupied territory, as well as the security, maintenance, and distribution of their troops.

For the present, railways, posts, and telegraphs will remain under military administration, and will, in accordance with proper agreements, be at the disposal of the authorities and population. As a general rule, the Rumanian courts will resume jurisdiction in the occupied territories to their full extent. The allied powers will retain jurisdiction, as well as the power of police supervision, over those belonging to the army of occupation. Punishable acts against the army of occupation will be judged by its military tribunals, and also offenses against the orders of the occupation administration. Persons can only return to the occupied territories in proportion as the Rumanian Government provides for their security and maintenance.

The army of occupation's right to requisition is restricted to wheat, peas, beans, fodder, wool, cattle, and meat from the products of 1918, and, further, to timber, oil and oil products, always observing proper regard for an orderly plan of procuring these commodities, as well as satisfying the home needs of Rumania.

From the ratification of the treaty onward the army of occupation shall be maintained at the expense of Rumania. A separate agreement will be made with regard to the details of the transfer of the civil administration, as well as with regard to the withdrawal of the regulations of the occupation administration. Money spent by the allied powers in the occupied territories on public works, including industrial undertakings, shall be made good on their transfer. Until the evacuation these undertakings shall remain under the military administration.

Clause 6.—*Regulations regarding navigation on the Danube.*

Article XXIV. Rumania shall conclude a new Danube Navigation act with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, regulating the legal position on the Danube from the point where it becomes navigable, with due regard for the prescriptions subsequently set forth under Sections A to D, and on conditions that the prescriptions under Section B shall apply equally for all parties to the Danube act. Negotiations regarding the new Danube Navigation act shall begin at Munich as soon as possible after the ratification of the treaty.

The sections follow: (A) Under the name Danube Mouth Commission, the European Danube Commission shall, under conditions subsequently set forth, be maintained as a permanent institution, empowered with the privileges and obligations hitherto appertaining to it for the river from Braila downward, inclusive of this port. The conditions referred to provide, among other things, that the commission shall henceforth only comprise representatives of States situated on the Danube or the European coasts of the Black Sea. The commission's authority extends from Braila downward to the whole of the arms and mouth of the Danube and adjoining parts of the Black Sea.

(B.) Rumania guarantees to the ships of the other contracting parties free navigation on the Rumanian Danube, including the harbors. Rumania shall levy no toll on ships or rafts of the contracting parties and their cargoes merely for the navigation of the river. Neither shall Rumania, in the future, levy on the river any tolls, save those permitted by the new Danube Navigation act.

Section C provides for the abolition after the ratification of the treaty of the Rumanian ad valorem duty of 1½ per cent. on imports and exports.

Articles XXV. and XXVI. deal with Danube questions and provide that Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Rumania are entitled to maintain warships on the Danube, which may navigate down stream to the sea and up stream as far as the upper frontier of Austria's territory, but are forbidden intercourse with the shore of another State or to put in there except under force majeure or with the consent of the State.

The powers represented on the Danube Mouth Commission are entitled to maintain two light warships each as guard ships at the mouth of the Danube.

Article XXVII. provides equal rights for all religious denominations, including Jews and Moslems, in Rumania, including the right to establish private schools.

Article XXVIII. provides that diversity of religion does not affect legal, political, or civil rights of the inhabitants, and, pending ratification of the treaty, a decree will be

proclaimed giving the full rights of Rumanian subjects to all those, such as Jews, having no nationality.

The remaining three articles provide that economic relations shall be regulated by separate treaties, coming into operation at the same time as the peace treaty. The same applies to the exchange of prisoners.

THE KAISER EXULTS

Emperor William replied to Chancellor von Hertling's congratulations on the conclusion of peace between Germany and Rumania with this message:

The termination of the state of war in the east fills me also with proud joy and gratitude. Thanks to God's gracious help, the German people, with never-failing patriotism, under brilliant military leadership and with the assistance of strong diplomacy, are fighting step by step for a happy future.

I can but convey my thanks on this occasion to you and also to your collaborators. God will help us to pass through the struggle which the hostile attitude of the powers, still under arms against us, has forced us to continue and to conclude it victoriously for the good of Germany and her allies.

Emperor William in a telegram to Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said:

The conclusion of peace with Rumania gives me an opportunity of expressing my joyful satisfaction that peace has now been given to the entire eastern front.

May rich blessings descend on the peoples concerned from the resumption of peaceful labor to which they can now devote themselves.

I thank you and your collaborators for the work done in loyal co-operation with our allies, and I confer on you as a sign of my appreciation the Order of the Royal Crown of the First Class.

Bessarabia Voluntarily United to Rumania

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, during the negotiations with Rumania explained in a public speech that Rumania would be compensated for the loss of territory on the Transylvanian border by taking the southern part of Bessarabia, the Russian province bordering Rumania on the east. The southern part of Bessarabia, however, has few Rumanians, while the northern part is largely populated by them. Subsequent events have apparently changed the Austro-German plans, for the whole of Bessarabia has voted almost unanimously for union with Rumania. The event was officially announced at Washington on April 22 through the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires, N. H. Lahovary, as follows:

On April 9 the National Assembly of Bessarabia voted by 86 against 3 for union of Bessarabia to Rumania. The Rumanian Premier was then at Kishinev (capital of Bessarabia) and took cognizance of the vote amid enthusiastic acclamation and declared this union to be definitive and indissoluble.

Bessarabian delegates went to Jassy on April 12 to present the homage of the people of Bessarabia to their Majesties the King and Queen of Rumania. A Te Deum was sung at the cathedral in the presence of the royal family, the Government, and the Bessarabian delegates. The Archbishop of Bessarabia was also there, having taken the place next to the Metropolitan of Moldavia, who celebrated the service.

After the ceremony was over a parade of the troops took place, followed by a luncheon given at the royal palace in honor of the Ministers of Bessarabia. His Majesty the King drank to the health of the united Rumanian and Bessarabian people, after witnessing the great historic event accomplished by the will of the people of Bessarabia and proclaiming indissoluble the union of the ancient province of the Moldavian crown to the mother country.

Bessarabia, according to Mr. Lahovary, has about 3,000,000 inhabitants, and more than three-fourths of these are Rumanians. "Bessarabia," he continued, "is one of the richest farm lands of what "was formerly Russia. The Bolsheviki "ravaged it frightfully during the Win- "ter months, and the country was only "saved by the Rumanian troops, who "were called in by the Bessarabians. Be- "cause of this help the Bolsheviki de- "clared war on Rumania, and there were "violent clashes between the Bolshevist "brigands and Rumanian troops. Finally "the latter ousted the Bolsheviki and "succeeded in restoring tranquillity, but "only after the Bolsheviki had committed "most frightful outrages and pillaged "the country. If Rumania was obliged "to make peace, it was due directly to "the attitude of the Bolsheviki toward "Rumania."

The War and the Bagdad Railway

A Study by Dr. Morris Jastrow

Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania

[From his book, "The War and the Bagdad Railway"]

Germany's project of a railway from Berlin to Bagdad, now rivaled by a new one from Berlin to Bombay via Russia, was one of the chief causes of the war. It dates from 1888, when a syndicate of German and British capital organized the Anatolian Railway, to be built from Haidar Pacha, opposite Constantinople, to Angora—about 360 miles. The German members later bought out the British interests. Further concessions were obtained, but in 1898 a much more ambitious plan was brought forward by the visit of the German Emperor to Sultan Abdul Hamid, and in 1899 the general policy of a line across Asia Minor was announced. This line, however, as a glance at the map will show, did not get beyond Angora; Russia killed that phase of the project. The Bagdad Railway was then organized in 1903, and obtained from Turkey an unprecedented concession running southeastward to the Persian Gulf. Both England and France were offered a minor share in the enterprise, but refused. The Germans thus remained in full control, at the same time obtaining all the French capital they needed through Swiss banks.

THE Bagdad Railway has been a nightmare resting heavily on all Europe for eighteen years—ever since the announcement in 1899 of the concession granted to the Anatolian Railway Company. No step ever taken by any European power anywhere has caused so much trouble, given rise to so many complications, and has been such a constant menace to the peace of the world. No European statesman to whom the destinies of his country have been committed has rested easily in the presence of this spectre of the twentieth century. In the last analysis the Bagdad Railway will be found to be the largest single contributing factor in bringing on the war, because through it more than through any other cause the mutual distrust among European powers has been nurtured until the entire atmosphere of international diplomacy became vitiated. The explanation of this remarkable phenomenon, transforming what appeared on the surface to be a magnificent commercial enterprise, with untold possibilities for usefulness, into a veritable curse, an excrescence on the body politic of Europe, is to be sought in the history of the highway through which the railway passes. The control of this highway is the key to the East—the Near and the Farther East as well. Such has been its rôle in the past—such is its significance today. * * *

The most recent events are merely the repetition on a large scale of such as took place thousands of years ago and at frequent intervals since. The weapons have changed, new contestants have arisen to take the place of civilizations that after serving their day faded out of sight, but the issue has ever remained the same. We are confronted by that issue today—the control of the highway that leads to the East. * * * The decisive battlefields for the triumph of democracy are in the West, but the decision for supremacy among European nations lies in the East. The Bagdad Railway is the most recent act in a drama the beginnings of which lie in the remote past. * * *

The course of events in the Near East since the entering wedge, represented by Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, is to be interpreted as the irresistible onslaught of the West to break down the barrier created in 1453. As we survey the successive steps in this onslaught, the struggle between France and England, culminating in the Convention of 1904, which gave France a dominant position in Morocco in return for allowing England a free hand in Egypt, the attempts of France and Russia to hedge in England in India, followed by England and Russia in dividing up their "spheres of influence" in Persia, the commercial and railway concessions secured by England, France, and Russia from Turkey, sinking ever deeper into a slough of des-

ROUTE OF BAGDAD RAILWAY
SCALE 0 50 100 150 200 OF MILES
Bagdad Railway – completed
Bagdad Railway – projected
Other Railways – completed
Other Railways – projected
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
TURKEY IN ASIA
ARABIA
SYRIA
Syrian Desert
CONSTANTINOPLE
Adrianople
Salonica
Smyrna
ATHENS
CRETE
THE DODECANESIA
CYPRUS
Sea of Marmora
Ereglis
Kastamuni
Sinope
Samsun
Trebizond
Batoum
Alexandropol
KARS
Kars
Kur R.
Nukha
Shusha
Araz R.
Adabazar
Boli
Angora
Eskishehr
Kizil-Irmak
Yuk
Kelkid R.
Balburt
Erzerum
Erzingian
Euphrates
Murad R.
Mush
Bitlis
Van
Lake Van
Pandorma
Esmid
Balikesri
Kutaia
Soma
Manissa
Ushak
Afiun-Karahissar
Sakaria
Haji Chelah
Divrik
Malitia
Harput
Kaisariyeh
Caesarea
Iraklin
Aghdena
Diarbekir
Mardin
Nesibin
Maltaia
Ninevah
Mosul
Nimrud
Arbela
Suleimaniyeh
Kerkuk
Kaleh-Sherget
Tekrit
Samarra
Hanikin
Sadijeh
Bagdad
Euphrates River
Tigris River
Kerbela
Kut el-Amara
Babylon
Hillah
Birs Nimrud
Amara
Kurna
Mejeda
Abu Shanrain
Ibara
Zubeir
Fao
Konia
Nigdeh
Bulgar Maden
Kizil Hisar
Marash
Aintab
Urfa
Birejik
Harran
Jerabhus
Has el ain
Karaman
Adana
Ermenek
Mughla
Aidin
Bunduk
Ergerdi
Chivril
Dinar
Afiun
Odemish
Sokia
Burnabat
Ephesus
Sardes
Magnesia
Aleppo
Alexandretta
Adeleftka
Antioch
Latakia
Hama
Homs
Tripoli
Beirut
Saida
Baalbek
Royak
Damascus
Bosra
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Ammon
Damietta
Port Said
Gaza
Palestine
Ma'an
Esmyrna
Aivali
Edremid
Burgaz
Ismid
Eski Shehr
Kaisarieh
Ak Shehr
Kara Hissar
Ak Dagh
Kara Dagh
Kizil Dagh
Kara Dagh
Kara Dagh
Kara

perate weakness, we see how these struggles, conventions, and partnerships all lead up to the dramatic climax—the struggle for the historic highway which is the key to the Near East. Its possession will mean in the future—as it always has in the past—dominion over Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and probably Arabia; and the Near East points its finger directly toward the Farther East. Under the modern symbol of railway control, Asia Minor, true to the genius of its history, once more looms up as a momentous factor in the world history. * * * The murder at Serajevo was merely the match applied to the pile all ready to be kindled. * * *

Full credit should be given to the German brains in which this project was hatched, and there is no reason to suspect that at the outset the German capitalists who fathered the enterprise were actuated by any other motive than the perfectly legitimate one to create a great avenue of commerce. When, however, the German Government entered the field as the backer and promoter of the scheme the political aspect of the railroad was moved into the foreground, and that aspect has since overshadowed the commercial one.

Had the original plan of the German group to run the Bagdad Railway across Northern Asia Minor from Angora been adhered to, the interior would have been kept free, and it is likely that a favorite English plan (afterward taken up also by the French Government) to run a railway from the Gulf of Alexandretta via Aleppo and the Euphrates to Bagdad might have been carried out. * * * The railway projects of Asia Minor and Syria might have remained purely commercial undertakings of great cultural value. The political aspect of railway plans in the Near East might have been permanently kept in the background.

The stumbling block that prevented the execution of the original plan was—strangely enough—Russia. Her opposition to the northern route brought about the change. Russia had plans of her own in Asia Minor and in the lands to the east beyond. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century Russia, fearing the extension of English power in the Far East, cast her eyes about for securing zones of influence that might bring her into touch with the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. She secured the co-operation of France in 1891, and it is both interesting and instructive to note that the Franco-Russian alliance was originally directed against England rather than against Germany. * * * She exacted from Turkey the Black Sea Basin agreement, formally sanctioned in 1900, which reserved to her the right to construct railroads in Northern Asia Minor. * * * At all events, her opposition was strong enough to secure a modification of the plan of the Bagdad Railway in favor of the transverse route, which, as it turned out, gave Germany a tremendous advantage over all rivals, though it also brought on the opposition of England. Russia was not prepared to allow any further advantage to be gained in the East by England. On the whole she still preferred Germany.

[England's opposition to Germany's new railway scheme became acute when it was publicly announced that the road was not to terminate at Bagdad, or even at Basra, but to run on to a point "to be determined" on the Persian Gulf. The Convention of 1902-3 made it evident that Germany had stolen a march on England, and that the prestige of France, too, had suffered. The favor shown to the German syndicate by the Turkish Government was evident. The terms were indeed unprecedented. Says Dr. Jastrow: "No wonder that there were great rejoicings in Germany when they were announced and gnashing of teeth outside of Germany." With the announcement of the 1902-3 concession and the formation of the Bagdad Railway Company as a successor to the old Anatolian Company, the German syndicate did offer English and French capitalists a share in the enterprise, and insisted that the plan was "international." But the "share" thus offered was merely assistance in financing what would remain a German matter—inasmuch as Germany reserved the control in the management's personnel. England and France therefore refused to participate.]

LICHNOWSKY'S MEMORANDUM

Von Jagow's Replies to the Prince's Revelations —Further German Comments

THE revelations by Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the war, which were printed in the May number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, produced a profound impression throughout the world, disclosing as they did the part played by the German Imperial Government in starting the war. German officialdom at once attacked Lichnowsky, compelling him to resign his rank and threatening him with trial for treason. On April 27, 1918, the Prussian upper house decided to grant the request of the First State Attorney of District Court No. 1 of Berlin for authorization to undertake criminal proceedings against Prince Lichnowsky. The State Attorney held that Prince Lichnowsky, in communicating to third parties documents or their contents officially intrusted to him by his superiors had infringed the secrecy incumbent on him.

In referring to the prosecution of the Prince, Maximilian Harden, in a May issue of the Zukunft, said:

"I will swear that there are dozens of men sitting there in these dark war hours who have written and said similar things in sharper and more bitter words." Herr Harden asked whether these would meet the same fate if their papers were stolen and exposed in German shop windows. "Many a trusted wife," he said, "must cry out in fear: 'But, you know, Ernst, Adolf, and Klaus have spoken more desperately.'"

The chief theme of Lichnowsky's memorandum, the editor of Die Zukunft asserts, was the danger to Germany of a too-close alliance with Vienna and Budapest, of the flirtation with Poland, and his insistence upon the necessity of friendly relations with a strong Russia. The German outcry against Lichnowsky, however, gave foreign countries the impression that the Prince had made fearfully damaging disclosures of Berlin's guilt. The question of blame, he says, "reflected almost an identical interpretation to that of our White Book, and a cool head would not have made a world sensation out of it." Harden concludes by saying that an ostracized Lichnowsky would become a power; but the Prussian Diet has no sense of humor.

In the May CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE an abridged version of the first reply of former Foreign Secretary von Jagow to Prince Lichnowsky was printed, but the document is of such importance that a translation in its entirety is herewith given. *

Von Jagow's Two Replies to Lichnowsky

PRACTICALLY coincident with the giving out for publication on March 19, through the semi-official Wolff Telegraph Bureau, of an account of a discussion in the Main Committee of the Reichstag of the memorandum of the former Ambassador at London, together with substantial excerpts from the main chapters of his work, the German Government got in touch with Herr von Jagow, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the war began, and asked him to write an article calculated to counteract the effect of the Lichnowsky revelations. Herr von Jagow hastened to accede to this request, but he merely made matters worse for the German Government by practically admitting the correctness of Prince Lichnowsky's assertion that England did not want war and that Berlin was aware of this.

*The full text of Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum, with the replies of Herr von Jagow, the Mühlon letter, comments of the German press, and other matter, has been published in a separate forty-page pamphlet by THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Copies of German newspapers received here show that, while the journals of all factions were practically of one mind in reproaching the German Foreign Office for its lack of diplomatic ability, the Pan-German and militarist organs laid special stress upon the implication in the von Jagow article that Germany might have been willing to drop its alliance with Austria if it could have been sure of contracting one with England, and the Liberal and Socialist papers declared that it was no use insisting any longer that Great Britain was guilty of the wholesale bloodshed of the world war, and that now nothing really stood in the way of moving for a peace by agreement.

These comments were so sharp on both sides that Herr von Jagow was soon moved to write another article defending his reply to Prince Lichnowsky and arguing that his statements regarding the Triple Alliance could by no means be interpreted as meaning that he would have been willing to abandon Austria-Hungary in favor of Great Britain. In this article, which was first printed in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, von Jagow says he cannot understand how these statements can be taken to mean that he was an opponent of the alliance with Austria and was considering a choice between Austria and England. He proceeds to defend his own policy by reference to the fact that Bismarck was not content with the Triple Alliance on the one hand, and the famous "Reinsurance Treaty" with Russia on the other hand, but in 1887 deliberately promoted agreements between Austria-Hungary, Italy, and England, with the object of "bringing England into a closer relationship to the Central European league and making her share its burdens." Bismarck's policy relieved Germany of some of her obligations, because "Austria-Hungary, supported by Italy and England, held the balance against Russia."

Then, as The London Times points out, carefully avoiding the history of the present Kaiser's reversal of Bismarck's policy and abandonment of the "Reinsurance Treaty" with Russia, von Jagow defends his attempts to make British policy serve Germany's purposes. It was "because of the isolation of the Triple Alliance, which had come about in the course of years," that von Jagow "pursued a rapprochement with England." He did so, "not with any idea of putting England in the place of Austria-Hungary, but in order, by disposing of the Anglo-German antagonism, to move England to a different orientation of her policy." Germany "could not count upon Italy," and wanted other assistance in upholding Austria-Hungary in the Balkans against Russia. Herr von Jagow proceeds:

"The combination of England would have relieved us of the necessity of taking our stand alone, when the case arose, for Austria-Hungary against Russia. As was effected by the agreements of 1887, a part of our obligations would have been laid upon other shoulders. It is in this sense that I spoke of the possibility of the loosening and the dissolution of old unions which no longer satisfy all the conditions.

"The alliance with Austria-Hungary was the cornerstone of Bismarckian policy, and that it had to remain. The expansion of the alliance into the Triple Alliance, by taking in Italy, was a means of supplementing the Central European grouping of the powers; it was an 'auxiliary structure,' by means of which Bismarck aimed at a further guarantee of peace, especially as he intended thereby to check Italy's Irredentist policy. Threads then ran to England via Italy. These threads gave way later, and this caused a considerable change in the attitude of Italy.

Friendly to England

"A friendly attitude on the part of England toward the Triple Alliance—what Professor Hermann Oncken calls the moral extension of the Triple Alliance over the Channel—was the aim of our policy, and in this we were sure of the complete accord of our allies. I never thought that the agreements about Bagdad and the colonies would mean an immediate alteration of England's course in European policy. These agreements were to prepare the way for this change of course. I was under no illusions about the difficulties which would still have to be overcome. But difficulties, and even resistance on the part of public opinion in one's own country, cannot prevent us from following a road that is seen to be right. The league between Germany and Austria-Hungary, supported by friendship with England, would have created a peace bloc of unassailable strength. The increasing Irredentism of Italy, her friction with Austria on the Adriatic, and the Russophile and also Irredentist tendencies of Rumania, would have lost their importance. Then, in given circumstances, the Triple Alliance treaty might have been modified. The union with England would also have secured us against Russian aggression, and the obligations imposed upon us by our alliance would thereby have been diminished.

"The road to this goal was long. The calm development was crossed by the Serajevo murders, and in the fateful hour of August, 1914, the English Government—instead of keeping peace—preferred to join in the war against us. The English Government has probably since then been assailed by serious doubts as to whether its choice was right. In any case, it assumed a considerable share of the guilt for the bloodshed in Europe."

Herr von Jagow then denies that his scheme was inevitably doomed to failure, saying that the policy of England is more liable to adaptation and alteration than the policy of any other country, and that "more far-seeing

statesmen than those who were intrusted with the fortunes of the Island Empire in 1914—think only of the Pitts, Disraelis, and Salisburys—held other views about the orientation of England toward Germany and Russia."

"As matters stand today, attempts to arrive at clearness about the respective parts played by our enemies at the outbreak of the war, and about the greater or less degrees of guilt belonging to each of them, can have only a historical value. England has made the cause of our enemies her own, and so she also shall be made to feel how Germany defends herself against her enemies."

Full Text of von Jagow's First Reply

[Copyrighted]

Herr von Jagow's first reply to Prince Lichnowsky, which was printed in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung March 23, 1918, *follows:*

So far as it is possible, in general, I shall refrain from taking up the statements concerning the policy obtaining before my administration of the Foreign Office.

"I should like to make the following remarks about the individual points in the article:

"When I was named State Secretary in January, 1913, I regarded a German-English rapprochement as desirable and also believed an agreement attainable on the points where our interests touched or crossed each other. At all events, I wanted to try to work in this sense. A principal point for us was the Mesopotamia-Asia Minor question—the so-called Bagdad policy—as this had become for us a question of prestige. If England wanted to force us out there it certainly appeared to me that a conflict could hardly be avoided. In Berlin I began, as soon as it was possible to do so, to negotiate over the Bagdad Railroad. We found a favorable disposition on the part of the English Government, and the result was the agreement that was almost complete when the world war broke out.

Colonial Questions

"At the same time the negotiations over the Portuguese colonies that had been begun by Count Metternich, (as German Ambassador at London,) continued by Baron Marschall, and reopened by Prince Lichnowsky were under way. I intended to carve the way later for further negotiations regarding other—for example, East Asiatic—problems, when what was in my opinion the most important problem, that of the Bagdad Railroad, should be settled, and an atmosphere of more confidence thus created. I also left the naval problem aside, as it would have been difficult to reach an early agreement over that matter, after past experiences.

"I can pass over the development of the Albanian problem, as it occurred before my term of office began. In general, however, I would like to remark that such far-reaching disinterestedness in Balkan questions as Prince Lichnowsky proposes does not seem possible to me. It would have contradicted the essential part of the alliance if we had completely ignored really vital interests of our ally. We, too, had demanded that Austria stand by us at Algeciras, and at that time Italy's attitude had caused serious resentment among us. Russia, although she had no interest at all in Morocco, also stood by France. Finally, it was our task, as the third member of the alliance, to support such measures as would render possible a settlement of the divergent interests of our allies and avoid a conflict between them.

"It further appeared impossible to me not to pursue a 'triple alliance policy' in matters where the interests of the allied powers touched each other. Then Italy would have been driven entirely into line with the Entente in questions of the Orient, and Austria handed over to the mercy of Russia, and the Triple Alliance would thus have really gone to pieces. And we, too, would not have been able to look after our interests in the Orient, if we did not have some support. And even Prince Lichnowsky does not deny that we had to represent great economic interests right there. But today economic interests are no longer to be separated from political interests.

"That the people 'in Petrograd wanted to see the Sultan independent' is an assertion that Prince Lichnowsky will hardly be able to prove; it would contradict every tradition of Russian policy. If we, furthermore, had not had at our command the influence at Constantinople founded by Baron Marschall, it would hardly have been possible for us to defend our economic interests in Turkey in the desired way.

Russia and Germany

"When Prince Lichnowsky further asserts that we only 'drove Russia, our natural friend and best neighbor, into the arms of France and England through our Oriental and Balkan policy' he is in conflict with the historical facts. Only because Prince Gortschakoff [Russian Premier] was guiding Russian policy toward a rapprochement with a France lusting for revenge was Prince Bismarck induced to enter into the alliance with Austria-Hungary; through the alliance with

Rumania he barred an advance of Russia toward the south. Prince Lichnowsky condemns the basic principles of Bismarck's policy. Our attempts to draw closer to Russia went to pieces—Björki proves it—or remained ineffective, like the so-called Potsdam agreement. Also, Russia was not always our 'best neighbor.' Under Queen Elizabeth, as at present, she strove for possession of East Prussia to extend her Baltic coasts and to insure her domination of the Baltic. The Petrograd 'window' has gradually widened, so as to take in Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Finland and reach after Aland. Poland was arranged to be a field over which to send troops against us. Pan-Slavism, which was dominating the Russian policy to an ever greater degree, had positive anti-German tendencies.

"And we did not force Russia to drop 'her policy of Asiatic expansion,' but only tried to defend ourselves against her encroachments in European policy and her encircling of our Austro-Hungarian ally.

Grey Conciliatory

"Just as little as Sir Edward Grey [British Foreign Secretary] did we want war to come over Albania. Therefore, in spite of our unhappy experience at Algeciras, we agreed to a conference. The credit of an 'attitude of mediation' at the conference should not be denied Sir Edward Grey; but that he 'by no means placed himself on the side of the Entente' is, however, surely saying rather too much. Certainly he often advised yielding in Petrograd (as we did in Vienna) and found 'formulas of agreement,' but in dealing with the other side he represented the Entente, because he, no less than ourselves, neither would, nor could, abandon his associates. That we, on the other hand, 'without exception, represented the standpoint dictated to us from Vienna' is absolutely false. We, like England, played a mediatory rôle, and also in Vienna counseled far more yielding and moderation than Prince Lichnowsky appears to know about, or even to suggest. And then Vienna made several far-reaching concessions, (Dibra, Djakowa.) If Prince Lichnowsky, who always wanted to be wiser than the Foreign Office, and who apparently allowed himself to be strongly influenced by the Entente statesmen, did not know this, he surely ought not to make any false assertions now! If, to be sure, the degree of yielding that was necessary was reached in Vienna, we also naturally had to represent the Austrian standpoint at the conference. Ambassador Szögyeni himself was not one of the extremists; in Vienna they were by no means always satisfied with his attitude. That the Ambassador, with whom I was negotiating almost every day, constantly sounded the refrain of casus foederis is entirely unknown to me. It certainly is true that Prince Lichnowsky for some time past had not been counted as a friend of Austria in Vienna. Still complaints about him came to my ears oftener from the side of Marquis San Giuliano [Italian Foreign Minister] than from the side of Count Berchtold, [Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister.]

"King Nicholas's seizure of Scutari constituted a mockery of the entire conference and a snub to all the powers taking part in it.

"Russia was by no means obliged 'to give way to us all along the line'; on the contrary, she 'advanced the wishes of Serbia' in several ways, Serbia even receiving some cities and strips of territory that could have been regarded as purely Albanian or preponderatingly so. Prince Lichnowsky says that 'the course of the conference was a fresh humiliation for the self-consciousness of Russia' and that there was a feeling of resentment in Russia on that account. It cannot be the task of our policy to satisfy all the unjustified demands of the exaggerated self-consciousness of a power by no means friendly to us, at the cost of our ally. Russia has no vital interests on the Adriatic, but our ally certainly has. If we, as Prince Lichnowsky seems to wish, had flatly taken the same stand as Russia, the result would have been a humiliation for Austria-Hungary and thus a weakening of our group. Prince Lichnowsky seems only anxious that Russia be not humiliated; a humiliation of Austria is apparently a matter of indifference to him.

The "Wily" Venizelos

"When Prince Lichnowsky says that our 'Austrophilie' was not adapted to 'promote Russia's interests in Asia,' I don't exactly understand what this means. Following a disastrous diversion toward East Asia—in the Japanese war we had favored Russia without even being thanked for it!—Russia again took up her policy directed toward the European Orient (the Balkans and Constantinople) with renewed impulse, (the Balkan Alliance, Buchlau, Iswolsky, &c.) [Iswolsky retired as Russian Foreign Minister after Germany forced the Czar to repudiate his Serbian policy in 1909.]

"Venizelos, the cunning Cretan with the 'Ribbon of the Order of the Red Eagle,' evidently knew how to throw a little sand into the eyes of our Ambassador. He, in contrast to King Constantine and Theototy, always was pro-Entente. His present attitude reveals his feelings as clearly as can be. Herr Danef, however, was entirely inclined toward Petrograd.

"That Count Berchtold displayed certain inclinations toward Bulgaria also in its differences with Rumania is true; that we 'naturally went with him' is, however, entirely false. With our support, King Carol had the satisfaction of the Bucharest peace. [Ended second Balkan war.] If, therefore, in the case of the Bucharest peace, in which we favored the wishes and interests of Rumania,

which was allied to us, our policy deviated somewhat from that of Vienna, the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet certainly did not believe—as Prince Lichnowsky asserts—that it 'could count upon our support in case of its revision.' That Marquis San Giuliano 'is said to have warned us already in the Summer of 1913 from becoming involved in a world war,' because at that time in Austria 'the thought of a campaign against Serbia' had found entrance, is entirely unknown to me. Just as little do I know that Herr von Tschirschky—who certainly was rather pessimistic by nature—is said to have declared in the Spring of 1914 that there soon would be war. Therefore, I was just as ignorant of the 'important happenings' that Prince Lichnowsky here suspects as he was himself! Such events as the English visit to Paris—Sir Edward Grey's first to the Continent—surely must have been known to the Ambassador, and we informed him about the secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement; to be sure, he did not want to believe it!

"In the matter of Liman von Sander, [German reorganizer of the Turkish Army,] we made a far-reaching concession to Russia by renouncing the General's power of command over Constantinople. I will admit that this point of the agreement over the military mission was not opportune politically.

"When Prince Lichnowsky boasts of having succeeded in giving the treaty a form corresponding to our wishes, this credit must not be denied him, although it certainly required strong pressure on several occasions to induce him to represent some of our desires with more emphasis.

"When Prince Lichnowsky says that he received the authorization definitely to conclude the treaty, after he previously asserts that 'the treaty was consequently dropped,' this contains a contradiction which we may let the Prince straighten out. Lichnowsky's assertion, however, that we delayed publication because the treaty would have been 'a public success' for him that we begrudged him, is an unheard-of insinuation that can only be explained through his self-centred conception of things. The treaty would have lost its practical and moral effect—one of its main objects was to create a good atmosphere between us and England—if its publication had been greeted with violent attacks upon 'perfidious Albion' in our Anglophobe press and in our Parliament. And there is no doubt that, in view of our internal position at that time, this is what the simultaneous publication of the so-called Windsor Treaty would have caused. And the howl about English perfidy that the internal contradiction between the text of the Windsor Treaty and our treaty would doubtless have called forth would hardly have been stilled in the minds of our public through the assurance of English bona fides.

"With justified precaution, we intended to allow the publication to be made only at the proper moment, when the danger of disapproving criticism was no longer so acute, if possible simultaneously with the announcement of the Bagdad Treaty, which also was on the point of being concluded. The fact that two great agreements had been concluded between us and England would doubtless have materially favored their reception and made it easier to overlook the aesthetic defects of the Portuguese agreement. It was consideration for the effect of the agreement—with which we wanted to improve our relations with England, not to generate more trouble—that caused our hesitation.

"It is correct that—although in a secondary degree—consideration was also taken of the efforts just then being made to obtain economic interests in the Portuguese colonies, which the publication of the agreement would naturally have made more difficult to realize. These conditions Prince Lichnowsky may not have been able to perceive fully from London, but he should have trusted in our objective judgment and acquiesced in it, instead of replacing his lack of understanding with suspicions and the interjection of personal motives. He certainly would have found our arguments understood by the English statesmen themselves.

"The Ambassador's speeches aroused considerable adverse sentiment in this country. It was necessary for the creation of a better atmosphere, in which alone the rapprochement being worked for could flourish, that confidence in our English policy and in our London Ambassador be spread also among our people at home. Prince Lichnowsky, otherwise so susceptible to public opinion, did not take this motive sufficiently into account, for he saw everything only through his London spectacles. The charges against the attitude of the Foreign Office are too untenable to be bothered with. I would only like to point out that Prince Lichnowsky was not left in ignorance regarding the 'most important things,' in so far as they were of value to his mission. On the contrary, I gave the Ambassador much more general information than used to be the custom. My own experiences as Ambassador induced me to do so. But with Lichnowsky there was the inclination to rely more upon his own impressions and judgment than upon the information and advice of the Central Office. To be sure, I did not always have either the motive or the authority to impart the sources of our news. Here there were quite definite considerations, particularly anxiety regarding the compromising of our sources. The Prince's memorandum furnishes the best justification for the caution exercised in this regard.

Defense of Archduke

"It is not true that in the Foreign Office the reports that England would protect France under all circumstances were not believed.

"At Knopischt, on the occasion of the

visit of his Majesty the Kaiser to the Archduke heir apparent, no plan of an active policy against Serbia was laid down. Archduke Franz Ferdinand was not at all the champion of a policy leading to war for which he has often been taken. During the London conference he advised moderation and the avoidance of war.

"Prince Lichnowsky's 'optimism' was hardly justified, as he has probably convinced himself since through the revelations of the Sukhomlinoff trial. Besides, the secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement (of which, as said before, he was informed) should have made him more skeptical. Unfortunately, the suspicion voiced by the Imperial Chancellor and the Under Secretary of State was well grounded. How does this agree with the assertion that we, relying upon the reports of Count Pourtalès that 'Russia would not move under any circumstances,' had not thought of the possibility of a war? Furthermore, so far as I can recollect, Count Pourtalès [German Ambassador at St. Petersburg] never made such reports.

Blame for Russia

"That Austria-Hungary wished to proceed against the constant provocations stirred up by Russia, (Herr von Hartwig,) which reached their climax in the outrage of Serajevo, we had to recognize as justified. In spite of all the former settlements and avoidances of menacing conflicts, Russia did not abandon her policy, which aimed at the complete exclusion of the Austrian influence (and naturally ours also) from the Balkans. The Russian agents, inspired by Petrograd, continued their incitement. It was a question of the prestige and the existence of the Danube Monarchy. It must either put up with the Russo-Serbian machinations, or command a quos ego, even at the risk of war. We could not leave our ally in the lurch. Had the intention been to exclude the ultima ratio of the war in general, the alliance should not have been concluded. Besides, it was plain that the Russian military preparations, (for instance, the extension of the railroads and forts in Poland,) for which a France lusting for revenge had lent the money and which would have been completed in a few years, were directed principally against us. But despite all this, despite the fact that the aggressive tendency of the Russian policy was becoming more evident from day to day, the idea of a preventive war was far removed from us. We only decided to declare war on Russia in the face of the Russian mobilization and to prevent a Russian invasion.

"I have not the letters exchanged with the Prince at hand—it was a matter of private letters. Lichnowsky pleaded for the abandonment of Austria. I replied, so far as I remember, that we, aside from our treaty obligation, could not sacrifice our ally for the uncertain friendship of England. If we abandoned our only reliable ally later we would stand entirely isolated, face to face with the Entente. It is likely that I also wrote that 'Russia was constantly becoming more anti-German' and that we must 'just risk it.' Furthermore, it is possible that I, in order to steel Lichnowsky's nerves a little and to prevent him from exposing his views also in London, may also have written that there would probably be some 'bluster'; that 'the more firmly we stood by Austria the sooner Russia would yield.' I have said already that our policy was not based upon alleged reports excluding war; certainly at that time I still thought war could be avoided, but, like all of us, I was fully aware of the very serious danger.

"We could not agree to the English proposal of a conference of Ambassadors, for it would doubtless have led to a serious diplomatic defeat. For Italy, too, was pro-Serb and, with her Balkan interests, stood rather opposed to Austria. The 'intimacy of the Russo-Italian relations' is admitted by Prince Lichnowsky himself. The best and only feasible way of escape was a localization of the conflict and an understanding between Vienna and Petrograd. We worked toward that end with all our energy. That we 'insisted upon' the war is an unheard-of assertion which is sufficiently invalidated by the telegrams of his Majesty the Kaiser to the Czar and to King George, published in the White Books—Prince Lichnowsky only cares to tell about 'the really humble telegram of the Czar'—as well as the instruction we sent to Vienna. The worst caricature is formed by the sentence:

"'When Count Berchtold finally decided to come around we answered the Russian mobilization, after Russia had vainly negotiated and waited a whole week, with the ultimatum and the declaration of war.'

[In quoting Lichnowsky, Herr von Jagow omits the former's statement that Count Berchtold "hitherto had played the strong man on instructions from Berlin."]

"Wrong" Conclusions

"Should we, perhaps, have waited until the mobilized Russian Army was streaming over our borders? The reading of the Sukhomlinov trial has probably given even Prince Lichnowsky a feeling of 'Oh si tacuisses!' On July 5 I was absent from Berlin. The declaration that I was 'shortly thereafter in Vienna' 'in order to talk everything over with Count Berchtold' is false. I returned to Berlin on July 6 from my honeymoon trip and did not leave there until Aug. 15, on the occasion of the shifting of the Great Headquarters. As Secretary of State I was only once in Vienna before the war, in the Spring of 1913.

"Prince Lichnowsky lightly passed over the matter of the confusing dispatch that he sent us on Aug. 1—at present I am not in possession of the exact wording—as a 'misunderstanding' and even seems to want to reproach us because 'in Berlin the news, without first waiting for the conversation,

was made the basis of a far-reaching action.' The question of war with England was a matter of minutes, and immediately after the arrival of the dispatch it was decided to make an eleventh-hour attempt to avoid war with France and England. His Majesty sent the well-known telegram to King George. The contents of the Lichnowsky dispatch could not have been understood any other way than we understood it.

"Objectively taken, the statement of Prince Lichnowsky presents such an abundance of inaccuracies and distortions that it is hardly a wonder that his conclusions are also entirely wrong. The reproach that we sent an ultimatum on July 30 to Petrograd merely because of the mobilization of Russia and on July 31 declared war upon the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that not a man should march so long as negotiations were under way, thus willfully destroying the possibility of a peaceful adjustment, has really a grotesque effect. In concluding, the statement seems almost to identify itself with the standpoint of our enemies.

"When the Ambassador makes the accusation that our policy identified itself 'with Turks and Austro-Magyars' and 'subjected itself to the viewpoints of Vienna and Budapest,' he may be suitably answered that he saw things only through London spectacles and from the narrow point of view of his desired rapprochement with England à tout prix. He also appears to have forgotten completely that the Entente was formed much more against us than against Austria.

"I, too, pursued a policy which aimed at an understanding with England, because I was of the opinion that this was the only way for us to escape from the unfavorable position in which we were placed by the unequal division of strength and the weakness of the Triple Alliance. But Russia and France insisted upon war. We were obligated through our treaty with Austria, and our position as a great power was also threatened—hic Rhodus, hic salta. But England, that was not allied in the same way with Russia and that had received far-reaching assurances from us regarding the sparing of France and Belgium, seized the sword.

"In saying this, I by no means share the opinion prevalent among us today that England laid all the mines for the outbreak of the war; on the contrary, I believe in Sir Edward Grey's love of peace and in his earnest wish to arrive at an agreement with us. But he had allowed himself to become entangled too far in the net of the Franco-Russian policy; he no longer found the way out, and he did not prevent the world war—something that he could have done. Neither was the war popular with the English people; Belgium had to serve as a battle cry.

"'Political marriages for life and death' are, as Prince Lichnowsky says, not possible in international unions. But neither is isolation, under the present condition of affairs in Europe. The history of Europe consists of coalitions that sometimes have led to the avoidance of warlike outbreaks and sometimes to violent clashes. A loosening and dissolving of old alliances that no longer correspond to all conditions is only in order when new constellations are attainable. This was the object of the policy of a rapprochement with England. So long as this policy did not offer reliable guarantees we could not abandon the old guarantees—even with their obligations.

"The Morocco policy had led to a political defeat. In the Bosnian crisis this had been luckily avoided, the same as at the London Conference. A fresh diminution of our prestige was not endurable for our position in Europe and in the world. The prosperity of States, their political and economic successes, are based upon the prestige that they enjoy in the world.

"The personal attacks contained in the work, the unheard-of calumnies and slanders of others, condemn themselves. The ever-recurring suspicion that everything happened only because it was not desired to allow him, Lichnowsky, any successes speaks of wounded self-love, of disappointed hopes for personal successes, and has a painful effect.

"In closing, let us draw attention here to what Hermann Oncken has also quoted in his work, 'The Old and New Central Europe,' the memorandum of Prince Bismarck of the year 1879, in which the idea is developed that the German Empire must never dare allow a situation in which it would remain isolated on the European Continent between Russia and France, side by side with a defeated Austria-Hungary that had been left in the lurch by Germany."

German Comments on von Jagow's Views

IN commenting upon Herr von Jagow's reply to Prince Lichnowsky, Georg Bernhard, editor in chief of the Vossische Zeitung, took occasion to re-emphasize his favorite theory of a rapprochement with Russia so as to enable Germany to reduce Great Britain to the level of a second-class power. In a long article, printed on March 31, Herr Bernhard asserted that Prince Lichnowsky had been by no means alone in his policy of seeking agreement with England as Herr von Jagow himself had admitted, and that the German Foreign Office had seemed obsessed with the idea that it was a question of a choice between Austria and England, when, in reality, if the diplomats had

wanted to pursue a good German policy and at the same time be of service to Austria, they should have made it a question of Russia or England and tried to establish good relations with the former under all circumstances. After quoting von Jagow's remark about the inadvisability of abandoning old alliances until new constellations were attainable, Herr Bernhard said:

"We shall not go into the question here if, during this war, which strains all the forces of the alliance to the utmost, a former German Secretary of State should have written such sentences. It is incomprehensible how they came from the pen of a sensible man—and Herr von Jagow is such a one. And it is still more incomprehensible how they were able to escape the attention of the Foreign Office. Fortunately, they can no longer do any harm now, as through our deeds we have demonstrated our loyalty to the Austrians and Hungarians better than it can be done by any amount of talk."

In an earlier editorial Herr Bernhard referred as follows to von Jagow's admission that he did not believe that England had laid all the mines leading to the world war:

"In spite of all experiences, therefore, here is another—almost official—attempt made to represent the war as merely the result of the aggressive desires of France and Russia. As if France (through whose population went a shudder of fear as it saw itself on the edge of the abyss of war) would ever have dared to go to war without knowing that England stood back of her! And were Edward's trips to Paris without any effect upon our diplomats? Has it not also finally become sufficiently well known through the reports of the Belgian Ambassador how France repeatedly tried to escape from the alliance, but was always again forced into the net by Nicolson, [former British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs,] through Edward? The Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, himself admitted in the Reichstag the harmful rôle of King Edward. Only he, as probably did Herr von Jagow also, thought that Edward's death put an end to the policy of encircling. But this policy of encircling—and here is where the mistake entailing serious consequences is made by our diplomats—was not at all merely a personal favorite idea of Edward VII., but the continuation of the traditional English policy toward the strongest Continental power."

Thanks for Hindenburg

Herr Bernhard then asserted that England desired the publication of the proposed Anglo-German treaty regarding the division of the Portuguese colonies into spheres of economic interests so as to make Portugal's eventual support of the Entente all the surer, and continued:

"And Lichnowsky wanted to fall into this trap set by England. It was avoided by the Foreign Office more through instinct than sagacity. And these diplomats have guided Germany's destiny before and during the war! Let us give the warmest thanks to Hindenburg because his sword has now, it is to be hoped, put an end once for all to the continued spinning of plans by such and similar diplomats even during the war."

Theodor Wolff, editor in chief of the Berliner Tageblatt, probably the leading organ of the German business elements and liberal politicians who were opposed to the war from the beginning, and who still hope for a negotiated peace that will facilitate an early resumption of trade relations with Great Britain and the rest of the allies, expressed the hope that the "battle of minds will finally create a clearer atmosphere," and then remarked:

"Only quite incidentally would I like to allow myself to direct the attention of Herr von Jagow to an erroneous expression that appears twice in his reply. Herr von Jagow writes: 'We informed him [Lichnowsky] of the secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement,' and in another place: 'The secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement might also have made him a little more skeptical.' Only the day before, on Saturday, it was said in an article of the Norddeutshe Allgemeine Zeitung, also directed against Lichnowsky: 'Negotiations were pending with Russia over a naval agreement that the Prince characteristically passes over in silence.' In reality, although hasty historians also speak without further ceremony of a treaty, it is manifest that no Anglo-Russian agreement existed; there was merely a Russian proposal, and the most that can be said is that 'negotiations were pending.' * * *

"His [von Jagow's] remark, 'It is not true that the Foreign Office did not believe the reports that England would protect France under all circumstances,' is in contradiction with the well-known report of the then English Ambassador, Goschen, which describes into what surprise and consternation Herr von Bethmann and Herr von Jagow were thrown by the news of the English declaration of war."

In beginning his comment upon von Jagow, Herr Wolff threw a little more light upon the way in which Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum "for the family archives" got into more or less general secret circulation in Germany before it was printed by the Swedish Socialist paper Politiken last March, and also described the character of Captain Beerfelde, the member of the German General Staff who, according to some cabled reports, is to be tried for his part in distributing copies of the memorandum.

Herr Wolff said that Prince Lichnowsky had had five or six copies made, of which he had sent one to Wolff, one to Albert Ballin, head of the Hamburg-American line, and another to Arthur von Gwinner, head of the Deutsche Bank. All of these persons

carefully hid the "dangerous gift" in the deepest recesses of their writing desks, but a fourth copy went astray and got into hands for which it had not been intended, and from these hands passed into those of still another individual. Then the editor wrote:

How Manuscript Became Public

"I made the acquaintance some years before the war of the officer who obtained the memorandum 'on loan,' and sent copies of it to State officials and politicians. He belongs to an old noble family, was treated with sympathy by General von Moltke, the Chief of the General Staff, occupied himself enthusiastically with religious philosophy or theosophy, and was a thoroughly manly but mystic person. * * * After hard war experiences, he felt the longing to serve the dictates of peace with complete devotion, and he surrendered himself to a pacifism which is absolutely incompatible with the uniform.

"Late one evening he visited me in a state of great excitement, and told me that he had manifolded a memorandum by Prince Lichnowsky which had been lent to him, and that, without asking the author, he had sent it to the 'leading men.' It was impossible to convince him by any logic or on any grounds of reason that his action was wrong, senseless, and harmful. He was a Marquis Posa, or, still more, a Horatius Cocles, who, out of love for Rome or for mankind, sprang into the abyss."

The Berlin Vorwärts, the leading organ of the pro-Government Socialists, began its editorial on the von Jagow reply by remarking that the article of the former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs was hardly calculated to convince the reader that Prince Lichnowsky's self-esteem was the only thing that had had a "painful effect" upon the German people in July, 1914, and since that time. It then said that "Herr von Jagow agrees with Lichnowsky upon the decisive point!" quoted what von Jagow had said about his desire for an Anglo-German rapprochement, and continued:

"These words show that, in 1913, the Wilhelmstrasse and the London Embassy were in the complete harmony of common beliefs and intentions. Herr von Jagow, exactly like Lichnowsky, exactly like Bethmann, and exactly like Wilhelm II., believed in the possibility of creating 'an atmosphere of confidence,' as Jagow says, between Germany and England, through a series of agreements, of which those regarding the Bagdad Railroad and Africa were to have been the first."

Vorwärts then proceeded to point out that the Albanian crisis had strengthened this faith instead of weakening it, took up von Jagow's reasons for Germany's refusal to have the proposed Anglo-German agreement on the Portuguese African colonies published, and exclaimed:

"What a fear of Tirpitz! A disturbing of the new relations through his intrigues and the howling of his jingo press was to be avoided through an affectation of secrecy. But three weeks later the war with England was here and the Pan-German sheets welcomed 'the longed-for day!' What had happened in the meantime? Of course, 'perfidious Albion' (even Jagow puts quotation marks on these words) had in the meantime thrown off the mask and revealed her perfidy! Let's hear what—after Lichnowsky—Herr von Jagow, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in July, 1914, has to say about it!"

Then Vorwärts quoted Jagow's description of how the war began, and went on:

"All that remains of the accusations against the English Government is that it did not prevent the world war, 'although it could have done so.' Now Herr von Jagow also did not prevent the world war, but he must certainly be acquitted of the charge that he could have prevented it. He really could not, and so an emphatic statement of inability is the best excuse for him and his fellow-disputants.

"Let us establish the facts. England did not desire the war; she merely did not prevent it. The war was not popular in England; it also was not popular in Russia and France. But it has become popular. The whole world—right away across the Atlantic and the Pacific—is united in hatred against us. We, however, have for almost four years been inoculated with the view that 'England laid all the mines which caused the war'—a view which the Secretary of State, in accordance with the evidence of the Ambassador, has now declared to be false! It is, however, by this false view that the whole war policy of the German Empire has been directed—from the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare, which brought us war with America, down to those Chancellor speeches which say that Belgium must not again become England's area of military concentration.

"If all the parties concerned were convinced that the belief in England's guilt is a fiction, why did they feed this belief, and why did they pursue a policy which was based upon it? They ought rather to have appointed to the Chancellorship Tirpitz, who, perhaps, believes what he says. Instead of that, a policy of fear of Tirpitz has been pursued. Sometimes a policy against Tirpitz has been attempted, but it has always been reversed at decisive moments, out of fear of the nationalistic terror.

"This fear was, perhaps, not entirely unfounded, for agitation is unscrupulous. The older ones among us still remember very well 'an Englishwoman' who was very unpopular in many circles, but this Englishwoman was the mother of the German Kaiser. No doubt there was no more convenient method for the Government to guard the dynasty than for it to take part in, or at least to tolerate, the agitation against

inating proportion of the capital, thus turning them practically into a German concern. In Asia Minor the British, who were originally responsible for the construction of railways, were gradually ousted, until, with the signature of the Bagdad Railway agreement in 1903, the Germans dominated not only that line, but also occupied a position in which, on the one hand, they had secured control of many of its feeders, and, on the other, they had jeopardized the future development and even the actual prosperity of those not already in their possession.

Fruits of the Balkan Wars

This brings us up to the second phase in the development of Pan-Germanism in the East—the period of the Balkan wars—toward two aspects of which, as Prince Lichnowsky says, the Central Powers devoted their attention. "Two possibilities for settling the question remained." Either Germany left the Near Eastern problem to the peoples themselves or she supported her allies "and carried out a Triple Alliance policy in the East, thereby giving up the rôle of mediator." Once more, in the words of the Prince himself, "The German Foreign Office very much preferred the latter," and as a result supported Austria on the one hand in her desire for the establishment of an independent Albania, and on the other in her successful attempts to draw Bulgaria into the second war and to prevent that country from providing the concessions which at that time would have satisfied Rumania.

So far as the first of these questions—that connected with Albania—is concerned, while the ex-Ambassador admits the policy of Austria was actuated by the fact that she "would not allow Serbia to reach the Adriatic," the actual creation of Albania was justified by the existence of the Albanians as a nationality and by their desire for independent government. Indeed, that the régime inaugurated by the great powers on the east of the Adriatic, and particularly the Government of William of Wied, proved an utter failure, was due not so much to what Prince Lichnowsky describes as the "incapacity of existence" of Albania as to the attitude of the Central Powers, and especially to that of Austria, who, having brought the new State into being, at once worked for unrest and for discord in the hope of being able to step in to put the house in order when the propitious moment arrived.

Promoting Balkan Discord

The second direction in which the enemy devoted his energy was an even larger, more German and more far-reaching one. "The first Balkan war led to the collapse of Turkey and with it the defeat of our policy, which has been identified with Turkey for many years," says the memorandum. This at one time seemed destined to carry with it results entirely disadvantageous to Germany. Thus, if the four States, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, who fought in the first war had continued on good terms with one another, the whole balance of power in Europe would almost certainly have been changed. Instead of the Ottoman Empire, which prior to the outbreak of these hostilities was held by competent authorities to be able to provide a vast army, then calculated to number approximately 1,225,000 men, there would have sprung up a friendly group of countries which in the near future could easily have placed in the field a conbined army approximately amounting to at least 1,000,000, all told. As the interests of such a confederation, which would probably have been joined by Rumania, would have been on the side of the Triple Entente, the Central Powers at once realized that its formation or its continued existence would mean for them not only the loss of the whole of Turkey, but also the gain for their enemies of four or five allies, most of whom had already proved their power in war.

German Power in Turkey

Between the Balkan wars and the outbreak of the European conflagration, but as part of the former period, there occurred two events of far-reaching significance. The first, which is mentioned by Prince Lichnowsky, was the appointment of General Liman von Sanders practically as Commander in Chief of the Turkish Army—an appointment which Mr. Morgenthau rightly tells us constituted a diplomatic triumph for Germany. When coupled with the fact that Enver Pasha—an out-and-out pro-German—became Minister of War about the same time, the military result of this appointment was an enormous improvement in the efficiency of the Ottoman Army. Its political significance, on the other hand, was due to the fact that it carried with it a far-reaching increase of Pan-German influence at Constantinople.

The second event in progress during the interval of peace was connected with the Aegean Islands question. Germany, having first utilized her diplomatic influence in favor of Turkey, later on encouraged the Government of that country in its continued protests against the decision upon that question arrived at by the great powers. Not content, however, with this, the Kaiser, who has now adopted the policy of deportation in Belgium, in Poland, and in Serbia, definitely encouraged the Turks in a like measure in regard to the Greeks of Asia Minor in order to be rid of a hostile and Christian population when the time for action arrived. That this encouragement was given was always apparent to those who followed the course of events in 1914, but that it was admitted by a German Admiral to Mr. Morgenthau constitutes a condemnation the damning nature of which it is difficult to exaggerate.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Dutch Cartoon]

Gott Mit Uns

—Raemaekers in "Kultur in Cartoons."

[French Cartoon]

Signing the Russian Peace

—*From La Victoire, Paris.*

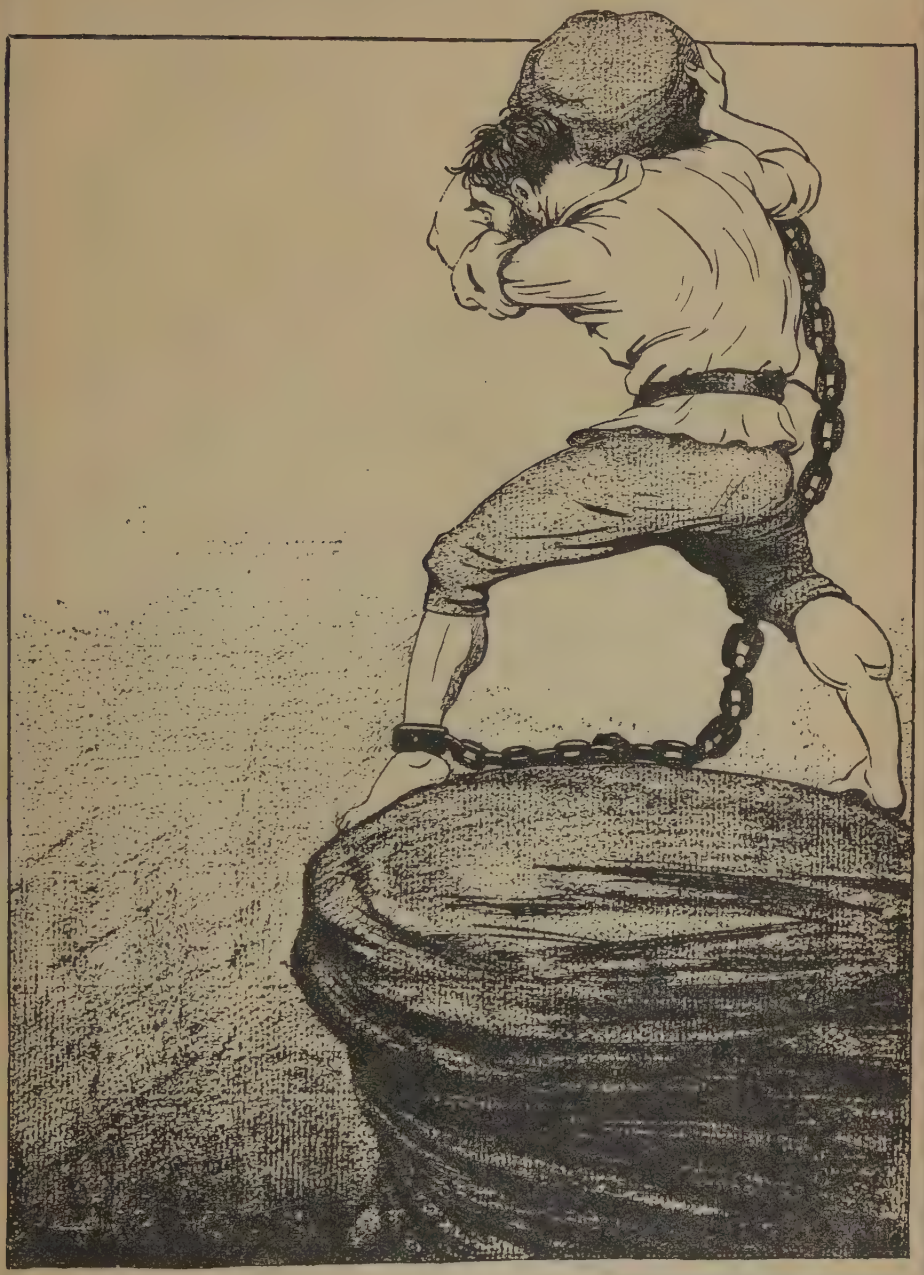
[Spanish Cartoon]

Peace in Russia

—*From Esquella, Barcelona.*

[Swiss Cartoon]

The Russian Revolution



—*From Nebelspalter, Zurich.*

Bolshevist statesmanship.

[English Cartoon]

A Threat from the Orient

—*From The Passing Show, London.*

"Fancy meeting *you!*"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Yellow Peril

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

GERMANY: "After I have gathered all these eggs into one basket, this fellow threatens to upset everything."

[American Cartoon]

Camouflage

—From The Indianapolis News.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Kaiser's "Alte Gott"

—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

"In thee I trust, confound me not."

[French Cartoon]

—From La Victoire, Paris.

"We have done all this: We will try to do better."—*General Foch.*

[American Cartoon]

Prussianism

THE WORLD CURSE OF PRUSSIANISM
CIVILIZATION
KULTUR
"THIS INTOLERABLE THING ..... WITHOUT CONSCIENCE, OR HONOR OR CAPACITY FOR COVENANTED PEACE."
PRESIDENT WILSON
DEC. 4, 1917

—From The Columbus Dispatch.

How can the world make peace with this thing?

[American Cartoon]

Enough to Make a Dead Man Laugh

—*From The New York Herald.*

WILHELM: "What have I not done to preserve the world from these horrors?"

[English Cartoon]

The End of Their Perfect Day

—*From The Passing Show, London.*

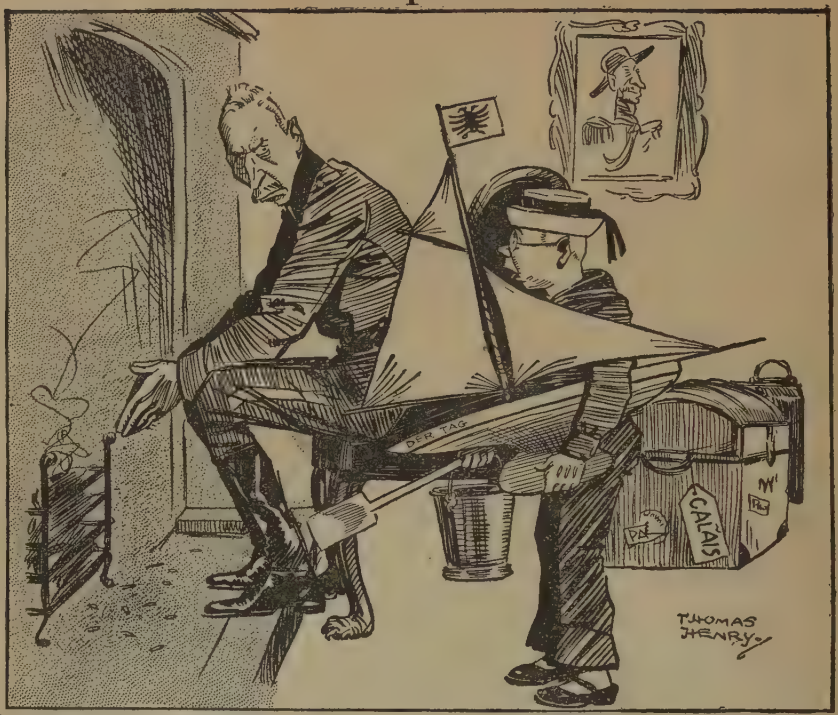
[American Cartoon]

The Price

—*G. M. Amato in Mid-Week Pictorial.*

[English Cartoon]

Postponed



"Papa, ven *are* ve going to Calais?"
"Ach! Go and ask your grandpa!"

—*From Cassell's Saturday Journal, London.*

[American Cartoons]

Rough Going

—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

Now You're Shoutin', Newton!

—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*

[American Cartoons]

Hohenzollern "Victory"

—From The New York Times.

GERMANY: "How many will be left to enjoy the fruits of your 'victory'?"

The Follies of 1918

—Buffalo News.

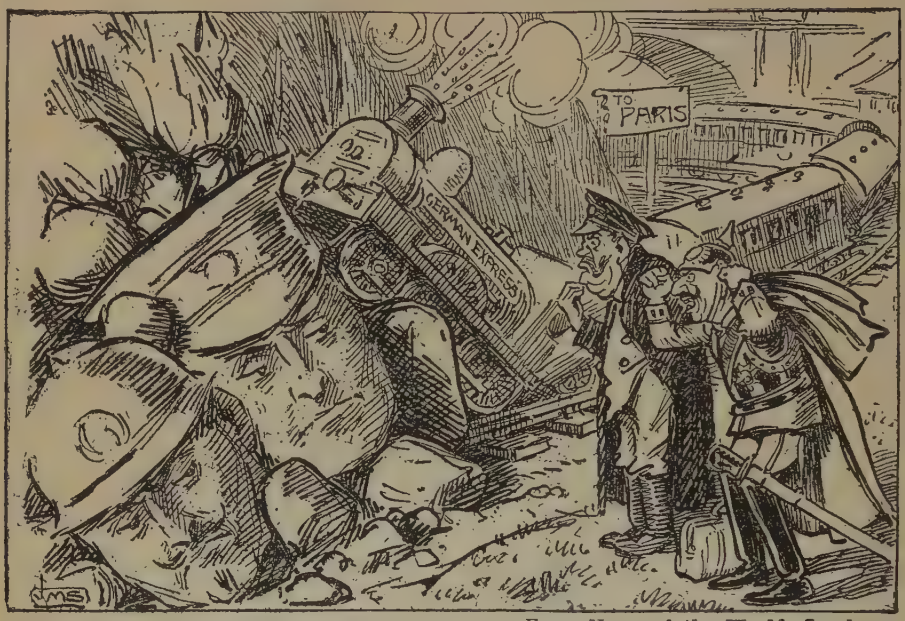
WAR BULLETIN: "The Kaiser's six sons have suffered no casualties."

So Far and No Further!

—Central Press Association.

[English Cartoon]

The Line Blocked



—From News of the World, London.

THE ALL-HIGHEST: "Gott in Himmel! Hindenburg! What shall we do? I promised to be in Paris on the 1st of April!"

[Italian Cartoon]

German Peace Methods

—From Il 420, Florence.

First disarm the people by false talk of no annexations, then, with a dagger at their back, force them to sign peace on your own terms.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

On the Field of Honor

—Nebelspalter, Zurich.

MARIANNE (France): "Wilson, my friend and protector, defend me!"

[Italian Cartoon]

A French Counterattack

—Il 420, Florence.

WAR BULLETIN: "The French violently attacked the weakest point on the German front."

[German Cartoon]

The Fate of Holland's Ships

—Lustige Blätter, Berlin.

PROUD ALBION: "Here, give me that boat; I need it in my fight for the 'freedom of the seas'!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

In Paris on Good Friday

—Esquella, Barcelona.

JOAN OF ARC: "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do."

[English Cartoon]

Germany's Lost Colonies

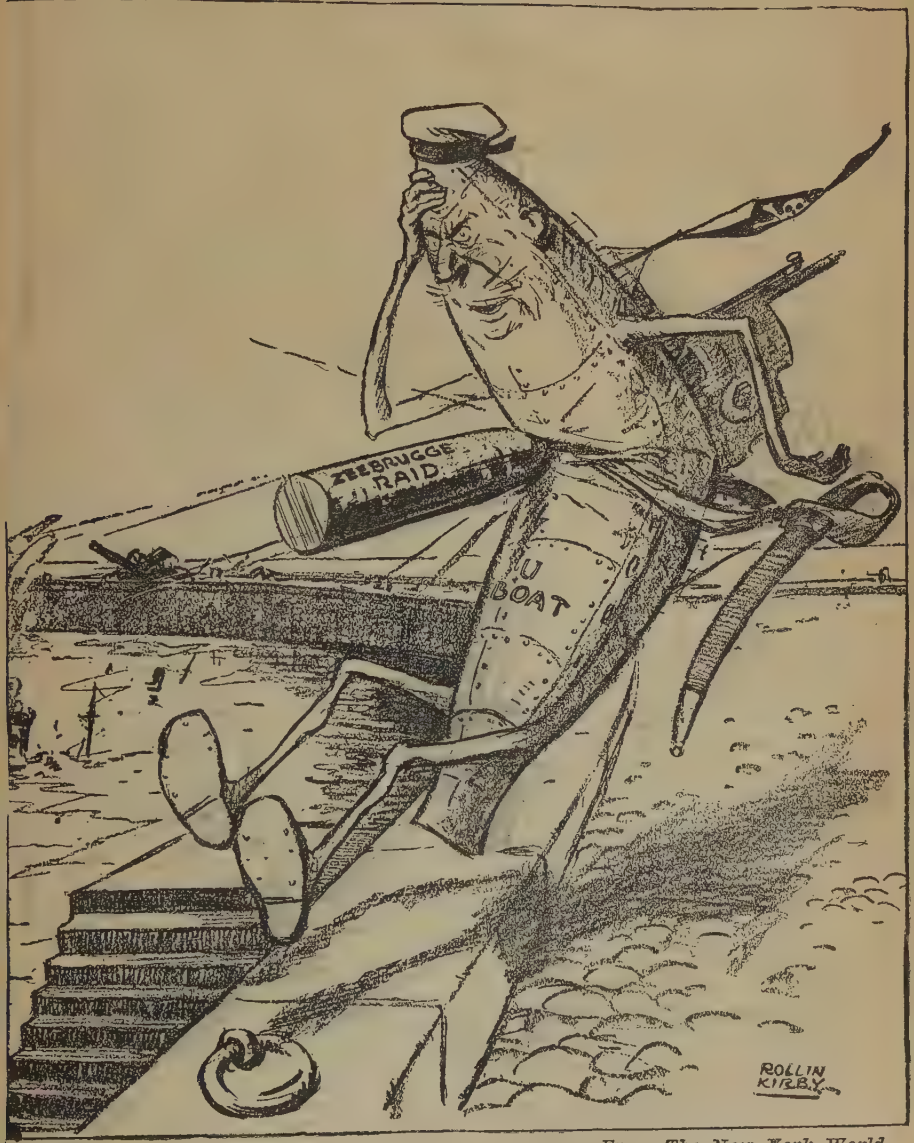
—*From The Passing Show, London.*

PACIFIST: "Here! All that bag of yours must be handed over to a league of nations for disposal."

JOHN BULL: "Oh, must it? And did your friend behind the hedge send you to say that?"

[American Cartoon]

Hitting Him Where He Lives



—From The New York World.

[American Cartoon]

On the Western Front

—*From The San Francisco Call-Post.*

"Ach! How he iss gaining!"

[Italian Cartoon]

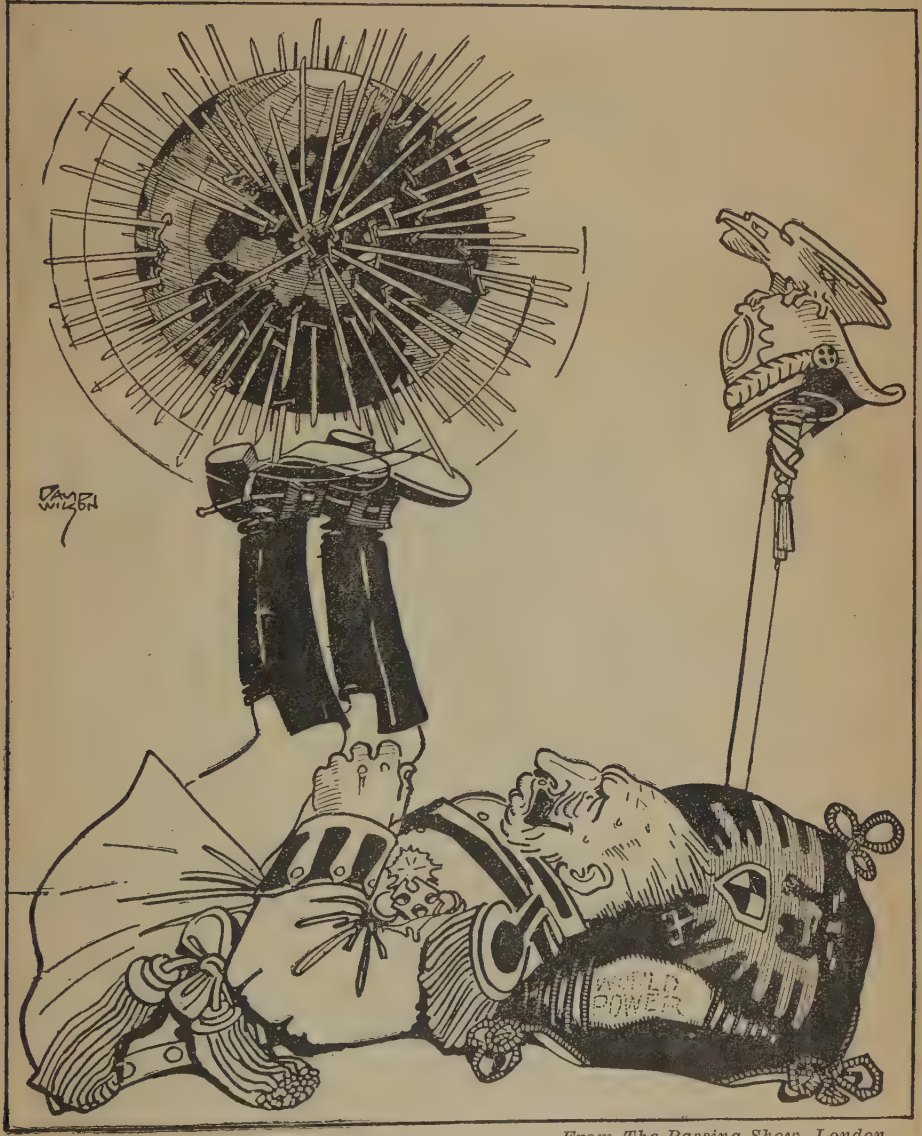
The Battle of Picardy

—*Il 420, Florence.*

A second Verdun, with the same results for Germany.

[English Cartoon]

A Test of Endurance



—From The Passing Show, London.

How much longer?

[Dutch Cartoon]

The New Waxworks Group for the German Museum

—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

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